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9

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I. AUTHORS

Book reviews as well as articles are included under this heading.

- Adams, M. Ray. "Joel Barlow, Political Romanticist," 113-152. Review: Kurtz and Autrey (eds.), *Four New Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft and Helen Maria Williams*, 386-388.
- Adams, Raymond. Reviews: Commager, *Theodore Parker*, 265-266; Allen (ed.), *Men of Concord and Some Others as Portrayed in the Journal of Henry David Thoreau*, 267.
- Adkins, Nelson F. "'The Chambered Nautilus': Its Scientific and Poetic Backgrounds," 458.
- Alexander, Colin C. "A Note on Walt Whitman," 242-243.
- Anderson, Charles Roberts. "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*," 1-25. The review signed C. R. A. is by Mr. Anderson.
- Basler, Roy P. "Byronism in Poe's 'To One in Paradise,'" 232-236. Review: Fahrney, *Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War*, 275-276.
- Bernbaum, Ernest. Review: Gilbertson, *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 385.
- Blair, Walter. Review: Clemens, *Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby*, 104.
- Bradley, Sculley. "Poe on the New York Stage in 1855," 353-354. Review: Horton, *Hart Crane: The Life of an American Poet*, 480.
- Braswell, William. "Melville as a Critic of Emerson," 317-334.
- Brown, David. "A Note on *Avon's Harvest*," 343-349.
- Brown, E. K. Review: Atkins, *Edna St. Vincent Millay and Her Times*, 484.
- Cargill, Oscar. "On Reviewing," 78-80.
- Carlson, C. Lennart. "A Further Note on Thomas Godfrey in England," 73-76; "Richard Lewis and the Reception of His Work in England," 301-316.
- Christy, Bayard H. "The Ship of Pearl," 245-247.
- Clark, David Lee. Review: Marchand (ed.), C. B. Brown's *Ormond*, 487.
- Clemens, Cyril. "An Unpublished Letter from James Lane Allen," 355-356.
- Coad, Oral Sumner. "The Bride of the Sea," 71-73.
- Davidson, Donald. Review: Gilbert, *Shine, Perishing Republic: Robinson Jeffers and the Tragic Sense in Modern Poetry*, 273-274.
- Drew, Helen L. "The Schoolmaster in *Snow-Bound*," 243-244.
- Ellis, Milton. Review: Winterich, *Early American Books & Printing*, 98-99.
- Ericson, Eston Everett. "Ward or the Devil!" 76-77.
- Everson, Ida G. "Goethe's American Visitors," 356-357.
- Foerster, Norman. The review signed N. F. is by Mr. Foerster.
- Ferguson, Delancey. Review: Blair, *Native American Humor (1800-1900)*, 482.
- Gohdes, Clarence. The reviews signed C. G. are by Mr. Gohdes.
- Hart, James D. "Melville and Dana," 49-55.
- Hastings, Louise. "An Origin for 'Dr. Heidegger's Experiment,'" 403-410.
- Hoover, M. M. Review: Goldberg, *Major Noah: American-Jewish Pioneer*, 489.
- Hornberger, Theodore. "The Effect of the New Science upon the Thought of Jonathan Edwards," 196-207.
- Howard, John Tasker. Review: Walters, *Stephen Foster, Youth's Golden Gleam*, 99-100.
- Hubbell, Jay B. The unsigned reviews are by Mr. Hubbell.
- Hudson, A. P. Review: Blegen and Ruud (eds.), *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*, 267-269.
- Huth, John F., Jr. "Theodore Dreiser: 'The Prophet,'" 208-217.
- Jaffé, David. "Some Sources of Melville's *Mardi*," 56-69.
- Jarrell, Hampton M. Review: Cowie (ed.), W. G. Simms's *The Yemassee*; Leisy (ed.), J. P. Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson*, 391-392.
- Jones, Howard Mumford. Reviews: Boynton, *Literature and American Life*, 97-98; Week et al., *A Correlated Curriculum: A Report of the National Council of Teachers of English*, 375-380.

Printed in Germany

- Jones, Louis C. "A Margaret Fuller Letter to Elizabeth Barrett Browning," 70-71.
- Jones, Rufus M. Review: Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 390-391.
- Leeb, Gabriel. "The United States Twist: Some Plot Revisions by Henry Cuyler Bunner," 431-441.
- Leisy, Ernest E. "Research in Progress," 81, 248, 358-361, 466. Review: Pattee (ed.), John Neal's *American Writers*, 486.
- Lorch, Fred W. Review: Hüppy, *Mark Twain und die Schweiz*, 488.
- McKeithan, D. M. "A Note on William Vaughn Moody's 'An Ode in Time of Hesitation,'" 349-351.
- Malone, Kemp. Review: Warfel, *Noah Webster, Schoolmaster to America*; Shoemaker, *Noah Webster, Pioneer of Learning*, 94-95.
- Mansfield, Luther Stearns. "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck," 26-48; "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," 411-418.
- Masterson, James R. "William Byrd in Lubberland," 153-170.
- Maxfield, Ezra Kempton. "A Newly Discovered Letter from Joel Barlow to His Wife, from Algiers," 442-449.
- Millett, Fred B. Review: Williams, *The Quiet Lodger of Irving Place*, 264-265.
- Mott, Frank Luther. Review: Thompson, *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books: 1825-1865*, 257.
- Neale, Walter G., Jr. "The Source of Poe's 'Morella,'" 237-239.
- Nelson, John Herbert. Review: Davis-DuBois and Schweppe (eds.), *The Germans in American Life: Hatfield, Four Lectures*; Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*, 389-390.
- Newdick, Robert S. "Robert Frost and the Sound of Sense," 289-300.
- Newlin, Claude M. Review: Andrews, *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette: "The First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies,"* 274.
- Orians, G. Harrison. "Lafitte: A Bibliographical Note," 351-353. Review: Snelling, *Tales of the Northwest*, 269-270.
- Powell, Desmond. "Whittier," 335-342.
- Prescott, F. C. Review: Miner, *Our Rude Forefathers: American Political Verse, 1783-1788*, 388-389.
- Quinn, Arthur Hobson. "The Historical Records Survey," 78. Review: Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. IX, 382-384.
- Richardson, Lyon N. "On Using Johnson's *American First Editions* and Other Sources," 449-455. Review: Oswald, *Printing in the Americas*, 483.
- Rubin, Joseph Jay. "Whitman in 1840: A Discovery," 239-242.
- Rusk, Ralph L. Review: Dillaway, *Prophet of America: Emerson and the Problems of To-day*, 95-96.
- Schramm, Wilbur L. "Parkman's Novel," 218-227.
- Scudder, Townsend. "A Letter to the Editors," 247.
- Shryock, Richard H. Review: Albion and Dodson (eds.), *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775-1776*, 270-271.
- Silver, Rollo G. "Whitman's Earliest Signed Prose: A Correction," 458.
- Sixbey, George L. "'Chanting the Square Deific'—A Study in Whitman's Religion," 171-195.
- Smith, Francis Prescott. "Washington Irving, the Fosters, and Some Poetry," 228-232.
- Smith, Frank. Review: Pearson, *Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind*, 259-261.
- Spiller, Robert E. Reviews: Mott and Jorgenson (eds.), *Benjamin Franklin*; Nolan, *General Benjamin Franklin*; Crane, *Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American*; *Benjamin Franklin and His Circle*, 90-92; Cowie, *John Trumbull, Connecticut Wit*, 92-94; Masters, *Across Spoon River: An Autobiography*, 102-103; Thoron (ed.), *The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883*, 258-259.
- Sydnor, Charles S. Review: Woodward, *A New American History*, 271-272.
- Taylor, Rupert. "Henry Timrod's Ancestress, Hannah Caesar," 419-430.

- Taylor, Walter Fuller. Review: Tarbell, *The Nationalizing of Business, 1878-1898*, 100-101.
- Thorp, Willard. "'Grace Greenwood' Parodies *Typee*," 455-457.
- Tinker, Edward Larocque. Review: Kirkwood, *Unfamiliar Lafcadio Hearn*; Koizumi (comp.), *Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn*, 261-264.
- Warfel, Harry R. Reviews: Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott*, 380-382; Curti, *The Learned Blacksmith*, 485.
- Warren, Austin. Review: Wieman and Meland, *American Philosophies of Religion*, 104.

II. ARTICLES

Under this heading is included everything except reviews. For "Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals," see pp. 82-89; 249-256; 362-374; 467-479. For "Research in Progress," see pp. 81; 248; 358-361; 466.

- "Allen, James Lane, An Unpublished Letter from," by Cyril Clemens, 355-356.
- "Barlow, Joel, Political Romanticist," by M. Ray Adams, 113-152; "A Newly Discovered Letter from Joel Barlow to His Wife, from Algiers," by Ezra Kempton Maxfield, 442-449.
- Bunner, Henry Cuyler. "The United States Twist: Some Plot Revisions by Henry Cuyler Bunner," by Gabriel Leeb, 431-441.
- "Byrd, William, in Lubberland," by James R. Masterson, 153-170.
- Dana, R. H., Jr. "Melville and Dana," by James D. Hart, 49-55.
- "Dreiser, Theodore: 'The Prophet,'" by John F. Huth, Jr., 208-217.
- "Duyckinck, Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A.," by Luther Stearns Mansfield, 26-48.
- "Edwards, Jonathan, The Effect of the New Science upon the Thought of," by Theodore Hornberger, 196-207.
- "Emerson, Melville as a Critic of," by William Braswell, 317-334.
- "Frost, Robert, and the Sound of Sense," by Robert S. Newdick, 289-300.
- Godfrey, Thomas. "A Further Note on Thomas Godfrey in England," by C. Lennart Carlsson, 73-76.
- "Goethe's American Visitors," by Ida G. Everson, 356-357.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "An Origin for 'Dr. Heidegger's Experiment,'" by Louise Hastings, 403-410.
- "Historical Records Survey, The," by Arthur Hobson Quinn, 78.
- Holmes, O. W. "The Ship of Pearl," by Bayard H. Christy, 245-247; "The Chambered Nautilus: Its Scientific and Poetic Backgrounds," by Nelson F. Adkins, 458.
- Irving, Washington. "Washington Irving, the Fosters, and Some Poetry," by Francis Prescott Smith, 228-232.
- "Johnson's *American First Editions* and Other Sources, on Using," by Lyon N. Richardson, 449-455.
- "Lafitte: A Bibliographical Note," by G. Harrison Orians, 351-353.
- "Letter to the Editors, A," by Townsend Scudder, 247.
- "Lewis, Richard, and the Reception of His Work in England," by C. Lennart Carlsson, 301-316.
- Longfellow, H. W. "The Bride of the Sea," by Oral Sumner Coad, 71-73.
- Melville, Herman. "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*," by Charles Roberts Anderson, 1-25; "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck," by Luther Stearns Mansfield, 26-48; "Melville and Dana," by James D. Hart, 49-55; "Some Sources of Melville's *Mardi*," by David Jaffé, 56-69; "Melville as a Critic of Emerson," by William Braswell, 317-334; "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," by Luther Stearns Mansfield, 411-418; "'Grace Greenwood' Parodies *Typee*," by Willard Thorp, 455-457.
- Moody, William Vaughn. "A Note on William Vaughn Moody's 'An Ode in Time of Hesitation,'" by D. M. McKeithan, 349-351.
- Ossoli, Margaret Fuller. "A Margaret Fuller Letter to Elizabeth Barrett Browning," by Louis C. Jones, 70-71.

- Parkman, Francis. "Parkman's Novel," by Wilbur L. Schramm, 218-227.
- Poe, E. A. "Byronism in Poe's 'To One in Paradise,'" by Roy P. Basler, 232-236; "The Source of Poe's 'Morella,'" by Walter G. Neale, Jr., 237-239; "Poe on the New York Stage in 1855," by Sculley Bradley, 353-354.
- "Reviewing, On," by Oscar Cargill, 78-80.
- Robinson, E. A. "A Note on *Avon's Harvest*," by David Brown, 343-349.
- Timrod, Henry. "Henry Timrod's Ancestress, Hannah Caesar," by Rupert Taylor, 419-430.
- "Ward or the Devil!" by Eston Everett Ericson, 76-77.
- Whitman, Walt. "'Chanting the Square Deific'—A Study in Whitman's Religion," by George L. Sixbey, 171-195; "Whitman in 1840: A Discovery," by Joseph Jay Rubin, 239-242; "A Note on Walt Whitman," by Colin C. Alexander, 242-243; "Whitman's Earliest Signed Prose: A Correction," by Rollo G. Silver, 458.
- Whittier, J. G. "The Bride of the Sea," by Oral Sumner Coad, 71-73; "The Schoolmaster in *Snow-Bound*," by Helen L. Drew, 243-244; "Whittier," by Desmond Powell, 335-342.

III. BOOKS REVIEWED

The names of reviewers are given in parentheses. Most of the books noticed under "Brief Mention" are not included.

- Albion, Robert Greenhalgh and Dodson, Leonidas (eds.), *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775-1776* (Richard H. Shryock), 270-271.
- Allen, Francis H. (ed.), *Men of Concord and Some Others as Portrayed in the Journal of Henry David Thoreau* (Raymond Adams), 267.
- Andrews, J. Cutler, *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette: "The First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies"* (Claude M. Newlin), 274.
- Anon., *Benjamin Franklin and His Circle* (Robert E. Spiller), 90-92.
- Atkins, Elizabeth, *Edna St. Vincent Millay and Her Times* (E. K. Brown), 484.
- Blair, Walter, *Native American Humor (1800-1900)* (DeLancey Ferguson), 482.
- Blegen, Theodore C. and Ruud, Martin B. (eds.), *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads* (A. P. Hudson), 267-269.
- Boynton, Percy H., *Literature and American Life* (Howard Mumford Jones), 97-98.
- Brookes, George S., *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Rufus M. Jones), 390-391.
- Buck, Paul H., *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (J. B. H.), 395-396.
- Clemens, Cyril, *Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby* (Walter Blair), 104.
- Commager, Henry Steele, *Theodore Parker* (Raymond Adams), 265-266.
- Cowie, Alexander, *John Trumbull, Connecticut Wit* (Robert E. Spiller), 92-94.
- Cowie, Alexander (ed.), William Gilmore Simms's *The Yemassee* (Hampton M. Jarrell), 391-392.
- Cowley, Malcolm (ed.), *After the Genteel Tradition: American Writers since 1910* (J. B. H.), 397-398.
- Crane, Verner Winslow, *Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American* (Robert E. Spiller), 90-92.
- Curti, Merle, *The Learned Blacksmith* (Harry R. Warfel), 485.
- Davis-DuBois, Rachel and Schweppe, Emma, *The Germans in American Life* (John Herbert Nelson), 389-390.
- Dillaway, Newton, *Prophet of America: Emerson and the Problems of To-day* (Ralph L. Rusk), 95-96.
- Fahrney, Ralph Ray, *Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War* (Roy P. Basler), 275-276.
- Gilbert, Rudolph, *Shine, Perishing Republic: Robinson Jeffers and the Tragic Sense in Modern Poetry* (Donald Davidson), 273-274.
- Gilbertson, Catherine, *Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Ernest Bernbaum), 385.
- Goldberg, Isaac, *Major Noah: American-Jewish Pioneer* (M. M. Hoover), 489.
- Hatfield, James Taft, *Four Lectures* (John Herbert Nelson), 389-390.
- Hersey, Harold Brainerd, *Pulpwood Editor* (J. B. H.), 396.
- Horton, Philip, *Hart Crane: The Life of an American Poet* (Sculley Bradley), 480.

- Hüppy, August, *Mark Twain und die Schweiz* (Fred W. Lorch), 488.
- Kirkwood, Kenneth P., *Unfamiliar Lafcadio Hearn* (Edward Larocque Tinker), 261-264.
- Koizumi, Kazuo (comp.), *Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn* (Edward Larocque Tinker), 261-264.
- Kurtz, Benjamin P. and Autrey, Carrie C. (eds.), *Four New Letters of Mary Woolstonecraft and Helen Maria Williams* (M. Ray Adams), 386-388.
- Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut; Grannis, Ruth S.; and Wroth, Lawrence C., *Das Amerikanische Buchwesen* (C. G.), 394-395.
- Leisy, Ernest E. (ed.), John Pendleton Kennedy's *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (Hampton M. Jarrell), 391-392.
- Marchand, Ernest (ed.), Charles Brockden Brown's *Ormond* (David Lee Clark), 487.
- Masters, Edgar Lee, *Across Spoon River: An Autobiography* (Robert E. Spiller), 102-103.
- Miner, Louie M., *Our Rude Forefathers: American Political Verse, 1783-1788* (F. C. Prescott), 388-389.
- Moore, Merrett H. (ed.), George H. Mead's *Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (N. F.), 275.
- Mott, Frank Luther and Jorgenson, Chester E. (eds.), *Benjamin Franklin: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes* (Robert E. Spiller), 90-92.
- Nolan, J. Bennett, *General Benjamin Franklin* (Robert E. Spiller), 90-92.
- Odell, George C. D., *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. IX (Arthur Hobson Quinn), 382-384.
- Oswald, John Clyde, *Printing in the Americas* (Lyon N. Richardson), 483.
- Pattee, Fred Lewis (ed.), John Neal's *American Writers* (Ernest E. Leisy), 486.
- Pearson, Hesketh, *Tom Paine: Friend of Mankind* (Frank Smith), 259-261.
- Pound, Ezra, *Make It New* (C. R. A.), 393.
- Shepard, Odell, *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Harry R. Warfel), 380-382.
- Shoemaker, Ervin C., *Noah Webster, Pioneer of Learning* (Kemp Malone), 94-95.
- Snelling, William Joseph, *Tales of the Northwest* (G. H. Orians), 269-270.
- Tarbell, Ida M., *The Nationalizing of Business, 1878-1898* (Walter Fuller Taylor), 100-101.
- Thompson, Ralph, *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books: 1825-1865* (Frank Luther Mott), 257.
- Thoron, Ward (ed.), *The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883* (Robert E. Spiller), 258-259.
- Walters, Raymond, *Stephen Foster, Youth's Golden Gleam* (John Tasker Howard), 99-100.
- Walz, John A., *German Influence in American Education and Culture* (John Herbert Nelson), 389-390.
- Warfel, Harry R., *Noah Webster, Schoolmaster to America* (Kemp Malone), 94-95.
- Wecter, Dixon, *The Saga of American Society* (J. B. H.), 396.
- Week, Ruth *et al.*, *A Correlated Curriculum: A Report of the National Council of Teachers of English* (Howard Mumford Jones), 375-380.
- Wieman, Henry Nelson and Meland, Bernard E., *American Philosophies of Religion* (Austin Warren), 104.
- Williams, William Wash, *The Quiet Lodger of Irving Place* (Fred B. Millett), 264-265.
- Winterich, John T., *Early American Books & Printing* (Milton Ellis), 98-99.
- Woodward, W. E., *A New American History* (Charles S. Sydnor), 271-272.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINIONS OF TYPEE AND OMOO

CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON
Duke University

THE CONVENTIONAL picture of Herman Melville is not a complete one. Since the recent renewal of interest in the man (and to a lesser extent in his books), he has usually been represented as a bearded and "mystic" Triton whose masterpiece, *Moby-Dick* (1851), fell upon a neglectful public, and as a misanthropic philosopher whose castigation of the ambiguous morality of Christendom in *Pierre* (1852) brought forth loud protests of heresy, atheism, and even insanity, and eventually drove the most promising genius of mid-nineteenth-century American letters into gloomy retirement. Such a figure appealed to the post-World War imagination and sounded the keynote for the "Melville Revival" of the 1920's. In their zealous preparation of the stage for this tragic exit, the legend-makers have denied Melville the full measure of popular success enjoyed by his earlier books; in grooming him for the doubtfully merited rôle of philosopher, they have allowed his justly bright fame as the discoverer of a new literary Vagabondia to tarnish.

Although the last five years of Melville's career as an author (1852-1857) seem to confirm the accepted picture with their anticlimactic productions and the unexplained sudden abandonment of authorship in mid-stream, too much still remains unknown about these years to warrant final conclusions. More is known, however, about the first five years of his literary life, from *Typee* (1846) to *Moby-Dick* (1851). And the Melville of this period has recently been shown to be a popular young author and sophisticated New Yorker—a far cry from the dramatic figure cherished by modern enthusiasts.¹ An account of the popular reception accorded to his earlier books, *Typee* and *Omoos*, will help to complete this neglected early portrait of Melville as the romantic young raconteur who found authorship a delightful, stimulating, and reasonably profit-

¹L. S. Mansfield, *Herman Melville: Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851*, Chicago, 1936 (an unpublished doctoral dissertation).

able adventure, at least in the first few years after his return from the South Seas.

As an appropriate prelude to the career of a persecuted genius, Melville's biographers have treated the immediate and undeniable success of his first two books as a mere *succès de scandale*. Taking the author's protestations too seriously, perhaps, they have pointed out that Melville himself threw down the glove to skeptical critics when he bowed himself out of the preface to the first edition of *Typee* "trusting that his anxious desire to speak the unvarnished truth will gain for him the confidence of his readers."² His first biographer then amplifies this author's affidavit: "When Melville's brother Gansevoort offered *Typee* for publication in England, it was accepted not as fiction but as ethnology, and was published as *Melville's Marquesas* only after Melville had vouched for its entire veracity."³ But, he continues, both author's and publisher's guarantees were insufficient to establish it as fact: "Though Melville published *Typee* upright in the conviction that he had in its composition been loyal both to veracity and truth, his critics were not prone to take him at his word. . . . Both *Typee* and *Omoo* were scouted as impertinent inventions, defying belief" and the reviewers were "scandalized by his boastful lechery."⁴ It is difficult, however, to think of the author of these two joyous books as being quite so righteous in his convictions; and an examination of the contemporary reviews will show that the critics were not nearly so unanimous or so serious in their unbelief as this widely accepted dictum would indicate. Such incredulity as manifested itself was largely prompted by the will to disbelieve on the part of the sanctimonious, a few of whom, scandalized by Melville's "voluptuousness" as well as by his uncomplimentary comments on the missionaries in Polynesia, retaliated by accusing him of gross dishonesty in foisting off on the public a palpable fiction in the guise of an authentic travel book.

Out of fifteen American magazine reviews examined (and this

² *Typee*, p. ix (Constable ed.).

³ Raymond Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 206-207.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208. Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 75, is not quite so dogmatic or so misleading, merely saying: "The fuss that was raised over *Typee* was not merely on account of its supposed lack of fidelity. It was also because it had displayed loose and immoral scenes." He makes no quotations from, or citations of, contemporary reviews.

certainly exhausts the list of major periodicals in the United States which took cognizance of Melville's literary début), only three were doubtful of the authenticity of *Typee*. Chief of these was the attack upon Melville by a critic writing under the initials "G. W. P." in the *American Review*. Since this is the only example cited in proof of the assertion that "*Typee* and *Omoo* were scouted as impertinent inventions, defying belief," and since this prudish reviewer is by all odds the most violent of those who were offended by Melville's first two books, it seems only fair to give a liberal sample of the abuse that was in a few instances showered upon him. It is true that this same magazine had reported favorably upon *Typee* at the time of its appearance, declaring, after a mild objection to his disparagement of the missionaries, that "his own adventures carry with them an air of truthfulness and fidelity," and quoting with approval some of the most voluptuous passages in the book.⁵ But with the advent of George Washington Peck as literary editor,⁶ Melville's reputation found its bitterest enemy in the *American Review*. The attack upon *Typee* began a year later, upon the appearance of the author's second work:

The reckless spirit which betrays itself on every page of the book—the cool, sneering wit, and the perfect want of *heart* everywhere manifested in it, make it repel, almost as much as its voluptuous scenery-painting and its sketchy outlines of stories attract. . . . [Newspapers generally over the country dislike *Typee* and *Omoo* without quite knowing why.] They disbelieve, not so much on account of the improbability of the statements, as from the manner in which they are made. . . . They lack *vraisemblance*, and though they are such adventures as might have been true, so much is out of keeping in the minor points of the narratives, and they are "reeled off" in such an abandoned spirit, that we cannot believe them. The writer does not seem to care to be true; he constantly defies the reader's faith by his cool superciliousness. . . .

. . . Were he put to his confession, there is no doubt but he would own that in drawing pictures, he does not rigidly adhere to a fixed image, something that he has seen or remembers . . . , but often, as his narrative grows road weary, lets it throw the bridle rein of strict veracity on the neck of his fancy, and relieve itself by an occasional canter. . . .

⁵ *American Review: A Whig Journal*, III, 415-424 (April, 1846).

⁶ According to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, George Washington Peck joined the staff of the *American Review* as literary editor in 1847 and maintained a close connection with it until 1852. (See also F. L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 1741-1850, New York, 1930, pp. 750-754.)

His heart is hard, and he prefers painting himself to the public of his native land as a jolly, rollicking blade—a charming, rattling, graceless ne'er-do-well. He meets no man, in all his wanderings, whom he seems to care for—no woman whom he does not consider as merely an enchanting animal, fashioned for his pleasure. Taken upon his own showing, in two volumes, and what is he but what a plain New Englander would call a "*smart scamp*?"

The phrase is a hard one, but it is certainly well deserved. Here is a writer who spices his books with the most incredible accounts and dark hints of innumerable amours with the half-naked and half-civilized or savage damsels of Nukaheva and Tahiti—who gets up voluptuous pictures, and with cool, deliberate art breaks off always at the right point, so as without offending decency, he may stimulate curiosity and excite unchaste desire.⁷

Peck then proceeds to discountenance Melville on three scores, as Weaver aptly summarizes them: "(1) only the impotent make amorous boasts; (2) Melville had none of Sir Epicure Mammon's wished-for elixir; (3) the beauty of Polynesian women is all myth."⁸

In *Omoo* the reviewer found additional grounds for complaint on the score of paganism and irreverence:

It seems necessary nowadays, for a book to be vendible, that it be venomous, and, indeed, venereous. . . . The manliness of our light literature is curdling into licentiousness on the one hand and imbecility on the other; witness such books as *Omoo*. . . . We are willing to believe that *Omoo* is not so bad as he would have us think. He is merely writing in character, and it seemed necessary to pepper high. . . .

But we must not deal too leniently with him neither [*sic*]. That he is a Papalangi whose heart is set in him to do evil, appears no less by his glorying in his misdeeds, than by the spirit he manifests towards the Christian teachers of those ignorant pagans, whose vices he did all in his power to foster. The *blue shark* is on his forehead, and he is as palpable a barbarian as any tattooed New Zealander we ever saw stumbling . . . through the streets of New Bedford.⁹

Melville, he concluded, was simply a missionary-hater, whose own career in the South Seas disqualified him as a critic of their shortcomings. His evidence was discredited by his autobiographical confessions, his obvious prejudice, and the unreasonableness of his statements.

⁷ *American Review*, VI, 36-46 (July, 1847).

⁸ *Ibid.* See Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁹ *American Review*, *loc. cit.*

If Melville's voluptuous narratives of the far-away South Seas and his strictures on Christianity offended this gentleman's sense of delicacy and piety, they paled into insignificance upon the appearance of *Pierre*, with its dark scenes of incest, murder, and suicide laid in the heart of America. With this book, says Peck, Melville has proved himself a man totally unfitted for the task of writing wholesome fictions: "his fancy is diseased, his morality vitiated, his style nonsensical and ungrammatical, and his characters as far removed from our sympathies as they are from nature." Hence, surveying Melville's reputation in 1852, he declares that it is a bubble which has burst:

Some reputations seem to be born of accident. . . . A few years back he gave to the world a story of romantic adventure; this was untrue in its painting, coarse in its coloring, and often tedious and prolix in its descriptive passages. But there was a certain air of rude romance about it, that captivated the general public. . . . People had little opportunity of judging of their truth. Remote scenes and savage actors gave a fine opportunity for high coloring and exaggerated outline, of which Mr. Melville was not slow to avail himself, and hence Fayaway is as unreal as the scenery with which she is surrounded.

We do not blame Mr. Melville for these deviations from truth. It is not much matter if South Sea savages are painted like the heroes of a penny theatre, and disport themselves amid pasteboard groves, and lakes of canvas. We can afford Mr. Melville full license to do what he likes with "Omoo" and its inhabitants; it is only when he presumes to thrust his tragic *Fantoccini* upon us, as representatives of our own race, that we feel compelled to turn our critical Aegis upon him, and freeze him into silence. . . .

Let him continue, then, if he must write, his pleasant sea and island tales. We will always be happy to hear Mr. Melville discourse about savages, but we must protest against any more Absurdities, misnamed "Ambiguities."

Omoo, *Mardi*, *Redburn*, and *White-Jacket* had followed on his first fame, concluded this reviewer (who is strangely silent as to *Moby-Dick*), and the author fancied himself a genius; the result of this sad mistake was *Pierre*: "A bad book! Affected in dialect, unnatural in conception, repulsive in plot, and inartistic in construction. Such is Mr. Melville's worst and latest work."¹⁰

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVI, 446-454 (Nov., 1852). These denunciations were uttered with the expiring breath of the *American Review*, which came to the end of its short existence the following month.

The prudishness, obvious prejudice, and extravagant language of George Washington Peck are sufficient to classify him as one of those reviewers celebrated in *A Fable for Critics* as hanging themselves by the very violence of their efforts to clamp the noose around the neck of their literary victim. Moreover, he is the very one singled out by Lowell as the shining example of his tribe:

Let an author but write what's above his poor scope,
He goes to work gravely and twists up a rope,
And, inviting the world to see punishment done,
Hangs himself up to bleach in the wind and the sun;
'Tis delightful to see, when a man comes along
Who has anything in him peculiar and strong,
Every cockboat that swims clear its fierce (pop) gundeck at him,
And make as he passes its ludicrous Peck at him.¹¹

It is interesting to conjecture that these lines, written shortly before July, 1848,¹² may have been specifically inspired by the review of *Typee* and *Omoo*, quoted above, which had appeared less than a year before, and that Lowell may have been paying an indirect compliment to Melville, whom he does not mention by name in his gallery of contemporary authors.¹³

However one may rank the critic of the *American Review*, if his reaction to Melville were typical, as it has been represented, one might indeed conclude that "*Typee* and *Omoo* were scouted as impertinent inventions, defying belief," and that the critics were "scandalized by his boastful lechery" and by his attacks on the missionaries. But no other American periodical approaches this one in violence of abuse. In fact, the only other one to raise the issue of immorality in connection with the truth of Melville's first books was the *New Englander*. Referring to *Typee*, the reviewer declared:

[Upon first reading we supposed] that whatever errors of fact the book contained were probably unintentional, and that its statements with some

¹¹ *A Fable for Critics*, *Standard Library Edition of the Works of James Russell Lowell* (Boston and New York, 1890-1913), IX, 95.

¹² Although *A Fable for Critics* was not published until Oct. 25, 1848 (G. W. Cooke, *A Bibliography of James Russell Lowell*, Boston and New York, 1906, p. 89), six hundred lines of it had been written as early as October, 1847, and the rest completed by July 24, 1848 (H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography*, Boston and New York, 1901, I, 239, 245, 247).

¹³ During 1848, however, Peck's closest connection with the *American Review* had been productive of monthly articles and reviews of Longfellow, Cooper, Dana, Poe, and others, which may have been, collectively, the basis for Lowell's gibe.

allowance might be received. On reading farther, however, we entirely changed our views; for it is difficult to believe that the author was not actuated, either by a perverse spirit of intentional misrepresentation, or that he was utterly incapable, from moral obtuseness, of an accurate statement. . . . No opportunity slips by for giving a glowing description of savage life, and for launching quips and small anathemas against civilization. For missionaries and missionary labor,—except in *general*—he has a special abhorrence. . . . Of truths of general history he seems to know nothing. . . . Now justice to the cause of truth demands that WE say, that whosoever shall read this book, and its statements touching the Islands of the Pacific, should ask themselves a moment as to the capability of a man to give an accurate statement of moral facts, when, according to his own showing, he has not been in a course of life calculated greatly to improve his moral eye sight.¹⁴

Although he found *Typee* a book “not without literary merit,” he found its author unqualified to treat some of the matters contained in it.

In *Omoo* these same “matters” were treated more fully, and the *New Englander* declared that Melville’s testimony was sufficient to condemn utterly the work of the missionaries in the South Seas, “were his statements consistent with fact.” But, deciding that they were not, the reviewer, W. D. Bourne, then read the author a curtain lecture:

When men go abroad into the world they should be prepared to observe, and when they return they should at least make themselves acquainted with their subject before they attempt to inform their countrymen. “Rope-yarn” may do very well in the fore-castle, or during the hours of the night-watch, but when it is spun out in the pages of a book with reiterated protestations of correctness, and “the author’s peculiar opportunities for acquiring correct information,” it becomes quite another affair; and then the follies and inaccuracies of a mere romancer, otherwise unworthy of notice, require the juxtaposition of truth.¹⁵

He then attempted to refute *Omoo* by quoting from other travel writers and concluded that, whereas some considerable progress had already been made at Tahiti, it would have been far greater except for the bad influence of such foreign visitors as Melville and his companion, Doctor Long Ghost.

¹⁴ *New Englander*, IV, 449-450 (July, 1846).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 41-58 (Jan., 1848). The article, entitled “Missionary Operations in Polynesia,” was a long one, including a number of books besides Melville’s.

Finally, the conservative *Knickerbocker* critic, while reading *Typee* with genuine pleasure, unoffended by any feeling that it was voluptuous or impious, nevertheless suspected that the author was guilty of some unjustifiable romancing:

In our judgment, in all essential respects, it is a *fiction*; a piece of Munchausenism from beginning to end. It may be that the author visited and spent some time in the Marquesas Islands; and there may be foundation for some portions of the narrative. But we have not the slightest confidence in any of the details, while many of the incidents narrated are utterly incredible. We might cite numberless instances of this monstrous exaggeration; but no one can read a dozen pages of the book without detecting them. This would be a matter to be excused if the book were not put forth as a simple record of actual experience. It professes to give nothing but what the author actually saw and heard; it must therefore be judged, not as a romance or a poem, but as a book of travels, as a statement of facts; and in this light it has, in our judgment, no merit whatever.¹⁶

Although the reviewer's incredulity is at least unmotivated by prudishness and religious bias, he offers no evidence in support of his conclusion that *Typee* was untrustworthy as a travel book. Perhaps it was merely the romantic atmosphere of the book which made him skeptical. But his suspicions were somewhat allayed by the more convincing realism of *Omoo*, though he confessed that he would have pronounced it also "high-colored . . . but for the solemn assurances of the author to the contrary." Hence he found no fault with the accounts of the promiscuous intercourse of the natives with foreigners, or with Melville's strictures on the teachings of the missionaries, declaring:

The author professes to describe merely what he has seen; and so evidently natural are his pages, that we are bound to take him at his word, and to believe farther, that the reflections in which he occasionally indulges are spontaneous, and such as would suggest themselves to the most casual observer.¹⁷

Thus, the third and last member of the prosecution was only half serious in his unbelief at the outset, and more than half converted by the appearance of Melville's second book; in neither instance was he scandalized or righteously indignant.

¹⁶ *Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXVII, 450 (May, 1846).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIX, 562 (June, 1847).

Before proceeding, it may be well to inquire what prejudices, if any, motivated these castigators of Melville. In the first place, the obvious bombast and moralistic bias of George Washington Peck are sufficient to discredit him as a critic. Further, he may have been jealous of Melville, for Peck was himself an author; in 1849, the very year in which *Mardi* appeared, he published a thin mediocre satire entitled *Aurifodina, or, Adventures in the Gold Regions*, obviously modeled on *Gulliver's Travels*—and one might even suspect a debt to *Mardi* itself if the publication dates did not so nearly coincide—but Peck's volume passed almost unnoticed, and he apparently gave up creative authorship after this initial failure. Finally, the *American Review*, for which he served as literary critic, was a strongly partisan Whig magazine, given to vigorous and even belligerent literary criticism when it crossed party lines; and whatever Melville's political affiliations in the late 1840's, he was certainly not a Whig. In the second place, the *New Englander*, Melville's next most abusive assailant, was a religious magazine, having been founded and sponsored by a group of ministers in New Haven to uphold the New England tradition, so that *Typee* and *Omoo* could expect to find little favor for their avowed paganism in such a quarter. Lastly, all that can be said to discount the mild attack of the *Knickerbocker* is that its editor, Lewis Gaylord Clark, was whimsically prejudiced in literary matters and had repeatedly singled out for special criticism Cornelius Mathews and the Duyckinck brothers, all intimate members of the intellectual circle in which Melville moved during these years.¹⁸ Such slight circumstances explain much in a day when literary criticism was inclined to be highly personal.

American magazines of a century ago did not always make a routine practice of full-length book reviewing. In general, the editor (or sometimes a specially employed critic) simply appended a number of brief "Book Notices" to each issue, supplementing these with an occasional literary essay in which one or more outstanding works were considered in greater detail. The longer reviews were likely to be those inspired by a controversial attitude; this accounts, in large measure, for the disproportionate length of the quotations made above from adverse criticisms as compared with the more favorable ones to follow.

¹⁸ Mott, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-371, 610, 751.

In the perfunctory notices, confined to five or ten lines, the reviewers were likely to be noncommittal on such matters as the authenticity, the licentiousness, and the sacrilege of *Typee* and *Omoo*. Such negative witnesses, however, may properly serve as an introduction to the mass of evidence tending to show that Melville's first two books were not abusively attacked, especially since even these routine commentators usually found space to call attention to the young author's charm and growing popularity. Such were the brief paragraphs in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. *Typee* the editor found to be a "curious and interesting work." *Omoo* called forth a more explicit comment:

Mr. Melville has enjoyed a new and interesting field of adventure; but with his animated and vivid style, humorous vein and sailor-like spirit [he] might venture to lead his readers, with renewed pleasure, even over well-beaten tracks. There appears at times rather a license in the tone and spirit of the book; but from a sailor, under such circumstances, this might be expected. The author, till lately unknown in that line, we believe, has suddenly risen to quite an eminence both at home and abroad.¹⁹

Similarly, the fashionable and genteel *Godey's* found nothing in these fresh and original travel books to cause alarm for its thousands of female readers. In a brief announcement it declared: "[*Typee*] is extremely interesting—the regions in which the author makes his observations being untrodden ground, and the scenes novel and striking to an unusual degree." And *Omoo* was even more enthusiastically received:

The author of "*Typee*" has again appeared, and what is rare, will meet with a welcome as warm as his first work elicited. . . . There are some vivid descriptions of natural scenery that seem as though touched by the pencil of the painter, but we think the great talent of the author is in his sketches of character. Some of these are exquisite. Dickens has nothing more amusing in his *Pickwick Papers* than the portraits of Zeke and Shorty. . . . The work is, we see, very popular in London. Of course it will be so here.²⁰

Finally, Freeman Hunt, though conducting an exclusively commercial magazine, found space for the announcement of numerous re-

¹⁹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, XII, 256 (April, 1846), notice of *Typee*; *ibid.*, XIII, 383 (June, 1847), notice of *Omoo*.

²⁰ *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*, XXII, 238 (May, 1846), *Typee*; *ibid.*, XXV, 56 (July, 1847), *Omoo*.

cently published books, though not always time to comment on them. This is true of the five-line notice of *Omoo*, which is so non-committal as to indicate that the busy editor had not even found an opportunity to glance at its contents. But a year earlier he had given more attention to *Typee* and had specifically testified to its truth as well as to its pleasantness: "This has all the elements of a popular book—novelty, originality of style and matter, and deep interest from first to last. . . . The faithfulness of the descriptions and narrative give it a peculiar charm."²¹ Though not very explicit in their testimony, these three more or less noncommittal reviewers may be ranged on Melville's side.

Even in the longer notices critics did not always consider *Typee* sufficiently important as an ethnological document to call for a dogmatic opinion of its value in this respect. There were at least three American periodicals that mentioned the problem of its authenticity, but declined to make a judgment of their own—until the appearance of *Omoo* made the issue of truth a more pressing one. The first of these, the *Columbian Magazine*, declared of *Typee*: "The reliability of its narrative and descriptions is still one of the disposable questions in 'literary circles'; but, whether romance or reality, all voices are unanimous in laudation of its interest and pleasantness."²² A second, the *New York Evening Mirror*, added: "This book has the *vraisemblance* of Robinson Crusoe—we hope it is at least as true. Certainly, if it is not, we shall set the writer down as second only to Defoe." The fact that the letter written by Richard Tobias Greene to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* on July 1, 1846, vouching for the truth of Melville's story was reproduced in the *Mirror*, without comment, as "Toby's Own Story" seems to indicate that this evidence was taken as settling the point for good.²³ At least neither seems to have been scandalized by *Typee* or to have treated the matter of its authenticity as a moral issue.

Moreover, upon the appearance of Melville's second book, both of these magazines came to the stand as witnesses to its veracity. Said the *Columbian*:

²¹ *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XIV, 491 (May, 1846), *Typee*; *ibid.*, XVI, 641 (June, 1847), *Omoo*.

²² *Columbian Magazine*, VII, 283 (June, 1847). There was no separate notice of *Typee* in the *Columbian*.

²³ *New York Evening Mirror*, III, 416 (April 4, 1846); *ibid.*, IV, 260 (Aug. 1, 1846).

Omoo differs from its elder brother in apparent credibility. Whether it is that the Society Islands are better known to the mass of readers than the Marquesas, or that Mr. Melville, in writing of the former, has thought it prudent to hold his fancy more in check, the story does not seem to draw so extensively upon the faith of the reader; in fact, so far as we have run through its pages—for our reading leisure is somewhat scant, and we have yet a third or more of Mr. Melville's story to enjoy—there is positively nothing which may not be literally true; the utmost that can be suspected, even by a jealous critic, is that the author has made the most of his materials and opportunities. . . . On the whole, Mr. Melville's presentation of the islands and their inhabitants, native and foreign, commends itself to the reader's understanding as worthy of full belief.²⁴

And to this favorable appraisal the *Mirror* added, in a highly laudatory review of *Omoo*, a personal confirmation of its truth by an eye witness:

An officer attached to the frigate Brandywine in 1845, when she touched at Tahiti, declared within our hearing that in reading "Omoo" he actually imagined himself on the spot—so graphic are the sketches of life and scenery interspersed throughout that work.²⁵

So, being convinced of the truth of this second volume of Melville's, they naturally took no exception to his strictures on the missionaries, but merely regretted that the condition of the natives was so miserable.

A third magazine, the *Anglo-American*, may be included among those that did not stand quite four-square as witnesses to Melville's veracity, at least in the case of *Typee*, of which this reviewer remarked: "The frank prefatory avowals, as indicating exactness, may be taken by every reader for what they are worth." But he then proceeded to quote passages from the travel books of Cook, Porter, and Stewart (all of whom Melville had used as sources, unknown to the reviewer) which tended to confirm the truth of *Typee*, so that his final judgment, at least by implication, seems to be that Melville had written an authentic travel book. Certainly he expresses no positive doubts on this score and no shock at its "immorality."²⁶ With the appearance of *Omoo* the reviewer was wholeheartedly converted:

²⁴ *Columbian*, loc. cit.

²⁵ New York *Evening Mirror*, quoted in the Publisher's Advertisements to the 1849 edition of *Typee*.

²⁶ *Anglo-American*, VI, 523 (March 21, 1846) and 555-557 (April 4, 1846.)

"There is a physiognomy in the title page of books," says old Butler, and we are more than ever inclined to believe the saying, from reading this new work by the author of "Typee". All that one could anticipate from glancing at the quaint title "Omoo", and the romantic appellation beneath [*Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas*], is realized in the perusal of this curious and fascinating narrative. It abounds in all attractive things; not a chapter but is replete with interest; not a sentence but glistens. "Typee" was something rare; but "Omoo" is still rarer. In descriptive power both works are truly remarkable. The enchanting scenery of Polynesia is presented to the very eye itself, as if suffused with rays from illuminated roses. There is, nevertheless, a direct, straightforward air about the narrative parts, which precludes the conclusion that any of the incidents, however uncommon, are mere fictions.

Upon the whole, we cannot but believe that "Omoo" is destined to create a prodigious sensation in the literary circles.²⁷

Thus, of a half-dozen reviews ranged only tentatively on Melville's side because of their more or less noncommittal attitude, one was positive that *Typee* was true, four were convinced upon the publication of *Omoo*, and all were entirely favorable in their general remarks on both books.

The six remaining reviews were unequivocally enthusiastic in their reception of the young author. Among the briefer eulogies may be cited the notices in the *Albion*. In a paragraph recommending *Typee* as good reading, this veteran magazine was untroubled by doubts as to its truth or morality.²⁸ A year later, with Tahiti a familiar topic, the *Albion* was agreeably delighted to find so much that was positively new in *Omoo*, a work written in a far more readable style than the average travel book, and concluded:

Mr. Melville has more than sustained his widely spread reputation in these volumes. . . . [He] contrives to throw around his personal adventures all the interest and charm of fictitious narrative. *Omoo* and *Typee* are actually delightful romances of real life, embellished with powers of description and a graphic skill of hitting off characters little inferior to the highest order of novelists and romance writers.²⁹

Graham's likewise treated Melville as a veracious travel writer, declaring of *Typee*:

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 69 (May 8, 1847). On April 24, 1847, pp. 14-15, several chapters had been printed in advance from *Omoo*.

²⁸ *Albion*, V, 168 (April 4, 1846).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 228 (May 8, 1847).

If the truth about savage nations were not always a little stranger than fiction, we should sometimes be inclined to compliment him for his strength in drawing the long bow of travellers; but his descriptions are doubtless transcripts of facts, not imagination, sounding as they do, "as bad as truth."⁸⁰

Although *Graham's* did not devote a separate review to *Omoo*, it did return in 1849 to comment on this and on *Typee* by way of comparison with the author's third book. In his preface to *Mardi* Melville had remarked with some irony: "Not long ago, having published two narratives of voyages in the Pacific, which, in many quarters, were received with incredulity, the thought occurred to me, of indeed writing a romance of Polynesian adventure, and publishing it as such; to see whether, the fiction might not, possibly, be received for a verity: in some degree the reverse of my previous experience." Taking his cue from this, the present reviewer, who may have been Bayard Taylor, remarked sanely:

Mr. Melville has given us here an acknowledged romance, and those who doubted the veracity of "Typee" and "Omoo," may now have an opportunity of noticing the difference between Mr. Melville recording what he has observed and Mr. Melville recording what he has imagined. It appears to us that the two processes in the author's mind have little in common, and the best evidence of the truthfulness of his former books is the decidedly romantic character of much of the present.

"Mardi" is altogether the most striking work which Mr. Melville has produced, exhibiting a range of learning, a fluency of fancy, and an originality of thought and diction, of which "Typee," with all its distinctness and luxuriance of description, gave little evidence. . . . Of the two volumes [of *Mardi*] the first is by far the best, but both contain abundant evidence of the richness, strength and independence of the author's mind, and are full of those magical touches which indicate original genius.⁸¹

A third, the *Home Journal*, in "The Correspondence of GRACE GREENWOOD [Mrs. Sarah Jane Lippincott]," exhausted its vocabulary in defense of *Typee's* truth:

There are those, I am aware, who doubt the authenticity of this charming narrative. "Oh, ye of little faith!" I have a solemn conviction of

⁸⁰ *Graham's Magazine*, XXVIII, 240 (May, 1846).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 385 (June, 1849). Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 544 n., says that Bayard Taylor joined *Graham's* as assistant editor in Sept., 1848.

its truth—a pertinacious belief in the whole work—an humble, unquestioning reliance on the word of the narrator.³²

Some of Melville's eulogists, of course, may be suspected of partisanship. Yet the partiality of the New York *Literary World* was one of a universal sort, springing as it did out of a friendship between the editor and the author. Evert A. Duyckinck was the center of a literary circle which included Melville; and just as he had served as a semi-official literary adviser in helping the young author negotiate with his first publishers, so now as editor of the newly founded *Literary World* he began to serve as a self-appointed champion of his works.³³ Although his weekly journal made its début almost a year after the appearance of *Typee*, Duyckinck went back to the beginning of Melville's career to launch his friendly propaganda:

Few American books have awakened the lively interest excited by Mr. Melville's unique and delightful volumes on *Typee*. To many, the theme was entirely new; to others, Commodore Porter's once famed, and now nearly forgotten journal, had long since commended it, and they seized upon Mr. Melville's book with the avidity that children take up any new volume which purports to be a continuation of Robinson Crusoe. In the city of New York, especially, from which the three or four of Porter's surviving officers hailed originally, [the valley of] *Typee* was remembered in years far back as the theme of many a dinner-table yarn, when men used to tell longer and *stronger* stories over their Madeira than is now the fashion among modern sherry drinkers. And while the world abroad were showing their acuteness in detecting Mr. Melville as a veteran book-maker, who, being master of a brilliant style, had ingeniously fashioned a most readable piece of Munchausenism while sitting in his library, his work was at once recognised as a genuine narrative in the city where it was published.³⁴

³² Quoted in the Publisher's Advertisements to the first American edition of *Moby-Dick*.

³³ See n. 1, above. See also the correspondence between Melville and Duyckinck published in Meade Minnegerode, *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville, and a Bibliography* (New York, 1922). According to Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 766, Duyckinck was the editor (and presumably the book reviewer) from the first issue, Feb. 6, 1847, through April, 1847. Although it is possible that the review in question was written by Charles Fenno Hoffman, the new editor who began his duties in May, it is more likely the work of the retiring editor. This conjecture is confirmed by comparing it with the long series of favorable reviews of Melville's subsequent works in the *Literary World* after Duyckinck purchased it and again became its editor from Oct., 1848, to the end of its existence in Dec., 1853.

³⁴ New York *Literary World*, I, 319-321 (May 8, 1847).

Then, proceeding to Melville's second volume, *Omoo*—advance chapters of which had been printed from the proof sheets in the *Literary World* two weeks before—Duyckinck continued his generous quotations and comments, finding nothing but approval for Melville's "voluptuous" descriptions of Polynesian nymphs and his "calumnious" remarks on the missionaries. The sea portions of the tale he liked best, but found the characters and descriptions graphically drawn, concluding: "The present narrative [is] . . . related with all the animation, the picturesqueness, and felicity of style which commend his first writings to a second reading, even after curiosity is satisfied by tracing out the singularity of his story."⁸⁵

A second of Melville's most ardent defenders, the *United States Catholic Magazine*, was obviously motivated by sectarian interest, for Catholics and Protestants had waged a long and bitter war over the mission fields of Polynesia. In a long article comparing *Typee* with J. J. Jarves's *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands* (Boston, 1843), the reviewer confined himself to those incidental portions of Melville's book appropriate to his subject: "Protestant Missions in the Sandwich Islands." After eleven pages of violent objections to Jarves's volume as a crude, unsound, and biased history (which it certainly is), he turned his attention to Melville with the following comment, forgiving in the name of the Church the unforgivable sin of licentiousness:

TYPEE is a sprightly, well written, entertaining book; its happiness of expression is as conspicuous as Mr. Jarves' awkwardness. There is one fatal objection to it,—its voluptuousness, if we may use the word. But this is more pardonable in a tourist, than wilful deception in a historian. The author is a Protestant. His opinions of the mission [at Honolulu] are drawn from actual observation upon the spot.⁸⁶

Then in a footnote, evidently added after a last minute acquaintance with Melville's second volume, he concluded:

Some doubts were cast upon the authenticity of "*Typee*," by those who believed that all testimony against the South Sea Protestant missions must be fictitious. But the publication of "*Omoo*" by Mr. Melville, has decided [us] that he deals in truth, and is only gifted with the power of describing most vividly the exquisite garden spots he has visited.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* The advance chapters of *Omoo* had appeared on April 24, 1847, pp. 274, 275.

⁸⁶ *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, VI, 569-586 (Nov., 1847).

It surprises us that any one reading *Typee* should suspect it of being a fable, or imagine that his statements regarding the Sandwich Islands were only a flight of fancy. At all events his account is corroborated by the uniform evidence of disinterested travellers, and by the admissions of the missionaries themselves, as will appear in the course of this article. Let it be remembered, however, that in the second edition of *Typee*, the passages reflecting most severely upon the Sandwich Island missions, were *expunged*. And whoever may have thus aimed to prevent the dissemination of truth, that hypocrisy might flourish a little longer, let him be held up to deserved rebuke and scorn.³⁷

Thus spoke the official organ of the archbishop of Baltimore, which had announced its exclusively religious character a year before, saying that "mere literary criticism is never a primary object with us."³⁸

The third and last of the most laudatory reviews of Melville's first two books cannot be charged to the puffery of a friend or to the bias of a religious periodical. The most that can be said to discount the praise of the *Democratic Review* is that it was the political opponent of the *American (Whig) Review*, Melville's most abusive critic, and that it may have adopted a policy of praising those authors whom its rival saw fit to condemn, and vice versa, though nothing of the sort is apparent. In his initial comments on *Typee* the editor, Thomas Prentice Kettell, declared:

These volumes are the most interesting of Wiley & Putnam's deservedly popular "Library of American Books." The adventures are of a youth in the romantic islands of the Pacific Ocean, among a strange race of beings, whose manners and modes of life are by no means familiar to us. The scenes, described with peculiar animation and vivacity, are of a description that must task the credulity of most plain matter of fact people; yet they are without doubt faithfully sketched, and afford evidence of "how little half the world knows how the other half lives." The fairy vales of the Marquesas are represented as presenting all that nature and a most favored clime can contribute to the happiness and enjoyment of man, and inhabited by a primitive race with whom the author appears to have been on the best possible terms. These volumes are of a most amusing and interesting description.³⁹

Although the *Democratic Review* carried no separate notice of *Omoo*, it returned to this and to Melville's first book for incidental

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 580 n.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 122 (March, 1846).

³⁹ *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XVIII, 399 (May, 1846). The author's name was given as "Sherman Melville."

comments in an extended critique of *Mardi*. Reviewing Melville's career and explaining the anti-climactic reception of his third book, this perspicacious writer remarked:

Typee and *Omoo* were written for the multitude, and consequently had no deep philosophy; and, being a true record of simplistic [*sic*] life, had not high harmonic beauty. . . . But we should give all due credit to books that won the plaudits of the people so widely. Now, every one who had read *Typee* and *Omoo* anxiously expected *Mardi*—and more, they expected a work of similar character. The man who expects and asks for loaf sugar will not be satisfied with marble, though it be built into a palace. . . .

The beginning of the book [*Mardi*] is accepted by most, perhaps all, readers. It is in the style of *Omoo* and *Typee*—books that made the multitude crazy with delight. . . . [But] those who rejoiced in the flute-like music of Melville's *Typee* and *Omoo* . . . had not the slightest conception of the meaning of his magnificent orchestra in *Mardi*. . . .

The fact that *Mardi* is an allegory that mirrors the world, has thus far escaped the critics, who do notices for the book table on a large scale. . . . Whoso wishes to read a romance—a novel of the sentimental or satanic school—has no business in *Mardi*. He need not open the book. But whoso wishes to see the spirit of philosophy and humanity, love and wisdom, showing man to himself as he is, that he may know his evil and folly, and be saved from them, will be reverently thankful for this book. . . . The author whose heart burns within him like a live coal from God's own altar, need take no care for his fame. Such an one is Herman Melville.⁴⁰

How this review must have pleased Melville (even while the concluding outburst may have amused him) will be evident when one remembers that in *Mardi*, his third book, he was aiming at a higher rôle than that of literary vagabond of the South Seas—a rôle of which his easily won popularity had made him heartily sick.

To summarize, out of fifteen American magazine reviews of Melville's first two books that were consulted, only three were hostile to *Typee* and but two of these were hostile to *Omoo*; however, these few did attack him roundly on three scores: dishonesty, unfounded abuse of the missionaries, and personal immorality. The remaining twelve were all favorable to both works in general; and, though a few of them were more or less noncommittal as to the truth of one or the other as veracious travel books, seven were

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXV, 44-50 (July, 1849).

outspoken in their opinion that *Typee* was authentic and ten were converted upon the appearance of *Omoo*. The scope of the present inquiry is limited to reviews that appeared in American magazines.⁴¹ But even if one turns to the newspapers of the period, the number of responsible charges of dishonesty and immorality launched against Melville are found to be very few. Some of the religious sheets did make such accusations, but in general the reaction of the newspapers paralleled that of the literary periodicals.⁴² What then of the furor created by the publication of *Typee* and *Omoo* which made their contemporary reception a *succès de scandale*? Apparently, a mere handful of adverse criticisms, as belligerent and vituperative as the first two quoted in this paper, were capable of raising a momentary sound and fury almost equal to the general chorus of praise which in actuality greeted Melville's début as an author. And certainly they would have been sufficient to persuade a timorous publisher to delete the most "objectionable" passages at the first opportunity; hence, the revised edition of *Typee* in the summer of 1846 is not evidence that the book was considered immoral by the general public. Nor, on the other hand, was the addition of Toby's "sequel" in this same revised edition conclusive proof that *Typee* was true, though it may have convinced some of the few readers who had previously been skeptical. In fact, the reaction of critics and of the general reading public to *Typee* and *Omoo* (the subject of this study of Melville's early reputation) is an entirely different matter from the problem of the authenticity of the books themselves (which will be treated at length elsewhere by the present writer).⁴³

Another aspect of the conventional portrait of Melville suffers from distortion. His biographers have called attention to his early literary connection with Evert A. Duyckinck (though they have underestimated its importance), and they have emphasized his one

⁴¹ Other American magazines searched, unsuccessfully, for reviews of *Typee* and *Omoo* are: the *American Literary Magazine* (Albany), *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, the *Christian Examiner*, the *North American Review*, the *Southern Quarterly Review*, and *Yankee Doodle*.

An incomplete study of contemporary reviews of these two books may be found in Hugh W. Hetherington, *The Reputation of Herman Melville in America*, Michigan, 1934 (an unpublished doctoral dissertation).

⁴² The writer is indebted for this information to Mr. Robert S. Forsythe of the Newberry Library, Chicago, who is at present compiling a Melville bibliography.

⁴³ In a forthcoming volume entitled *Melville in the South Seas* this problem of the authenticity of *Typee* is treated as a twofold one: How faithful was Melville to autobiographical fact? How authentic is the book as an ethnological treatise on the Marquesas Islands?

great literary friendship with Hawthorne, which did not begin until 1850. But aside from this, the popular conception of Melville is that of a lonely and gloomy Titan, unknown and unnoticed by contemporary authors. It seems appropriate in conclusion to correct this error by citing a few of Melville's confreres who commented upon his books, some with the added light shed by personal acquaintance. One of these was discovered by Melville's first biographer, who pointed out that even the discreet Longfellow did not find it necessary to omit any passages as he read *Typee* to his family before the fire, and quoted from his Journal of July 29, 1846: "In the evening we finished the first volume of *Typee*, a curious and interesting book with glowing descriptions of life in the Marquesas."⁴⁴ The second, an intelligent review by Hawthorne recently discovered in the *Salem Advertiser*, though reprinted entire only a few years ago, is collected here for the sake of convenience.⁴⁵ Neither of these authors knew Melville personally at this time, so far as is known.

The third is a new discovery, of considerable interest in spite of the brevity of the comments. At the time of Melville's debut, Walter Whitman was an unknown journalist, ten years short of his own mature literary stature, serving as the editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle* from 1846 to 1848. In the literary miscellany of this newspaper, presumably conducted by the editor, appeared reviews of hundreds of contemporary American books. There is, unfortunately, no positive external evidence that Whitman wrote all of these literary criticisms, in spite of the assumptions made by editors of his juvenilia. Tentatively, however, one may add to the record of early prose attributable to Whitman the interesting and hitherto uncol-

⁴⁴ Samuel Longfellow, *The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston and New York), II, 52. Quoted in Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁴⁵ "The book is lightly but vigorously written; and we are acquainted with no work that gives a freer and more effective picture of barbarian life, in that unadulterated state of which there are now so few specimens remaining. . . . The author's descriptions of the native girls are voluptuously colored, yet not more so than the exigencies of the subject appear to require. He has that freedom of view—it would be too harsh to call it laxity of principle—which renders him tolerant of codes of morals that may be little in accordance with our own; a spirit proper enough to a young and adventurous sailor, and which makes his book the more wholesome to our staid landmen. The narrative is skilfully managed, and in a literary point of view, the execution of the work is worthy of the novelty and interest of its subject." (Randall Stewart, "Hawthorne's Contributions to the *Salem Advertiser*," *American Literature*, V, 329, Jan., 1934.)

lected notices of Melville's first two books. Of *Typee* the reviewer said:

A strange, graceful, most readable book this. It seems to be a compound of the "Seward's Narrative," and "Guidentio de Lucca," style and reading. As a book to hold in one's hand and pore dreamily over of a summer day, it is unsurpassed.⁴⁶

And of Melville's second book, dismissing the problem of authenticity as irrelevant, he declared:

"*Omoo*," the new work (Harpers, pub.) by Mr. Melville, author of "*Typee*," affords two well printed volumes of the most readable sort of reading. The question whether these stories be authentic or not has, of course, not so much to do with their interest. One can revel in such a richly good natured style, if nothing else. We therefore recommend this "narrative of adventures in the south seas," as thorough entertainment—not so light as to be tossed aside for its flippancy, nor so profound as to be tiresome. All books have their office—and this is a very side one [*sic*].⁴⁷

Even such lightly framed testimonials are interesting, if they were in fact written by Whitman, since they would then link together

⁴⁶ *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 15, 1846. By "Seward's Narrative" the critic probably meant the *Journal of a Voyage to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to England*, by William Seward, gent., companion in travel with the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield (London, 1740), but the reference is vague and the comparison far-fetched. In his reference to the "Guidentio de Lucca style," he evidently had in mind *The Adventures of Sigr. Gaudentio di Lucca . . . , giving an account of an unknown country in the midst of the deserts of Africa* (London, 1748), a romance of an imaginary voyage by Simon Berington, at one time wrongly ascribed to Bishop Berkeley. For both of these identifications I am indebted to Mr. Robert S. Forsythe of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1847. Emory Holloway, ed., *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1932), I, 126-137, in ten pages of book reviews culled from the *Eagle* does reprint on p. 134 one phrase from the review of *Omoo*: "the most readable sort of reading." Cleveland Rodgers and John Black, eds., *The Gathering of the Forces by Walt Whitman* (New York, 1920), II, 278-308, quoting thirty pages of reviews from the *Eagle* fail to mention the Melville notices.

There is no positive external proof that Whitman wrote the book reviews in the *Brooklyn Eagle* during these years, but he has been sometimes accepted as the author of them. Emory Holloway, ed., *op. cit.*, I, 126-127, says: "It was he [Whitman] who introduced the literary miscellany into the *Eagle* and who first gave prominence to book reviewing through its columns. In the course of two years he quoted from nearly a hundred more or less well-known authors and reviewed more than a hundred other books. In some cases, he merely glanced at preface and table of contents; in other cases he skipped through the volume; but good books sometimes received more than one reading at his hands and more than one notice." According to Rodgers and Black, eds., *op. cit.*, I, xiv, Whitman began his duties in March, 1846, succeeding W. B. Marsh, who had died on Feb. 26, 1846, and continued them without interruption until Jan., 1848.

two men who might have enjoyed each other's society had fortuitous circumstance bridged the wide gap between their worlds.

Another of Melville's contemporaries, who loomed large on the literary horizon of his own day, but who is chiefly remembered now as the author of the lacrymose *Reveries of a Bachelor*, has left an amusing account of Melville's temporary fame. In an anonymous book of town-talk, *The Lorgnette: or, Studies of the Town. By An Opera Goer* (New York, 1850), "Ik Marvel" (Donald Grant Mitchell) commented on the mutability of literary fads:

Our book-reading world has, I find, its periodic fevers of literary fancy, a sort of author's cholera morbus, which leaves the public mind in a very debilitated condition; nor does it operate much more favorably upon the writer; since it reduces him in most instances to a state of sad depletion, if not of decided collapse.

Then, citing as examples the passing popularity of Martin Farquhar Tupper's novels, Bailey's *Festus*, Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, Wise's *Los Gringos*, Mayo's *Kaloolah*, and the works of N. P. Willis, Cornelius Mathews, James K. Paulding, and "Ik Marvel" (to cover his own anonymity), he said flippantly of Melville's early reputation:

The Typee disorder was a novel one, of uncertain character, until clearly defined and made cognizable by a London issue of the book of Mr. Melville. It attacked with peculiar virulence adventurous school-boys, and romantic young ladies who have an eye for nature. At one time, shortly after the publication of *Mardi*, the disorder assumed a threatening malignancy, and patients were given over in despair to the chrono-thermal and homoeopathic treatment. Latterly, however, the types have changed, and Peregrine Pickle and Robinson Crusoe, are safe cures for Redburn and White Jacket.⁴⁸

Whether Melville and Mitchell were acquainted has not yet been discovered, but the chances are strong that they may have met in some of the gatherings of the town's literati.

Of all Melville's books, it would seem, *Typee* struck the most congenial note among his contemporaries. Surveying American literature a year after the publication of *Moby-Dick*, Dr. John W. Francis, whose salon on Bond Street was frequented by such luminaries as Irving, Bryant, and Cooper, says that he enjoyed Melville's

⁴⁸ [D. G. Mitchell], *The Lorgnette: or, Studies of the Town. By an Opera Goer* (New York, 1850), I, 274, 277. This reference was kindly called to my attention by Mr. John Kouwenhoven, a graduate student at Columbia University.

books particularly because he knew the author personally; and he selected *Typee* as his favorite out of the six so far published.⁴⁹ Further, this book and its young author were sufficiently popular to inspire several eulogies in verse. At the famous Valentine party given by Miss Anna C. Lynch in February, 1848, for the New York literati, Melville was apparently present, and one of the "valentines" was some sadly unprophectic verses read by Bayard Taylor in honor of Melville's South Sea tales:

Bright painter of those tropic isles,
That stud the blue waves, far apart,
Be thine, through life, the summer's smiles,
And fadeless foliage of the heart:
And may some guardian genius still
Taboo thy path from every ill.⁵⁰

It was on this same occasion that Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman read her verses to "The Raven"; but their dedicatee was not present, and Melville did not at this time, if ever, meet his New York contemporary Poe.

A much fuller tribute in verse had been written shortly after the publication of *Typee*, but its author was not a friend of Melville and the verses were not delivered to him personally. The poet was William Ellery Channing, the young friend of Emerson and Thoreau. In "The Island Nukuheva," a poem of almost two hundred lines of crude heroic couplets, he lisped in prose, for numbers would not come:

It is upon the far-off deep South Seas,
The island Nukuheva, its degrees
In vain,—I may not reckon, but the bold

⁴⁹ J. W. Francis, "Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers of New York," *International Magazine*, V, 265 (Feb., 1852).

⁵⁰ "The Valentine Party," *Home Journal*, III, 4 (March 4, 1848). See also Marie Hansen-Taylor and H. E. Scudder, eds., *The Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor* (New York, 1884), I, 115, 119, where Taylor confesses authorship: "Anne Lynch is a perfect jewel of a woman. She is going to have a grand valentine party on the coming 14th, and showed me a list of the invited lions. . . . Herman Melville will be there . . . , and I am obliged to write a valentine for him." (These verses by Taylor were kindly called to my attention by Mr. L. S. Mansfield, of Williams College.)

Bayard Taylor must certainly have been acquainted with Melville at this time. Though they may never have become intimate, they were at least friends, as the following reference indicates: "I was invited last Friday to dine with Bancroft and Cooper; on Saturday [September 21, 1850] with Sir Edward Belcher and Herman Melville" (*ibid.*, I, 188).

Adventurous Melville there by chance was rolled,
 And for four months in its delights did dwell,
 And of this Island writ what I may tell. . . .

One vale there is upon this southern Isle,
 This seal of velvet on the Ocean's smile,
 One vale, all breasted in with precipices,
 Whose ample side the clinging root caresses,
 And from the Ocean to the mountain's face,
 But some few miles their intervention trace:
 Within this narrow limit there are men,
 Of whom I loved to read, and read again,
 Such strange and placid lives there seem to be
 Upon that vale far on the deep South Sea. . . .

This honest but unsuccessful effort at poetry—an unintentional travesty upon Byron's "The Island"—goes on to luxuriate in the glamorous landscape, the eternal summer, the easy festival-like life, the abundant supply of food, the swimming maids, the communism of the natives, and extended descriptions of King Mehevi and the beautiful Fayaway—only to conclude with a transcendental objection to their being cannibals.⁶¹ Whether Melville, whose own verse was halting enough, was spared the knowledge of this compliment is not known.

Finally, there is one squib on Melville that bears a more personal touch than any of the comments previously cited, and that may be taken, one feels, as a representative sketch of Melville as he was known to his contemporaries in the heyday of his early fame. It has an even more convincing ring since it was written as an incidental aside in a review of another book. The writer, Nathaniel P. Willis, one of the flashiest of the New York literati, had probably met Melville as early as 1846, as one of the Duyckinck circle. Certainly by 1849 they were good friends, and Willis had not only introduced Melville to literary figures in New York, but had just presented him with letters of introduction to friends in London,⁶² whither Melville was bound to find a publisher for *White-Jacket*. So it was that on the eve of Melville's departure, Willis sped him on his way with the compliment that he was "a charming, informal, romantic *raconteur*" similar to Lieutenant

⁶¹ William Ellery Channing, *Poems, Second Series* (Boston, 1847), pp. 144-152.

⁶² Numerous references in the Duyckinck MSS, New York Public Library.

Henry A. Wise, whose *Los Gringos* he was reviewing for the *Home Journal*:

Conversational literature, or books written as agreeable people talk, is the present fashion with authors and passion with readers. HERMAN MELVILLE, with his cigar and his Spanish eyes, *talks* Typee and Omoo, just as you find the flow of his delightful mind on paper. Those who have only read his books know the man—those who have only seen the man have a fair idea of his books.⁵³

Such was Herman Melville at the height of his early popularity. The portrait contains no touch of foreboding gloom or impending tragedy, no hint of the “mystic” or the philosopher, no trace of the beard which later muffled the lamentations of the Victorian Jeremiah.

⁵³ *Home Journal*, VI, 2 (Oct. 13, 1849). Willis had been the literary editor of the *Home Journal* since its inception on Nov. 21, 1846, and retained this connection until his death twenty-one years later (H. A. Beers, *Nathaniel P. Willis*, Boston, 1896, p. 287).

The author of the book under review (Lieutenant Henry A. Wise, *Los Gringos, etc.*, New York, 1849, p. 399 n.) had also made an interesting and pleasant comment on *Typee* and *Omoo*, beginning: “In all the lighter sketches upon Polynesia, I cannot resist paying the faint tribute of my own individual admiration to Mr. Melville. Apart from the innate beauty and charming tone of his narratives, the delineations of Island life and scenery, from my own personal observation, are most correctly and faithfully drawn.” (The note that follows, which contains some of the most interesting evidence yet discovered in proof of the truth of Melville’s two books, has been reprinted in full by John H. Birss in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Jan. 2, 1932, p. 429.)

GLIMPSES OF HERMAN MELVILLE'S LIFE IN PITTSFIELD, 1850-1851

Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck

LUTHER STEARNS MANSFIELD

Williams College

IN the summer of 1850, Herman Melville with his wife and year-old son Malcolm, to escape the heat of New York City, went to Pittsfield, Massachusetts. They boarded at Broadhall, familiar to Melville from his boyhood visits there when it was the home of his grandfather and a little later of his uncle, Thomas Melville, now in 1850 run as a resort hotel by his uncle's widow.¹ After a brief return to New York in September, Melville and his family, in October, 1850, moved into Arrowhead, a farmhouse not far from Broadhall, and there resided for the next thirteen years. During the first two years of this residence, Melville published two books, *Moby-Dick* (1851) and *Pierre* (1852).

Of Melville's activities in Pittsfield when he was not farming or writing, comparatively little is known. Some account of his friendship with Nathaniel Hawthorne is preserved in the latter's *American Notebooks*,² and Julian Hawthorne, in his biography of his father and mother, published some of Melville's letters to Hawthorne.³ Letters of Melville's New York friend, Evert A. Duyckinck, who made visits to Broadhall in August, 1850, and to Arrowhead in August, 1851, supply further details of Melville's life during his first two years among the Berkshires.⁴

On his first visit to Melville, Duyckinck with Cornelius Mathews⁵ left New York Friday evening, August 2, 1850, and returned

¹ Joseph E. A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield* (Springfield, 1876), II, 399-400; and Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 45-47.

² *The American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), pp. 131, 132, 220, 221, 225, 229-231.

³ Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 385-407, and *passim*.

⁴ Unless otherwise noted, the originals of all letters cited or quoted in this article are in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library.

⁵ Evert A. Duyckinck (1816-1878) was then editor of the New York periodical, the *Literary World*. Cornelius Mathews (1817-1889), a frequent contributor to that journal, was the author of *Behemoth* (1839), *The Career of Puffer Hopkins* (1841), and several plays, of which *Witchcraft* (1846) is the best known.

to the city Monday, August 12. Five letters from Pittsfield to his wife, who remained in New York, tell the story of his and his host's activities while he was Melville's guest. The first of these, written the morning after his arrival was only a brief note:

Hotel—Pittsfield Mass
Saturday morning

Dear wife,

Rattled over the 160 miles to this place last evening by ½ past ten—passed the night at the Hotel, Melville making way for us at or near his place this morning. Met Dudley D. Field in the cars who has cut out for us all the celebrities of Stockbridge the beginning of next week. We are to dine with him, visit Hawthorne, Monument Mountain &c &c. A beautiful region, pure & having mountain air—with a fine day before us—if I see it again it must be with two pair of eyes & you must be the spectacles. This is no letter but a note—in great haste

Yours E A D.⁶

Duyckinck's second letter was written after he had had opportunity to survey his surroundings:

Pittsfield Mass
Sunday Aug 4. 1850

My dear wife:

I dropped you a line yesterday in a parcel to the office which Melville says I must have been tempted to make up by the Yankee atmosphere. I have the proof sheets of Appleton's edition of Wordsworth's posthumous poem "The Prelude" with me to read & use at leisure in the paper. Mathews told me that Griswold was about to publish a whole book of it in his next week's magazine, so I concluded that my next week's paper should have its share & made up a parcel of mail with necessary directions at once. So you see that the Literary World can be edited at a distance of 160 miles—so that need be no obstacle to our settling here if you choose. And if you were here today I think the purity and sweetness of this mountain air could tempt you. It is simply delicious and every breath is an enjoyment. The country is a broken plain surrounded by ranges of mountains, of which from the spot where I am looking over the spires of pleasant Pittsfield the cleft two humped Saddleback is the hugest wonder. But I wont describe scenery or tell you of the dark lakes

⁶ Across the top of the page Duyckinck scribbled a postscript: "Kiss George & Henry for me. I have seen no 'jumping Quakers' yet but will look out." George and Henry, his sons, aged four and seven, were at home with their mother. Evert, aged nine, was at the seashore with his uncle, George L. Duyckinck. Later on, Duyckinck, with Melville and others, saw the Shakers and their colony.

set in the hollows or the murmuring brooks of the meadows, whose cool pebbly sound is only surpassed by the breezes in the tree tops above them. I will tell you nothing of the languishing elms whose foliage swoons in the luxury of air. To tell of these things to a lady encased in hot bricks in New York would be unprovoked cruelty were I not bound to a full and faithful account of my wanderings and did I not hope to make a convert to that beautiful part of the world the country. I assure you that Poets have made no mistake. The air is balm and a great many other things—Here they have no thermometers.

Fancy yourself like Mrs Herman Melville in a great flopping straw hat tied under the chin, floating about with the Zephyrs in blue, pink or lilac—or like the gallant Mrs Morewood in linen sack armed with a bait box and fishing rod for the finny sport—or scouring the plains, instead of the teacups like Atalanta—or with Mrs Allan! but I forbear—

The house where we live, Melville's is a rare place—an old family mansion, wainscoted and stately, with large halls & chimneys—quite a piece of mouldering rural grandeur—The family has gone down & this is their last season. The farm has been sold. Herman Melville knows every stone & tree & will probably make a book of its features. The old lady, his aunt, shows you a vial of the Boston tea, brought home by his grandfather in his shoes from the famous Boston tea party in the harbor.

As yet I do not sleep there but am at home during the day—The spot where I have turned in to write this letter & where I sleep for a night or so is a small farmers house close by. The rooms are very neat and comfortable. A print of her sensual looking Majesty Queen Caroline hangs above me.

Tell Katy Melville's is a nice house for that nice poet Longfellow boarded here a year or two since and Oliver Wendell Holmes' cottage is in sight.

The Berkshire pigs are large if we may judge from the unwieldy mother in the sty & the purity and quantity of the eggs at breakfast are proof of the character of the fowls.

Horses and drives and trees and happy looking houses everywhere about—and Mr Field has promised to show us a vast deal more at Stockbridge. We go there as I told you to-morrow—Julia Bryant I believe is there & we shall look up Hawthorne who lives in the neighborhood.

A drive yesterday afternoon to Pontoosuc would have conquered all affection for bricks & mortar. What is Pontoosuc? It is not a mountain but a lake and you descend upon it and wind above it by pleasant roads.

There are two voices Wordsworth says—one of the mountains, one of the sea—I have stuttered out one and may you have a favorable echo from Evert of the other—George & Henry I should like to tumble about

in these bowls of cream here & have you abusing the city & crying "beautiful" and "enchanting" while you were with me as you should be—which you must be, as Paddy would say, the next time we separate—

Yours,
Evert

The visit to Dudley D. Field's home in Stockbridge provided an opportunity for Melville to meet Holmes and Hawthorne, whom he had not known before.⁷ A brief entry in Hawthorne's *American Notebooks* preserves an unadorned record of the meeting, which Pittsfield tradition, as reported by J. E. A. Smith and others, has expanded.⁸ Duyckinck's third letter to his wife gave a full first-hand account of the festive occasion:

The Melville House Pittsfield
Tuesday August 6. 1850

My dear wife,

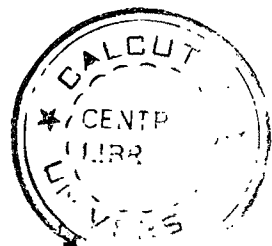
Monday came and the visit to Stockbridge with it. You drop down by the cars fifteen miles or so and find yourself on a lower level in a Chinese painted green saucer, with water, trees and verandahs, edged by blue mountains. We found at the station house Oliver Wendell Holmes whom Mr Field had reached with his lion lasso. He was on the spot himself at Stockbridge and drove us to his cottage, convenient and rambling and pitched down in the verdure—There we saw Mrs. F. and the daughter a nice young lady. The family goes to Europe in the Pacific to be at Rome in the fall. I said they must look out for Mr Wolfe & Miss Pantan—"Miss Pantan?" said the daughter. I know a Miss Pantan

⁷ Note Melville's own statement that he had never seen Hawthorne, "Hawthorne and His Mosses. By a Virginian Spending July in Vermont," *Literary World*, VII, 146 (Aug. 24, 1850). Obviously this article was written shortly before their meeting on Aug. 5.

⁸ *The American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart, p. 131, for Hawthorne's entry for Aug. 5, 1850:

"Rode with Fields & wife to Stockbridge, being thereto invited by Mr. Field of S.—in order to ascend Monument Mountain. Found at Mr. F's Dr. Holmes, Mr. Duyckinck of New-York, also Messrs Cornelius Mathews & Herman Melville. Ascended the mountain—that is to say, Mrs. Fields & Miss Jenny Field—Messrs. Field & Fields—Dr. Holmes, Messrs Duyckinck, Mathews, Melville, Mr. Henry Sedgwick, & I.—and were caught in a shower. Dined at Mr. F's. Afternoon under guidance of J. T. Headley, the party scrambled through the Ice Glen. Left Stockbridge and arrived home, about 8 P.M."

See also Joseph E. A. Smith, writing under the pseudonym of Godfrey Greylock, *Taghconic: The Romance and Beauty of the Hills* (Boston: Lee and Shepherd, 1879), p. 318: "One day it chanced that when they were out on a picnic excursion, the two were compelled by a thunder shower to take shelter in a narrow recess of the rocks of Monument Mountain. Two hours of enforced intercourse settled the matter." Brief accounts of the Stockbridge excursion are also to be found in James T. Fields, *Yesterdays with Authors* (Boston, 1872), pp. 52-53, and Henry Dwight Sedgwick, "Reminiscences of Literary Berkshire," *Century Magazine*, L, 562 (Aug., 1895).



—They call her Cassy and Julia Bryant talks about her.⁹ The pleasant Julia had been there a week & gone away among the hills. Presently James T. Fields the Boston publisher drove up with his newly married wife and Nathaniel Hawthorne. A young whiskered Harry Sedgwick came on on horseback and we fell in line in three conveyances for Monument Mountain. You will find the legend and the poem in Bryant's poems. It is a rough projection of the cliffs, scarred and blasted. We took to our feet on its sides and strode upward Hawthorne and myself in advance, talking of the Scarlet Letter. As we scrambled over the rocks at the summit which surveys a wide range of country on either side, a black thunder cloud from the south dragged its ragged edges toward us—the thunder rolling in the distance. They talked of shelter and shelter there proved to be though it looked unpromising but these difficulties, like others, vanish on trial and a few feet of rock with a damp underground of mosses and decay actually sheltered publisher Fields curled whiskers, his patent leathers and his brides delicate blue silk. Dr Holmes cut three branches for an umbrella and uncorked the champagne which was drunk from a silver mug. The rain did not do its worst and we scattered over the cliffs, Herman Melville to seat himself, the boldest of all, astride a projecting low stick of rock while Dr Holmes peeped about the cliffs and protested it affected him like ipecac. Hawthorne looked wildly about for the great carbuncle. Mathews read Bryant's poem. The exercise was glorious. We shed rain like ducks and for wet feet—I boated about in Mr Fields parlors on the return in *his* stockings and slippers—Then came the dinner—a three hour's business from turkey to ice cream, well moistened by the way. Dr Holmes said some of his best things and drew the whole company out by laying down various propositions of the superiority of the Englishmen. Melville attacked him vigorously. Hawthorne looked on and Fields his publisher smiled with internal satisfaction underneath his curled whiskers at the good tokens of a brilliant poem from Holmes in a few days at the Yale College celebration.¹⁰ Joel Tyler Headley¹¹ dropped in with his brother in law—I forget his name but he was shot at the Astor Riots.

⁹ Miss Pantton was Mrs. Duyckinck's sister and Mr. Wolfe her uncle. Julia Bryant was the daughter of William Cullen Bryant.

¹⁰ The Holmes poem referred to is *Astrea: The Balance of Illusions* (Boston: Ticknor, Read, and Fields, 1850), delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale, Aug. 14, 1850. Holmes's attack on New York in this poem was answered in the review published in the *Literary World*, VII, 273 (Oct. 5, 1850), which in turn called forth Holmes's letter of explanation to E. A. Duyckinck, Nov. 9, 1850, printed in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, IV, 356 (1900).

¹¹ Joel Tyler Headley, a frequent visitor to the Duyckinck home in New York, was the author of *Napoleon and His Marshals* (1846), *Washington and His Generals* (1847), and *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (1848).

It was a merciless thing to get us off from such a dinner in the afternoon to the Icy Glen, a break in one of the hills of tumbled huge, damp, mossy rocks in whose recesses ice is said to be found all the year round. Headley led the way and a scramble it was such as you would not have effected—nasty and sublime though the ladies get up torch light parties here—we came out on the peaceful fields of the Housatonic and skirting a meadow crossed the river to our host's again. Talk and tea and a tall Mrs Sedgewick and a cross examination which I did not stand very well on Hope Leslie and Magarnsca [?]¹²—and at 10 o'clock the railway home, a short walk under the stars and we turned in at the Melville house—a vigorous Creole lady & her husband having departed in the forenoon.

Mr Field's hospitalities & kindness were of the rarest & altogether it was a rare meeting was it not—

The best part of the scenery they say is yet to be seen—Salisbury Lakes I think they call them and the ascent of the Dome &c. We were urged to visit these at once but this I thought was a day to be left by itself and I shall need your help in discovering the rest. I wish you could see the view from my window now & breathe this fine air. It is warm but you do not *swelter*—If you were here with the children I could be content to remain till October—You must see Pittsfield—The fat woman of Davis' stoop does not compare—I am in earnest—with Saddleback and the small birds sing sweeter than the Sunday newsboys or the demented milk man. Headley is to visit us to day [*sic*]. He has been looking for Darley & Henry.¹³ As he will remain here some six weeks they can not do better than to overhaul him at Stockbridge. Tomorrow we shall drive over six or eight miles to Lebanon & look up Mrs. Long & Dambman [?] & get something out of the Shakers for you and the children. Another day for a visit to Hawthorne & Monday, at the latest, a call upon dear Margaret. Hers truly

Evert A Duyckinck¹⁴

¹² F. O. C. Darley, the artist, and Henry Panton, Mrs. Duyckinck's brother.

¹³ Duyckinck's letter to his brother George at the seashore gives a briefer account of the Stockbridge party, but is chiefly important for its reference to *Moby-Dick* as already nearing completion:

"Pittsfield

Wednesday Aug 7 1850

"My dear George,

"This is a glorious region & had I anticipated its resources I should have insisted on your presence—We have had fine weather & feasted on the land—literally the great event being an excursion to Stockbridge last Monday on an invitation from Dudley D Field who met us going up in the cars & who *a la Cummings*, slaughtered for us not only turkeys and beees but got up a battle of lions on Monument Mountain. He had *Dr Holmes* whose grounds adjoin this Melville land and *Hawthorne* from Lenox and *J T Fields* from Boston and Headley (in the afternoon) & our full party. We came out strong—as you may

Duyckinck's fourth letter is chiefly an account of the visit to the fashionable colony at Columbian Hall and to the Shaker colony at Lebanon:

Pittsfield Mass

Thursday Aug 8. 1850

My dear wife,

I write this in bed between five and six A M—so you see that I think of you the first of all things in the day and another thing how much wider awake I am in the country than the city. I have always told you so. In the city I am a martyr to the depraving influence of baked bricks but here I could rise with the lark if there was one. It is a glorious place for inspiration when you get ready to turn out with me; exhilarating mountain air, new drives over excellent roads in all directions, the finest views of wood, lake, the Taconic range—not so much sublimity perhaps as the Alps but a wonderful variety of beauty. Fanny Kemble knew what she was about when she cottaged and horsed herself in this region. The mountain beauty of the drive over the Taconic to Lebanon is a thing to *enjoy*. You may pass through a cloud on the summit and fancy yourself in the Ossianic Scotch Highlands and then you are out upon the sunshine of the broken valleys. You go somewhere by one road and come back by another. Thus we went to Lebanon. Herman Melville drove a pair of horses and in a light carriage behind them were besides, his wife, Mathews & self. Allan who came up the night before was with his wife in a one horse wagon. We passed through a shower but showers in Berkshire only improve the prospect & before the rain was over we descended upon the huge rambling hotel at the springs. Half Broadway was promenading there after dinner. Mrs Long & Mrs Dambman [?] came out of some pigeon holes on the third floor. Mrs L had a good deal to say about Edward and Mrs D told me as proof of the healthiness of the spot that she had gained four or five pounds *and she looks it!* The meeting with Mrs. Allan was quite impressive—By the way Mr Headley says he would give a thousand dollars if that boy he expects in a few days were safely here. The mountains are in labor.

There were 250 fashionables at the house & Mr Langdon's 14 trunks,

imagine. We had a thunder shower on the mountain & a visit to the Icy Glen &c &c—a brilliant day.

"Headley came over to see us yesterday. To day we go to Lebanon & tomorrow will visit Hawthorne & dine with Headley at Stockbridge. . . .

"Allan Melville came up last night & says the heat of the city is still oppressive. Here every breath is a luxury and every look a fresh discovery. We are in a fine old country mansion on the best site I have seen in the region. Melville has a new book mostly done—a romantic, fanciful & literal & most enjoyable presentment of the Whale Fishery—something quite new. . . ."

20 carpet bags &c had just left for Newport—There is a new part of the house where ten dollars a week are paid—It is a curious old chest of drawers, spring, baths & all which Mr. Dambman [?] took us over in a very matter of fact way.

The rain was over & we dropped along in a new direction to the Shaker villages. Sarah Ann showed us the baskets and I bought the best for you and some for the others & Allan M gave me three snug little boxes for the children. An old Shakeress with a dry Yankee twist in her voice took us to the bedrooms &c and explained to us a curious camel's hump raised in the middle of the bed, lengthwise, a kind of imitation Berkshire mountain range where two sisters slept together—that they should not roll on one another. We felt of this hump but were told it was only the bed clothes. Old Shakeresses speak plain Saxon. Herman M saw a long handled brush at a bed head & asked its object "Why I guess it's for him to scratch himself with when he itches—" This was at Lebanon. We passed on among the 7000 Shaker acres by the immaculate yellow houses, glazed like a pail, the red barns and the brickly natives, by well cultivated fields to the Hancock village where we saw the huge barn & where Mrs Morewood driving a pair of horses with three ladies had come on to meet us—There's a woman with a snapper. She is to be the owner of this house next year & I must tell you more about her—Headley came on the other day & took dinner with us—I wish Kate could see *this* ice cream & tipsy cake—& invited us to banquet with him at Stockbridge today. An extraordinary splendid day it is & we are off at eight, calling on Hawthorne at Lenox &c &c This is my *fourth* letter to you.

Yours my dear wife

Evert A Duyckinck

Hawthorne was an old friend of Duyckinck, who had begun the acquaintance by calling on the author of *Twice-Told Tales* in Salem in 1838, bearing a letter of introduction from Longfellow.¹⁴ He and Duyckinck had seldom met, but had exchanged several letters—many of them evincing real friendliness and going far beyond the necessity of communication incident to the publication of some of Hawthorne's books in Wiley and Putnam's Library of Choice Reading, which was under Duyckinck's direction.¹⁵ Anxious that his

¹⁴ E. A. Duyckinck's Notebook; entry for "Boston June 1838," preserved in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library.

¹⁵ The first of these was Hawthorne's edition of Bridge's *Journal of an African Cruiser* (1845). Hawthorne's letters to Duyckinck are preserved in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library.

two friends, now living only a few miles apart, should know each other well, Duyckinck made arrangements on the Monument Mountain excursion to call with Melville at Hawthorne's home in Lenox a few days later. In his fifth letter to his wife, Duyckinck gave his impressions of Lenox and the Hawthorne household:

The Melville House, Pittsfield
August 9. 1850

My dear wife,

I have half a dozen resolutions today to be at home by the first cars and if I should consult my own inclinations I should but there are several circumstances which determine Monday as the natural terminus of this extraordinary expedition; and if I were to put you *en rapport* with them by telegraph I am sure you would tell me to stay. So I must e'en be content to be away from you till Monday when you may look for me between 3 & 4 o'clock P.M. I heartily want to be with you. Yesterday after writing to you I turned out for the day's trip to Stockbridge &c. You cannot imagine anything finer in the way of *enjoyment* of mountain scenery than the turnings and windings among these hills. You may take any point of the compass, any variety of sky and find the greater beauties everywhere around you—what Trenton is to the waters Berkshire is to fields, lake and hill side. With a cool rustling breeze in the trees and a good pair of horses before us we wound about and around to Lenox—Here we saw Fanny Kemble's hired cottage and elsewhere on Hawthorne's lake the knoll she has selected to build on. Lenox, by the way, has one odd association. The stone jail is pieced on to the hotel; good security to the land lord for his tavern bills—Hawthorne we found on one of the most purely beautiful spots in the region. His home is a small red farm house but his wife, who resembles Margaret Fuller in appearance though more robust than she was, has fitted it up with great taste—particularly a little room or passage or closet or oratory which looks out upon the *view*—a fresh rippling lake at the foot of descending meadows, encircled by the mountains in the distance—Fine art prints savoring of Italy hung on low walls and a fine engraving of the Transfiguration presented by Emerson.¹⁸ Hawthorne is a fine ghost in a case of iron—a man of genius and he looks it and lives it—he gave us some Heidsieck which a literary friend had presented to him, popping the corks in his nervous way. Then his children. They are miracles of bone & muscle. The boy, perhaps four years old, over-

¹⁸ Compare with this account Mrs. Hawthorne's description of the house at Lenox in her letter to her mother, June 23, 1850, printed in Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, pp. 368-371.

flowing with life—his ringlets and quick electric ways convinced me that his father had drawn *his* portrait in the picture of the little girl in that fanciful romance *The Scarlet Letter*. We rambled to the lake to the last moment and dropped down upon Headley at the hotel at Stockbridge who saluted us with a volley of bottles at the dinner table. It all went off in excellent style. The newsboy brought us the morning papers on the piazza & the best thing we found in them was that you were enjoying pleasant weather in the city. Headley has a letter from Darley & looks for him & Henry next week. They will find themselves in clover. A call upon Mr Field and back again by new routes over the hills, coming with an ever new surprize upon the plain of Pittsfield—I was surprized yesterday to get a note from Butler at Great Barrington some 15 or 20 miles off.¹⁷ Today we have rain but the roads are so good that will hardly keep us within doors. It has broken up a pic-nic for which all the preparations had been made by the inexhaustible Mrs Morewood who understands the art of making a toil of pleasure; but that *may* come off to morrow, somewhere on the Gulf Road. On Sunday I meditate a walk or drive to the Shakers who are then at their spasms and on Monday I shall crown all in your arms—I send George a letter as he *should have one too*. Tell Henry he must help me in unpacking the *trunk*.

Yours my dear Margaret

Evert A Duyckinck¹⁸

Upon his return to New York, Cornelius Mathews wrote a series of articles about his visit to the Berkshires for the *Literary World*¹⁹

¹⁷ William Allen Butler's letter to George L. Duyckinck, Aug. 20, 1850, suggests that the purpose of the note referred to was to inform his friends in Pittsfield that he expected to be there a few hours between trains: "I got to Pittsfield on a Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock intending to go leisurely down to the other depot to take the next train to Springfield. No sooner had the last echoes of the Engine whistle died away announcing our arrival than my wife is whisked out of the cars by a strange man with luxuriant beard [Melville, who was not acquainted with Butler's bride], and whirled away in a buggy behind a black pony of very questionable build, gait and behavior, E. A. D. and myself giving chase in a most serpentine and erratic manner in an old wagon and gray steed apparently coeval with the famous Pittsfield Elm which still shakes its gaunt skeleton branches against the sunlight. The object in view was to capture us for a masquerade which was on the carpet for the evening and to which your Melvilles, Mathewses, and Duyckincks would fain have given a tinge of respectability. But we are not to be caught in this Berber fashion, and so shaking the Berkshire dust from our feet we went on to Warturiers where waffles and muffins awaited us."

¹⁸ See *The American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart, p. 131, for Hawthorne's brief entry of the visit of Melville and Hawthorne: "Messrs Duyckinck, Mathews, Melville, Melville Jr. called in the forenoon. Gave them a couple of bottles of Mr Mansfield's champagne, and walked down to the lake with them."

¹⁹ "Several Days in Berkshire," *Literary World*, VII, 145, 166, 185-186 (Aug. 24 and 31, Sept. 7, 1850). The second article gives an account of the mountain excursion and dinner in Stockbridge, using pseudonyms (New Neptune, Town Wit, Noble Melancholy, Silver

and sent as a personal gift to Mrs. Melville an autograph copy of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poem, "The Cry of the Human."²⁰ To Herman Melville, Duyckinck sent a basket containing twelve bottles of champagne, for which Melville thanked him in his letter of August 16, 1850;²¹ and to Hawthorne, he forwarded copies of all of Melville's books, which Mrs. Hawthorne especially acknowledged, saying that they were both much interested and that her husband had "read them all on the new hay in the barn—which is a delightful place for the perusal of worthy books."²²

Pen) for Melville, Holmes, Hawthorne, Duyckinck, and others. The third article describes the fancy dress ball Mrs. Morewood gave. Duyckinck's letter to his brother George, Aug. 15, 1850, establishes Mathews's authorship: "Mathews has commenced a capital account of the pilgrimage the first instalment of which will be in next week's *Lit World*."

William Allen Butler, in his letter to George L. Duyckinck, Aug. 24, 1850, wrote about Mathews's article and narrated his own experience in retailing literary gossip: "I have drawn upon our Exeter experience in a paragraph or two in a paper about Jenny Lind, which I wrote partly for the purpose of shoving into a No 2 article, Mathews somewhat Puffery Hopkiny yava about Berkshire. I wrote a letter to the *National Intelligencer* [Washington, D. C.] in which I worked a little Berkshire experience & spoke of Melville, Mathews, Headley & Hawthorne & in my next note from Gales & Seaton they asked me to permit them to suggest in friendliness that the great mass of their readers could not feel much interest in the private pursuits habits & whereabouts of writers in the North of whom they have scarcely heard. Cool, wasn't it?"

Butler wrote a regular column for the *National Intelligencer*, "Notices of New Books, Literature, and the Fine Arts in New York," which he usually signed "Jacques du Monde."

²⁰ His note, dated Aug. 15, 1850, which accompanied the gift, is preserved among the Melville letters and manuscripts given to the Harvard College Library by Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf.

Cornelius Mathews was probably the earliest enthusiast for Miss Barrett's poems in America. See *Literary World*, VII, 210 (Sept. 14, 1850), for an account of the publications of Miss Barrett's poems in *Arcturus* in 1841, and of the arrangements for the first American edition of her works. See also Mathews's letter to E. A. Duyckinck, Jan. 1, 1846, which accompanied his gift to Duyckinck of a copy of Miss Barrett's poems with her manuscript notes and preface, which had been used by Mathews in making the first American edition.

²¹ This letter is partially printed in Meade Minnigerode, *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography* (New York, 1922), pp. 66-68.

²² Mrs. Hawthorne's letter to E. A. Duyckinck, Aug. 29, 1850, besides thanking him for the Melville books and the illustrations of Irving's work by F. O. C. Darley, expressed her interest in Melville's anonymous article about Hawthorne in the *Literary World*: "But my dear Mr Duyckinck, I can not speak or think of anything now but the extraordinary review of Mr Hawthorne in the *Literary World*. The Virginian is the first who has ever in *print* apprehended Mr Hawthorne. I keep constantly reading over & over the inspired utterances, & marvel more & more that the word has at last been said which I have so long hoped to hear & so well said. There is such a generous, noble enthusiasm as I have not before found in any critic of any writer. While bringing out the glory of his subject (excuse me, but I am speaking as an indifferent person) he surrounds himself with a glory. The freshness of primeval nature is in that man, & the true Promethean fire is in him. Who can he be, so fearless, so rich in heart, of such fine intuition? Is his name altogether hidden?"

Within three weeks after he met Melville, Hawthorne found time to read or reread all of Melville's books then published and to write a letter of discerning comment to Duyckinck.²³ The friendship between the two authors must have been further strengthened when the authorship of Melville's praise of Hawthorne's *Mosses*, published in the *Literary World*, became known. Probably numerous visits were exchanged by the two men during the winter months; March, 1851, found Hawthorne writing a letter to Duyckinck during a prolonged stay at Arrowhead, singing Melville's praises as a host. A later letter informed Duyckinck that he was contemplating a visit to New York with Melville.²⁴ Duyckinck undoubtedly took satisfaction in having had something to do with bringing these literary friends together.

During the winter and spring after the removal to Pittsfield Melville had written several letters to his New York friend,²⁵ and when in New York, had probably called at the home or office of the editor of the *Literary World*. When the Duyckinck brothers assumed control of *Holden's Dollar Magazine* in the spring of 1851, Melville was asked to contribute, but declined, perhaps because he was too busy with the final revisions of *Moby-Dick*.²⁶ After the work on the new book was finished, Melville sent an urgent invitation to Evert and George Duyckinck to visit him in Pittsfield.²⁷

²³ See Hawthorne's letter to Duyckinck, dated Aug. 29, 1850: "I have read Melville's works with a progressive appreciation of the author. No writer ever put the reality before his reader more unflinchingly than he does in 'Redburn' and 'White Jacket.' 'Mardi' is a rich book with depths here and there that compel a man to swim for his life. It is so good that one scarcely pardons the writer for not having brooded long over it, so as to make it a great deal better." This part of the letter is quoted in Randall Stewart's edition of *The American Notebooks*, p. 307.

²⁴ See Hawthorne's letters to Duyckinck, March 14, 1851, and April 27, 1851. In the first letter Hawthorne says, "I write you from the house of our friend Herman Melville. . . . May we not hope for the pleasure of seeing you again in Berkshire, next summer? If you were to see how snug and comfortable Melville makes himself and friends, I think you would not fail." A portion of the second letter is printed by Randall Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-332.

²⁵ Four letters at least were written during this period. Passages from letters dated Oct. 1 and Dec. 12, 1850, and Feb. 14 and March 27, 1851, are printed by Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; 68-73.

²⁶ See the letter of Feb. 14, 1851.

²⁷ E. A. Duyckinck has supplied the year date, 1851, for the following hitherto unpublished (?) letter:

"Pittsfield July 28th

"Dear Duyckinck

"I do not know what plans you & your brother may have made concerning the rest of the

The two Duyckincks arrived at Arrowhead on the day appointed by Melville, August 6, 1851, and remained as his guests until Friday, August 15. Evert Duyckinck's first letter to his wife describes the trip to Pittsfield and gives some account of Arrowhead:

Pittsfield Thursday, Aug 7 1851

My dear wife,

The cars brought me through yesterday without any of those dangerous mishaps which Evert has so violently represented in his illustrated paper. Allan Melville deposited with us in the cars a fat cork and a couple of demijohns & we went on our way shot through a whirl of dust to Bridgeport, where the troop of business folk go on to New Haven and the pleasure folk turn up to the pleasant valley of the Housatonic. On the platform at Stockbridge Mr G P R James was distinctly visible, and a party which it was easy to make out without the aid of his brilliant powers of description to be Mrs J, tall English and motherish, a youth of a picnic look with a faded wreath of leaves on his Panama, J Jr—and a Miss James (evidently) very plump, short, a black eyed thing. Mr James has a heavy gray moustache which does not look at all fierce—the American sun has improved his countenance but he is still baggy and English in figure. At Pittsfield Herman Melville was to meet us & we were taken over in his waggon homeward—with some inward misgivings on my part as to the probable effects of a second visit to Berkshire. But it stood the glare of an after-noon sun, fire proof. At the daughter-full house we had a most kind reception. It is an exceedingly pleasant spot, my window here now looking out over a miraculous range of meadow and mountain and the house, different from, but quite such an affair as Miss Campbells—an old improved farm house with just such quiet order and management. George & myself have a choice room together and (with many apologies from Mrs M) one bedstead, which you may call a field bedstead, if size has anything to do with calling them so. It is much the way we should have affairs in the country if we all turned out together—simple and excellent with country nature and city

summer—but if it will not interfere with your other arrangements,—then our entire household will be sincerely glad to see you two here any time after next Tuesday (week from tomorrow) and the sooner after that time the better—say Wednesday. Come, and give yourself a week's holiday on the haymow. 'In fact,' come.

"If you will advise me of the day of your starting, I shall have our waggon at the Depot in time for you—as we are three miles from there. Mention whether you take the morning or afternoon train. I recommend, by all means, the *morning* train.

"By no means let George stay behind. If he does I shall write to Chief of Police Matsell, to send him on.

"Thine

H Melville."

taste. You must have a peep at this region to believe the lightness and purity of the air, the fragrant coolness and the blue and purple distances in which it is set. The grounds would satisfy an English nobleman—for the noble maples and elms and various wooded seclusions and outlooks and all for the price of a bricked city enclosure of 25 x 100! If I could put Henry's watercolors on paper I could send you some marvelous blues and greens. By the way tell Henry that Harpers are to publish Melville's whale book. I have said a great deal for Redfield but it appears to have been concluded.

This is after breakfast—The order of the day is a drive & call upon Mrs Morewood. What next depends upon her kind and inventive genius which will probably not leave me without material for another early letter to you.

Every one is well here—where health seems to be the rule and there are no thermometers or mosquitoes.

Kiss the children for me & tell them I shall look out for something to put in the trunk for them—

You *must* come with me to this part of the world. We could manage it well by railway & carriage.

Yours Evert

Mrs. Morewood, as Duyckinck had guessed, was not caught unprepared; his next letter recounted how carrying out her plans had filled up the day:

Pittsfield Friday Aug 8, 1851

My dear Margaret,

We found Mrs Morewood characteristically packed up for a pic nic on the mountains—Mrs Britten her sister in a rakish worsted jersey and for special recruits a young English lady Mrs Pollack and a Cincinnati young lady, Miss Henderson. Of course we must join. The saddle horse was added to the stock equipment of the day, and it ended in Mrs M and party dropping in for us at dinner time when with the addition of Melville's waggon the train was dispatched. The morning had been warm and the afternoon was showery, clouds and shadows being the moving scenery to the permanent staging of the hills. We went on our way rejoicing till a dragging cloud bore down upon us when we turned to the shelter of a barn. Mr M spied out the loft and we boarded the rafters, dislodging the hens and were nestled here and there in the warm hay, the rain pattering its musical accompaniment on the roof. Mrs M had a poet in the company and his poem too a stout MS in heroic measure, a glorification of the United States in particular with a polite slanging

of all other nations in general. The English lady in the straw was not particularly complimented as to her native country in sounding lines which H M read with emphasis (interrupting the flattered author who sat thoughtful on a hay tuft—with such phrases as “great” “glorious” “by Jove that’s tremendous” &c)—but perhaps the most noticeable incident was a gathering of exiled fowls in a corner who cackled a series of noisy resolutions levelled at the party. “Turn em out!” was the cry. The author impelled by the honor of his poem charged fearlessly, scattered the cuties of the pit, clashing the most obstinate bodily and “rushing” her a rapid descent below. This was the ludicrous side. On the other, the Poet was a thoughtful sensible man and was our pilot to the Ashley Pond or Washington Lake which we reached at last after an endless ascent by the side of steep gorges, on the summit of the Hoosac, looking back to the distant sublimities of cloud & mountain of the Taghconic. Today Lenox & Nathaniel Hawthorne. I am keeping H M waiting at the Pittsfield Hotel so adieu Yours Evert A Duyckinck

This visit to Lenox was rounded out by a trip to the Shaker settlement at Hancock, Hawthorne and his son Julian going along with Melville and the two Duyckincks.²⁸

Pittsfield Saturday Aug 9. 1851

My dear wife,

Well, yesterday took us to Mr Hawthornes over the old road to Lenox, passing by the Melville House of last year and the other edge of Melvilles fine grounds of the present and the rock upon which he used to linger overlooking the fair plateau on which Pittsfield rears its homes and steeples. It was a fine mountain drive to be surrounded during the day, by an unending series of blue mountain distances and fine woodland paths—for many of those shaded fenceless roads would be fine avenues on a gentlemen estate. The church at Lenox is at a distance from the village overlooking it from a hill top. Its tower faces the people with a huge dial—the clock a gift from Fanny Kemble. Hawthorne we found, and as it was the intention of the day to picnic in any rural spot which might attract us he joined us with Julian, the girl of the Scarlet Letter though a boy and over the hills and far away. The grove, of all others came in view where bottles were uncorked and in fine Spanish al fresco style we passed the noontide hours under still maples and beaches—with good talk. Away then westward. “What road is that” “To the Shak-

²⁸ See Hawthorne's account, first published in *Twenty Days with Julian and Little Bunny: A Diary by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York: Privately printed by the De Vinne Press, 1904), pp. 50-55, and included in Randall Stewart's edition of *The American Notebooks*, pp. 229-231.

ers" said an intelligent girl from a fine old house at the crossing. "We will go there." Mr Hawthorne had never been. We met them mowing their carefully groomed fields and at the Hancock settlement met again old Father Hilliard and trod the neat quiet avenues whose stillness might be felt. Here is the great circular barn where the winter cattle feed with their heads all to a huge hay mow in the centre. I made such purchases for the children as were to be made, with your after breakfast table commission & this, with a few words on the score of last year's acquaintance induced venerable Father Hilliard to open to us the big house. Its oiled and polished pine floors were elegant in spite of Shakerdom. The glazed finish of the white walls were as pure as yesterday's work, though they have been there these twenty years. Among these marks of neatness was a small funnel and pipe to carry off the smoke of each lamp to the chimney. A tall old clock stood in the hall but some gay flowers on its face had been covered with white paint. You see no flowers in the sisters' rooms but a volume of unreadable theology (of its kind) with a pair of crossed spectacles by its side on a small table. Homeward then by a round about way coming upon the mountain view of Richmond looking through intervals of the distant summits to the blue range of the Catskills. Supper at Hawthornes, Mrs H unfortunately away and at ten a start for Pittsfield by the full moonlight—which, by the way, is greatly absorbed by the dark fields, but sets grand old trees in bold relief,—reading the time readily by the huge Lenox clock face—a whistle from the night train of cars and a loud laugh from Mrs Morewoods merry troop at the threshold—Allan's word from you and the children and to bed at 12.

An invitation all around from Mrs Morewood for a general gathering at the old mansion tonight—as an anticipation of which I send you the report of the *last* from a Boston paper written by the Smith known as "the mad poet" & all about Mrs M's family—Mrs B of Louisville is Mrs Barter—Miss H is Miss Hetty Huyler engaged to said Smith—Mrs B is Mrs Britten, sister—Mrs V W—Van Winkle another sister—Mr T is Capt Taylor of last years fancy ball—Mr M is Mr C M [Cornelius Mathews] &c &c²⁹ and here good by for today

Yours unforgettingly

Evert A Duyckinck

Duyckinck's next letter from Arrowhead was written two days later:

²⁹ The clipping enclosed is an article headed "A Petit Fancy Dress Party in Berkshire" and signed "Miantonamah," from the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Aug. 7, 1851.

My dear wife,

Monday morning Aug 11. 1851

Saturday we had some grand showers the ragged black masses of which are here set in frames by the mountains—the distant and central Saddleback upon which my windows now look out is an uninterrupted view of twenty five miles interval being a resting point for the eye from which to measure celestial appearances.

The showers over came Mrs Morewood's Musical party, Miss Newton the heiress of the village, Miss Dillingham, a Miss Taylor and Mrs Pollock (whose names I give that you may ask me something more about them when I get home) contributing the chief performances on the piano which even I enjoyed. Perhaps being well fatigued I was in a fitting languid state to receive the proper impressions. There were not a great many guests but the halls were well lighted and the appointments all in excellent taste. It was after twelve before we separated H M driving me home through his wood, the moon riding supreme over the opening meadow.

Then yesterday found us at the religious (?) services of the Shakers at Lebanon—a ghastly scene. A glass eyed preacher was holding forth like an escaped maniac. His sermon was a clumsy impudent, disgusting affair, sufficiently so at times to have driven the ladies from the house. He said that while the other guests invited to the supper in the New Testament begged to be excused the married man said simply he could not come—proving as he argued that married life had no part in such things. "There was no question about it—the man couldnt come." He talked about the whore of Babylon and said her daughters were the protestant sects &c and called that scarlet lady "a peculiar character." But the vulgarity and grossness of the fellow are not to be repeated. The audience was very full of the city fashionables from Columbian Hall and it is said they have had some pretty strong doses lately from these Shaker expounders—The dance was long and protracted striking up afresh with new tunes, to the old saw filing, and some of them were profusely jolly. The handshaking accompaniment is ludicrous enough having the appearance of weighing some imaginary groceries in each hand.

We are under marching orders today for the grand excursion of the week to Saddleback, Williamstown &c, by railway &c. The mountain is 3600 ft high. We leave at 11 with the Morewood troupe and shall go, for a day or two picnicing about in strolling fashion. The weather is of crystal purity & all promises well; but though all this is worth packing away in one's memory, as a possession for life, I count the hours till my return to you and the children.

Yesterdays norwester must have given you a pleasant city day

Yours ever,

Evert A Duyckinck.

The account of the trip to Greylock, or Saddleback as Duyckinck and Melville usually called the mountain, required two letters, one written in the morning and one in the afternoon of the day after the return to Arrowhead.

Pittsfield Wednesday Aug 13. 1851

My dear wife,

The ascent of Saddleback the highest mountain in Massachusetts came off grandly with a party of eleven Allan Melville & his wife, Herman Melville & his sister Augusta, MRS MOREWOOD, her sisters Mrs Pollack and Miss Henderson & an adjacent clergyman Mr Entler [?]-with the best Pic-nic-ian appliances—a night encampment in an old box called an observatory on the summit & of course sleepless. But people dont go there to sleep; so a huge bonfire was lighted, wrapped in buffaloes we stalked around in the cloud Ossianic ghosts. The sun rise was a failure; not so the sweeping clouds below us rolling in smoking masses, through their looped raggedness disclosing the lower world. The full moon rose as it never rose before & when it reached our level appeared in broken spots of fire or girt with a ring of cloud, Saturn and his belt or fretted with broken mountain ranges, all of cloud on its full orb surface—It was a great adventure, full of sublimity, fun, frolic and humor, human and divine. From the point of incident & narration it was an adventure of months and not of a day—I have just a few minutes to write now, but by the next mail may send you something more about it. This is is [*sic*] the quiet week day on Melville's grounds which are ample enough for a huge variety. To morrow to Beekman & the Hudson & then on Friday or Saturday as it may happen to you & home

Yours my dear wife Evert A Duyckinck

The second letter supplies the fuller information Duyckinck had promised his wife in the brief note of Wednesday morning.

Wednesday afternoon Aug 13. 1851

My dear wife,

I believe I am in possession of a quiet half hour to drop you a hint or two of what you may anticipate when you ascend Saddleback.

1st Preparation. There is to be an indefinite supply of roasted cold chicken, say for a party of ten 3 or 4 pair of Berkshires; item the leg of a Berkshire pig sliced into sandwiches; item tongue, head illimitable. Any odd jars of brandy fruit. A dozen of champagne may be disposed of which evaporates so speedily on the top of a mountain that they should be supported by a liberal allowance of Port, Cognac and Jamaica. With this and a party of very good natured people—a pack of cards so you can get through the night.

2nd The Journey from Pittsfield. By railway to North Adams—but go on to Williamstown (let Evert look them up on the map for you) for there is a crippled land lord and a stage contractor at the first place who will swindle you. By the way to these Adams towns (North & South) you pass through Cheshire which made the great cheese for Jefferson a trifle of some 1,500 weight; on the platform now you see barrels of fine white sand from certain fields here from which the finest glass is made. It is thrice wirescreened like the finest sifted snow. If you care anything about Gov Briggs you may see the country school house in which he was taught on the mountains. It is a valley descent, a stream of water along the track running northerly to the Hoosic which ends its journey in the Hudson above Troy.

3. The ascent—We did this with four horses in a four seated waggon from the northerly side of the Mt passing above the Hoosic valley whose level floor is watered by a fair stream and shaded by lofty steep mountains but the Yankees have done their best to spoil it with cotton factories and have scraped the hills to lay bare the nakedness of New England sandhills, piling up therewith a hideous embankment for a railway straight through the centre. They will tunnel four miles through an adjacent mountain to get to Troy but that has a touch of sublimity. Ascending you get to a passage, with Saddleback or Saddleball or Greylock as they call him for its southerly side which they cant easily deface. It is the "Bellows Pipe" or "Notch" pass to South Adams, the Eastern summit of which, a cleared ridge of mountain, turns very beautifully to the eye. Here you are in the midst of closely fitting mountains—a grand neighborhood. A part of these descending form the "Hopper" a deep valley with clean descending mountain sides in the shape of that household implement—Then you have the ascent proper taking to horseback or foot—*three* miles of the toughest bog and stumbling which could be got up by the forces of mountain torrents, the rotting of mists, snow and ever falling vegetation. The last mile of that is tough. I footed it ahead with Mrs A Melville and Mrs Pollack on horseback, fortunately carrying for my share of the luggage a long basket with two bottles one of Rum (delectable thing on such a journey) the other Port which could be, and was, uncorked. We got so far ahead in this bog which takes a provoking downward course that I thought we might be lost & we actually were retracing our steps from a deeper pit than usual crossed by a shaggy trunk about five feet from the ground, over which, as we afterwards learnt a lady had been thrown from her horse and seriously injured—when one of the party came up & on we went. I was a blown horse when we

reached the summit, gasping with open mouth and dripping at every pore. A half tumbler of Port was the thing then. Hurrah for

4. The Observatory. This is a structure some seventy feet high without which you would see nothing of the view, a jungle of trees skirting the edges of the ball. It was put up some twenty years since by the neighboring Williams College for observations on the winds &c but the Yankees broke the instruments and have well nigh plucked the building of its boards and stairways so that it's now a wind and rain penetrated and in important parts, a trembling affair. Ascending its crazy boards you see a near picture of sublime mountain desolation, and your distant acquaintances of Berkshire, the "Dome" of the Taconic, Monument Mt, the Pontoosac Lake &c &c with Vermont at your back, New York and the Catskills on the right, the Green Mountains chain on the left blue and thinly veiled in the afternoon heat.

5. To dinner—spread on boards in the damp saturated sleeping story of the observatory. How that Heidsieck is emptied into the silver gilt mug and the throats of the company! How those multitudinous layers of ham disappear and well they may—for when you go up into the heavens 3600 ft you must strengthen the stomach.

6. The Fire. It is dark. Melville's axe is ringing against the fallen trees lying about and with a fireplace among the roots of a huge decaying stump a pyramid is created fanned by the wind. Think of the signal fires of Scott, of gypsy encampments, of martyrs at the stake. The ladies are lying around in buffalo robes borrowed from the sleighing parties of last winter, and thus with Mrs Morewood's ringing laugh till midnight.

7. The Moon, full and red, up and rising up to us. The clouds play all sorts of tricks with its surface.

8. Sleep. "Sleep no more, Morewood has murdered sleep." We all stretched in a row on quilts and buffalo robes, carried up by a sumpter nag, while Mrs M surveys and describes the company satirically enough, not forgetting my position along side of the English lady. You drink strong liquor and make strong jokes up in the clouds. Then she feeds us with brandy cherries—while Miss Augusta sits bolt upright in a corner all night to report in the morning the number of rats which have passed over the coverlets! You must not be too nice in the clouds. Allan Melville had the effrontery to go to sleep and snore defiance to the sleepless—of whom I was one looking all night at the moonlight through the broken roof, glad at its gradual entry into the dawn. A champagne bottle had contained a sperm candle (alas we had not the dozen) but it was extinguished out of respect to the moon. 9—Sunrise. At four we were aloft—a dull cloudy day—no fiery edged mountains of the sun's lightning

flash—Later in the morning the sun did break through the mists and showed us below mountains and clouds which rolled away from each other with the sublimity with which mountains are invested in the N. Testament. It was worth while to see that.

10. Breakfast. The cloth is spread out of doors and shows stains of the fast devoured supper—Herman Melville and the clergyman are tossing a pair of fowls (hurriedly snatched from the land lord's larder at North Adams) amidst the smoke & heated stone of a fire which wont make coals. They taste well however and the water (which cost us \$2 for the pail to the guides) is relieved of its taste of mountain ferns by the rinsings of the cherry jar. There would be a poor prospect for dinner.

11. The Descent. I go ahead, Mrs Morewood and George straggling along to gather mosses and wild flowers and pick the strawberries (which they only can find) and yellow raspberries by the way—the rest of the party waiting for the clews to ascend to them. I enjoyed that walk of solitary mountain, descending to the Hopper—with the cover of pines on the opposite mountain side and the strong birches around. What sap in their spikes. How fragrant these fields of raspberries up here and how exquisite this slender stem of strawberries brought in by Mrs Morewood, each berry firm and polished with a curious varnish of the mountain mist.

11. The Arrest. A piece of sharp practice at North Adams. We had directed the vehicle contractor to take us directly to the Railway Station. It suited his plans better to carry us, at the dinner hour, to the hotel only a few yards off, but we had bags to shift. He would not carry the ladies farther & proceeded to unload. He had been well treated, drinking the liquor of the company, had taken his own time and was to have his own price. Could anything be more absurd. It was concluded to let him follow us who marched off with the luggage, to the Railway for his pay. The next thing we hear is at the car office. A couple of gentlemen (?) of no business apparently in particular drop down and tell me (who did not know whether he had been paid or not) that it was best to settle, the *Sheriff* was coming, and says he, there he is & lo and behold the driver bearing down with a couple of attendants. The sheriff presently produces a writ, doubtless impersonal & tells Mr Melville he is arrested and must go with him. Go where—why to the Hotel and settle. You have no business to take me to the Hotel—I have no demand. Where is your bill—So much & my fees. Your arrest is worth nothing—make your demand. A bill was made out & paid. But you have no idea of the downright English they got from us or of the lots of vagabonds who hung on at the proceedings—Allan M put into them pretty much as Henry would have done—Could anything be more ridiculous.

What do you think? After our hot and wearied return from all this Mrs Morewood proposed a fishing party in the afternoon! Though she expected her husband at night with a party of fresh visitors to supper at 12!!

Her maelstrom of Hospitality is inevitable. To day she has called & George is off with a party now—it is *warm* to day—(What says your thermometer?) for Pontoosuc and boating. I am here writing to you but we are to have, in the evening, a *quiet* card party at her house which means champagne & dancing till I hope not daylight as we leave here at 5 in the morning to ride 10 miles to the cars at West Stockbridge for the Hudson.

The weather must be warm in New York for we found it warm amongst the clouds on Saddleback—If I am not home Friday evening you will I hope get this Friday morning—Good afternoon

Yours truly
Evert A Duyckinck⁸⁰

Letters of Mrs. Morewood supplement those of Duyckinck in drawing a picture of Melville as jolly and sociable during the first year or more of his life at Pittsfield.⁸¹ Some change, however, must have been working in Melville even while he was making excursions with Duyckinck to Saddleback or the Shaker settlement and attending picnics and fancy dress parties sponsored by Mrs. Morewood. Melville suggested his awareness of this change when he wrote to Hawthorne in the summer of 1851:

Until I was twenty-five I had no development at all. From my twenty-fifth year I date my life. Three weeks have scarcely passed, at any time between then and now, that I have not unfolded within myself. But I feel that I am now come to the inmost leaf of the bulb, and that shortly the flower must fall to the mould.⁸²

⁸⁰ Duyckinck wrote for his journal three articles about his second visit to Pittsfield; see the *Literary World*, IX, 161-162, 201-202, 241-242 (Aug. 30 and Sept. 13 and 27, 1851). The first article dealt with the ascent of Saddleback; the second with the Shakers; the third bore the general title of "Glimpses of Berkshire Scenery."

⁸¹ Sarah A. Morewood wrote George L. Duyckinck, Oct. 8, 1851, of an excursion to Lake Pontoosuc and the woods in which Melville and three of his sisters joined. Mrs. Morewood's letter of Nov. 21, 1851, also to George L. Duyckinck, tells of an informal evening at home: "We have at last a name for our domicile one which will surprise you—yet considering how it was obtained turned out rather fortunately. A party of friends were spending an evening with us—Mr Melville and three of his sisters among the number—we agreed by way of amusement to write names for our cows and house—and to decide them by drawing lots—I drew for the house Broadhall—for the three cows—Molly Polly & Dolly. Miss Kate Melville had the naming of the house—Herman Melville the cows—"

⁸² Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, pp. 405-406.

Even Mrs. Morewood, as her letter to George Duyckinck about the Christmas celebration of 1851 clearly showed, soon recognized this change:

Mr Melvilles family Dr Root wife & a little daughter named Love—Miss Dillingham and a young lady friend Miss Taylor Mr Taylor and Mr Smith were our guests for the day. . . . Mr Herman was more quiet than usual—still he is a pleasant companion at all times and I like him very much—Mr Morewood now that he knows him better likes him the more—still he dislikes many of Mr Hermans opinions and religious views—It is a pity that Mr Melville so often in conversation uses irreverent language—he will not be popular in society here on that very account—but this will not trouble him—I think he cares very little as to what others may think of him or his books so long as they sell well—I hear that he is now so engaged in a new work as frequently not to leave his room till quite dark in the evening when he for the first time during the whole day partakes of solid food—he must therefore write under a state of morbid excitement which will soon injure his health—I laughed at him somewhat and told him that the recluse life he was leading made his city friends think that he was slightly insane—he replied that long ago he came to the same conclusion himself but if he left home to look after Hungary the cause in hunger would suffer—Mrs Melville is looking better in health than I have ever yet seen her look—I am strangely and strongly attracted to her and her family now that I know them so well as I do.⁸³

Melville the gay excursionist and Melville the recluse are different men. Explanation of this change may throw light on *Pierre* and Melville's later work. After Hawthorne's departure from the Berkshires in November, 1851, Melville had no one with whom to engage in boundless discussions about the why and wherefore of the universe, about politics, about art, about literature. After *Moby-Dick* was published, there was little reason for Melville to go often to New York, where he might have had such conversation with Duyckinck and his friends. Did seclusion in the country away from the brisk cultural activities of New York, did the absence of close and stimulating contact with literary friends have some part in effecting this change in Melville? Duyckinck's information about Melville's life in Pittsfield is valuable as possible aid in answering this question and achieving a fuller understanding of Melville as a man and as an author.

⁸³ Letter dated Dec. 28, 1851.

MELVILLE AND DANA

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TWO of America's outstanding authors of the sea—Melville and Dana—lived in the same period, but it seems never to have occurred to their contemporaries to consider any possible relationship between them. It was not until a year after Melville's death that this question aroused any interest. Then Arthur Stedman in his introduction to *Typee*¹ simply hazarded the guess that Dana's book gave Melville the impulse to set out to sea. More recently Lewis Mumford has reaffirmed "the chances are that *Two Years Before the Mast* gave Melville just the fillip he needed to determine on a wider, farther jaunt into the South Seas."² There is no reason for such statements other than romantic hypothesis, and it is very doubtful if the publication of a book about life in the forecabin would suddenly send the seasoned sailor Melville before the mast as if he were a mere youngster longing for adventure. In his books Melville has made fun of those sailors who receive their incentives from such bookish sources, and it is probable that his impulses were more mature than those he satirizes.³ The words he puts into Ishmael's mouth on the first page of *Moby-Dick* are probably closer to his own emotions than any feelings which a book such as Dana's would have engendered. Had *Two Years Before the Mast* been the deciding factor for Melville's setting out to sea, he would very likely have mentioned this to Dana, and had he done so there is little

¹ *Typee* (Boston, 1892), p. xviii.

² *Herman Melville* (New York, 1929), p. 40.

³ "For nowadays, the whale-fishery furnishes an asylum for many romantic, melancholy, and absent-minded young men, disgusted with the carking cares of the earth, and seeking sentiment in tar and blubber. Childe Harold not infrequently perches himself upon the mast head of some luckless and disappointed whaleship and in moody phrase ejaculates:

Roll on, thou deep and dark ocean, roll!

Ten thousand blubber-hunters sweep over thee in vain."

(*Moby-Dick*, London, 1922, I, 197.)

And again:

"Some long haired bare-necked youths who, forced by united influence of Captain Marryat and hard times, embarked at Nantucket for a pleasure excursion to the Pacific, and whose anxious mothers provide them with bottled milk for the occasion, often return very respectable middle-aged gentlemen" (*Typee*, London, 1922, pp. 23-24).

doubt that it would have been recorded by Dana, who zealously noted all such statements. Unless new manuscript material is brought to light we cannot know more about this question. Far more interesting is the personal relationship between these two great American writers of the sea, a matter which has not hitherto been thoroughly investigated.

Melville and Dana were almost exact contemporaries.⁴ In 1834-1836 Dana made his first sailing voyage; in 1837 Melville shipped as a cabin-boy to England. In 1840 Dana's first book, *Two Years Before the Mast*, was published; Melville's first book, *Typee*, was off the press in 1846. In Boston, where Dana lived and Melville often visited, they had mutual friends. Obviously there would be many things to draw them into personal contact. Both were interested in the sea, both had written of their experiences before the mast, and both were laboring to abolish flogging aboard ships. There were also many things to keep them apart. The vast difference in temperament between Melville, whose primary love was the sea, and Dana, whose great interest was statesmanship, would almost naturally preclude a close friendship. Dana was a social stickler, and his friendships were with men who were gentlemen before they were authors. Of course, as a gentleman and writer, he met nearly all the leading authors of the time, but his contact was purely social.

Dana's acquaintance with foreign authors was usually made at Longfellow's frequent dinner parties; American authors he generally met at the Saturday Club. There is no record that Melville was ever entertained at this distinguished society.⁵ Dana did not have much use for men who were merely authors, and in his journals there often appeared such notes as this about the English poet, Clough:

Returning from St. Paul's took a carriage and left cards at Lansdowne House and Stafford House, and on Lord Wensleydale. I also lost two or three hours of precious time and spent nearly two dollars in returning the call of Mr. Arthur Clough. The call was meant in kindness, but a man who lives in the extreme suburbs of London, to be reached only at a considerable expense of time and money, and who can render no serv-

⁴ Dana, 1815-1882; Melville, 1819-1891.

⁵ The only reference to him in the two-volume history of the club is the usual one that Dana influenced him to go to sea.

ice whatever, and is of no note, should be careful how he pays the compliment of a call upon a busy stranger.⁶

When Dickens first came to Boston, Dana wrote:

Nothing talked of but Dickens' arrival. The town is mad. All calling on him. I can't submit to sink the equality of a gentleman by crowding after a man of note.⁷

Dana probably considered Melville as superfluous as Dickens or Clough, because Melville was an author and not a social figure. Certainly Dana would have been as much surprised to discover that this writer of novels would some day overshadow his own fame as his next-door neighbor, Longfellow, would have been to know that a little spinster of Amherst would one day be considered his peer as an American poet.

Dana's first reference to a meeting with Melville is on August 23, 1847,⁸ when in listing the guests at a dinner given by "the Russells in Milton" he includes the name "Herman Melville (Typee)." If the two men met at other dinner parties, Dana could not have been very much impressed by the South Seas author at this time, for he fails to mention him again in his constant lists of the more important guests at dinners. It is also uncertain whether the title of Melville's book in parentheses after his name means that this was the only book of his with which Dana was acquainted. *Omoo* had been published in March, 1847, but Dana may not have read it, for he was generally poorly acquainted with the novels of his contemporaries and had read scarcely anything of Thackeray, whom he met in 1853, nor did he read Dickens until after he came to know him. Melville, therefore, probably knew Dana's writing before Dana knew Melville's.⁹ In the forties Dana often met Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, Melville's father-in-law, and he may have had his attention directed to *Typee* through Shaw, to whom it was dedicated. Certainly Shaw brought Melville and Dana into personal contact, for the following year he wrote this letter:¹⁰

⁶ Journals, July 19, 1856. These unpublished journals are owned by the Dana family and kept in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁷ Journals, Jan. 18, 1842.

⁸ Journals.

⁹ There is no record of Dana's borrowing any of Melville's novels from the Boston Athenaeum, from which he borrowed hundreds of books. Of course, this would not give a complete list of Dana's reading, but it might furnish an indication.

¹⁰ Unpublished letter in the collection of the Dana family papers.

July 13, 1848

Richard H. Dana,

We expect a few friends this evening, to meet my daughter and her husband Mr. Melville, and it will give us great pleasure to see you.

Very truly yours,
Lemuel Shaw
49 Mount V. St.

Probably other meetings at Shaw's or elsewhere brought the two authors into greater intimacy, for the next year Dana writes in his journals:

Melville has made a visit here and I have passed two nights with him at Parker's, once to meet James Dana, and the other to meet Cabot, who has just come from sea, a son of Mr. Fr. Cabot. He is incomparable in dramatic story telling. He has a son recently born.¹¹

A few months later Melville requested the first of his several favors from Dana. This was done through the medium of his father-in-law, who wrote the following letter:

Dear Sir,

Our friend Mr. Herman Melville is about going to Europe, & I am desirous of procuring for him a few good letters of introduction. I have already obtained some of the first quality. It occurred to me that you might aid him, in this matter, either personally or through some one else, & I cannot doubt, that you should be happy to do so.

If you find that you can furnish me with a letter or two for Mr. Melville, I shall feel quite obliged by it, & as I am going to N. Y. in a few days, I shall be happy to be the bearer.

Respectfully and very truly yours,

Lemuel Shaw.

Richard H. Dana. Jr. Esq.

Dana had not yet been to Europe and his acquaintances abroad were limited; so it is not likely that he was able to furnish Melville with the desired introductions. He might have given Melville a letter to Moxon, the English publisher, as Melville was looking for a publisher; but the note in Melville's journal concerning Moxon, who turned down the offer to publish *White-Jacket*, seems to indicate

¹¹ This must refer to Melville, not Cabot, as on Feb. 16, 1849, Melville's son Malcolm was born (Journals, March 18, 1849).

that this was not the case.¹² By the time he wrote this book Melville was obviously a sincere admirer of Dana's work, for in it he says:

But if you want the best idea of Cape Horn, get my friend Dana's unmatchable *Two Years Before the Mast*. But you can read, and so you must have read it. His chapters describing Cape Horn must have been written with an icicle.¹³

While Melville was writing books which did not sell well, Dana was rising to prominence in public affairs. Melville was forced to cast around for other means of livelihood, and he and his father-in-law thought the author of *Two Years Before the Mast* might be able to help the friend who had paid him such a graceful compliment. To Dana they applied for help and political influence in obtaining for Melville the post of consul at the Sandwich Islands. Dana respected Melville's "reputation, general intelligence & agreeable manners," and although he wrote,¹⁴ "I cannot conceive of a more appropriate appointment, & I sincerely hope it will be given him," he feared he could be of no aid, not being personally acquainted with the President or the Secretary of State. Nothing came of Melville's application for aid, and he returned to writing as a livelihood. Ten years later he still hoped to obtain a government post through Dana, who had by this time risen to greater political heights and was acquainted with the new president, Lincoln. Just after Lincoln's inauguration Shaw wrote Dana about his son-in-law's desires.¹⁵ Following this, Melville personally communicated with Dana and wrote him the following formal note:

New York March 20th, 1861

Dear Sir:

I believe you are apprised of my design as to obtaining, if possible, the consulship at Florence.

I am persuaded, from all I hear, that if Senator Sumner could be earnestly enlisted in the cause, I should in all likelihood succeed. May I therefore ask your good services in that quarter? I should be greatly

¹² See Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), p. 295.

¹³ *White-Jacket* (London, 1922), p. 124.

¹⁴ Letter to Allan Melville, May 10, 1853. For full letter see Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

¹⁵ This letter has evidently been lost as it is not contained in the Dana papers, but the fact that such a letter was written may be seen by Shaw's letter to Sumner on March 21, 1861. See n. 18.

obliged to you for a strong letter from yourself, and for procuring for me other strong letters from suitable persons in Boston. It is important that the business should be pressed at once. I leave here for Washington tomorrow, and letters will reach me there any time for the next eight or ten days.

Very sincerely yours,
H. Melville.

Richard H. Dana, Jr. Esq.¹⁶

Such applications were routine matters for Dana, and only two weeks before he had written Sumner concerning another appointment. Yet if he was already apprised of Melville's design he may also have had him in mind when he wrote:

I know you will do all in your power to secure scholars & gentlemen to the foreign courts, speaking the language needed;—but the sense of the need of those qualifications does not penetrate far into the interior of our continent,—does it?¹⁷

Perhaps he thought a post so important as Florence would have to go as patronage and not to a scholar and gentleman, for on the same day he received Melville's letter Dana wrote Sumner a series of remarks about various other posts. He may have had Melville's former request in mind when he mentioned Hawaii:

. . . In my tour round the world, I made some observations on our foreign posts,—which in a patriotic spirit I offer to the Chairman, with reference to appointments . . . *Sandwich Islands*, Commissioner to. A post with handsome salary, no duties, few expenses, delightful climate & good society. Good post for a man of letters, who does not need a library for consultation; or any man who wishes to repose with some profit.

The next day he wrote Sumner in specific reference to Melville, but the abrupt opening of his letter indicates they had previously corresponded about this matter.¹⁸

¹⁶ This letter is the only one from Melville to Dana preserved in the Dana family papers and is previously unpublished.

¹⁷ Letter, March 6, 1861, contained in Sumner papers, Harvard College Library. The two following letters are also in this collection.

¹⁸ Lemuel Shaw on March 21 wrote Sumner, saying, "I had expected a letter from Rich. H. Dana Jr. Esq. knowing that he & Mr. Melville had been authors of kindred subjects, and believing that they were in fact much acquainted with each other" (letter among Sumner papers in Harvard College Library).

Dear Sumner,

I have told Melville that my rule prevents my giving him a letter or paper; but does not prevent my naming him favorably in my regular correspondence, & I should do so in my letters to you.

I like the notion of such consulships going to men of letters—of note in the Republic of letters, & Melville is a capital good fellow, good manners & feelings. Duty requires me to suggest a doubt whether his health is sufficient. Of that I know nothing, & you can judge, on seeing him.

Yours,

R. H. Dana Jr.

Melville met Lincoln while in Washington, but nothing came of his application for a consulship, and he continued to struggle along on his meager royalties until in 1866 he was appointed Inspector of Customs in New York. He probably gave up all hope for a consular position after this last attempt and seems never to have corresponded with Dana again on that or any other subject. Melville's brother Allan corresponded frequently with Dana in 1871 when he was associated with him on a legal case, but all the letters deal purely with business matters and have no personal references.

Perhaps Melville saw or wrote Dana a few more times than here recorded, but the two authors could never have been very intimate. The formality of Melville's letter, with the address, "Dear Sir," indicates that their relationship was never very close, and to him Dana was seemingly more a powerful political aid than a friend. Dana evidently admired Melville as a man, but there is no indication that he was acquainted with his books, other than *Typee*, although *White-Jacket* must certainly have come to his notice. Melville, on the other hand, probably admired Dana as an author more than as a man. *Two Years Before the Mast* was a book he could always admire. That he did is indicated by a letter he received in 1886, four years after Dana's death, in which his correspondent wrote, "Dana is, indeed, great"¹⁰—a judgment obviously echoing one Melville had written.

Such, then, is the slight personal relationship of the two great American writers of the sea, who were brought together by the mutual love of their subject, but kept apart by their different temperaments.

¹⁰ Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

SOME SOURCES OF MELVILLE'S MARDI

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IN recent years several studies have been made which show that Melville was greatly indebted to travel books and works of reference in the composition of some of his books.¹ While engaged in an attempt to ascertain the authenticity of the Polynesian background of *Mardi*, the present writer came upon several volumes from which Melville drew much information for that book also. These volumes are: William Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* (New York, 1833); Daniel Tyerman's and George Bennet's *Journal of Voyages and Travels* (Boston, 1832); Charles Wilkes's *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1845); and Frank Debell Bennett's *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe* (London, 1840).

Melville had turned to *Polynesian Researches* for material twice before in the composition of *Typee* and *Omoo*, and he cites the work in both novels;² but only in *Omoo* does he acknowledge his indebtedness to it, stating that "concerning several points connected with the history and ancient customs of Tahiti, collateral information has been obtained from the oldest books of South Sea Voyages, and also from the *Polynesian Researches* of Ellis."³ Charles Wilkes's *Narrative* is mentioned twice in the footnotes of *Omoo*, in one place⁴ as the source of an allusion to Captain Cook's census of Tahiti, and in another place⁵ as one of three works containing interesting

¹ The most important of these is C. R. Anderson's *Melville in the South Seas* (an unpublished doctoral dissertation), Columbia University, 1936. Anderson finds the sources of much of *Typee* as well as parts of *Omoo*, *White-Jacket*, and *Moby-Dick*. See also H. H. Scudder, "Melville's *Benito Cereno* and Captain Delano's Voyages," *PMLA*, XLIII, 502-532 (March, 1928); R. Thomas, "Melville's Use of Some Sources in *The Encantadas*," *American Literature*, III, 432-456 (Jan., 1932); R. R. McCutcheon, "The Technique of Melville's *Israel Potter*," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII, 160-174 (April, 1928); and W. S. Holden, *Some Sources for Herman Melville's Israel Potter* (an unpublished Master's thesis), Columbia University, 1932.

² *Typee*, p. 5. References to Melville's works are to the Standard Edition by Constable and Company (London, 1922).

³ *Omoo*, p. ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

accounts of expeditions to certain Hawaiian volcanoes. Tyerman's and Bennet's *Journal of Voyages and Travels* and F. D. Bennett's *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe* are both listed in *Moby-Dick* among the sources for the extracts supplied by a "sub-sub-Librarian."⁶

Sources were found for almost all the Polynesian background of *Mardi*. Lest the amount of source material here given seem scanty for so lengthy a book, it should be pointed out that although Melville in his Preface refers to *Mardi* as a "romance of Polynesian adventure," it is instead mainly a novel of satire and contains comparatively little Polynesian material.

A study of Melville's borrowings reveals that in some cases he turns to his sources for factual information of one kind or another. Thus in Chapter XXXII of *Mardi* Melville takes from F. D. Bennett's *Narrative* an anecdote illustrating how swordfish will sometimes attack ships:

BENNETT

It [the blade of the swordfish] had penetrated completely through the copper and solid timbers on the larboard bow of the ship, and was visible for eight or ten inches of its length within the hold, amongst some coals. The broken extremity, exterior to the ship, was sawn off, and a plate of lead nailed over the spot. The *Foxhound* touched, a few months after, at Sydney, New South Wales, where the impacted weapon excited much curiosity. All attempts to remove it were vain, and the ship continued to cruise without inconvenience until the completion of her voyage. On her return to England, and when in dock, the sword was cut out, together with the copper and wood around it. . . (I, 272).

⁶ *Moby-Dick*, p. xxi.

MELVILLE

In the case of the English ship *Foxhound*, the blade penetrated through the most solid part of her hull, the bow; going completely through the copper plates and timbers, and showing for several inches in the hold. On the return of the ship to London, it was carefully sawn out; and, imbedded in the original wood, like a fossil, is still preserved (I, 120).

Bennett's *Narrative* also furnished Melville with facts about albinos and with a description of a Polynesian child on whom Melville modeled his heroine Yillah:

BENNETT

An albino variety occasionally (though very rarely) occurs amongst the Polynesian natives. Two examples of this departure from the normal colour of the race came under our notice at Tahiti. The one was a female child, about five years of age, and residing with her parents, who were both dark-complexioned natives. Her skin was fairer than that of ordinary Europeans, had a pink tinge, was perfectly smooth and healthy, and although exposed to the sun, was not at all bronzed. Her hair was long, silky, and flaxen; her eyes blue, and intolerant of light. She appeared active, and was usually in the open air taking the recreations adapted to her age (I, 157-158).

MELVILLE

After endeavouring in various ways to account for these things, I was led to imagine, that the damsel [Yillah] must be an Albino (Tulla), occasionally to be met with among the people of the Pacific. These persons are of an exceedingly delicate white skin, tinted with a faint rose hue, like the lips of a shell. Their hair is golden. But, unlike the Albinos of other climes, their eyes are invariably blue, and no way intolerant of light (I, 177-178).

Note that while Bennett states that the child's eyes were intolerant of light, Melville affirms that Yillah was one of those albinos whose eyes are in "no way intolerant of light," deliberately varying his statement from Bennett's.

From Wilkes's *Narrative* Melville takes an account of the "killer" whale:

WILKES

These "Killers," as they are called, are of a brownish color on the back, and white on the belly, with a long dorsal fin. Such was the turbulence with which they passed, that a good view could not be had of them to make out more nearly the description. These fish attack

MELVILLE

Besides all these, we encountered killers and thrashers, by far the most spirited and 'spunky' of the finny tribes. Though little larger than a porpoise, a band of them think nothing of assailing leviathan himself. They bait the monster, as dogs a bull. The killers seizing

a whale in the same way as dogs bait a bull, and worry him to death. They are armed with strong sharp teeth, and generally seize the whale by the lower jaw (II, 297).

the right whale by his immense, sulky lower lip, and the thrashers fastening on to his back, and beating him with their sinewy tails. Often they come off conquerors, worrying the enemy to death (I, 49).

In commenting on the unpalatability of salt beef Melville borrows a simile from Wilkes, enclosing it in quotation marks, but giving no hint of its source:

WILKES

So highly do they [the Feegees] esteem this food [human flesh], that the greatest praise they can bestow on a delicacy is to say that it is tender as a dead man (III, 101).

MELVILLE

For our larder, we could not endure the salt beef; it was raw as a live Abyssinian steak, and salt as Cracow. Besides, the Feegee simile would not have held good with respect to it. It was far from being 'tender as a dead man' (I, 52).

Ellis's *Researches* is the source of three passages in *Mardi* recounting unusual Mardian customs and beliefs. One of these is the practice of reckoning time by nights instead of by days:

ELLIS

The natives have distinct names for each day and each night of the month or moon. They do not, however, reckon time by days, but by nights. Hence, instead of saying, how many days since? they would inquire, *Rui hai aenei*? "How many nights?" The following are the different nights of each moon: [Thirty names are listed] (I, 79).

MELVILLE

Exclusive of the female attendants, by day waiting upon the person of the king, he [Donjololo] had wives thirty in number, corresponding in name to the nights of the moon. For, in Juam, time is not reckoned by days, but by nights; each night of the lunar month having its own designation; which, relatively only, is extended to the day (I, 280).

In Chapter LXXIV Melville incorporates a legend given by Ellis. This legend concerns the origin of a most extraordinary tree with which Melville adorns one of his mythical islands. Although it appears in Ellis's account, the name of this tree is omitted by Melville:

ELLIS

The account of the origin of this tree is one of the most fabulous of native legends: it states that the moon is diversified with hill and valley like our earth, that it is adorned with trees, and among these the *aoa*, the shadow of whose spreading branches, the Polynesians suppose, occasions the dark parts in her surface. They state that in ancient times a bird flew to the moon, and plucked the berries of the *aoa*; these are smaller than grapes; the bird readily carried them, and, flying over the islands, dropped some of the seeds, which, germinating in the soil, produced the *aoa*-tree (I, 42).

In Chapter XC of *Mardi* Melville paraphrases Ellis's description of the sport of surf-riding:

ELLIS

Throwing themselves from the lower yards, or bowsprit, of a ship, is also a favourite sport, but the most general and frequent game is swimming in the surf. The higher the sea and the larger the waves, in their opinion the better the sport. On these occasions they use a board which they call *papa hé nāru* (wave sliding-board), generally five or six feet long, and rather more than a foot wide, sometimes flat, but frequently slightly convex on both sides. It is usually made of the wood of the *erythrina*, stained quite black, and preserved with great care. After using, it is placed in the sun till perfectly dry, when it is rubbed

MELVILLE

According to Mohi, this tree [the *aoa*] was truly wonderful; its seed having been dropped from the moon; where were plenty more similar forests, causing the dark spots on its surface (I, 263-264).

MELVILLE

Without the break in the reef, wide banks of coral shelve off, creating the bar, where the waves muster for the onset, thundering in water-bolts, that shake the whole reef, till its very spray trembles. And then is it, that the swimmers of Ohonoo most delight to gambol in the surf.

For this sport, a surf-board is indispensable: some five feet in length; the width of a man's body; convex on both sides; highly polished; and rounded at the ends. It is held in high estimation; invariably oiled after use; and hung up conspicuously in the dwelling of the owner.

over with cocoanut oil, frequently wrapped in cloth, and suspended in some part of their dwelling-house. Sometimes they choose a place where the deep water reaches to the beach, but generally prefer a part where the rocks are ten or twenty feet under water, and extend to a distance from the shore, as the surf breaks more violently over these. When playing in these places, each individual takes his board, and, pushing it before him, swims perhaps a quarter of a mile or more out to sea. They do not attempt to go over the billows which roll towards the shore, but watch their approach, and dive under water, allowing the billow to pass over their heads. When they reach the outside of the rocks, where the waves first break, they adjust themselves on one end of the board, lying flat on their faces, and watch the approach of the largest billow; they then poise themselves on its highest edge, and paddling as it were with their hands and feet, ride on the crest of the wave, in the midst of the spray and foam, till within a yard or two of the rocks or the shore; and when the observers would expect to see them dashed to pieces, they steer with great address between the rocks, or slide off their board in a moment, grasp it by the middle, and dive under water, while the wave rolls on, and breaks among the rocks with a roaring noise, the effect of which is greatly heightened by the shouts.

Ranged on the beach, the bathers by hundreds dash in; and diving under the swells, make straight for the outer sea, pausing not till the comparatively smooth expanse beyond has been gained. Here, throwing themselves upon their boards, tranquilly they wait for a billow that suits. Snatching them up, it hurries them landward, volume and speed both increasing, till it races along a watery wall, like the smooth, awful verge of Niagara. Hanging over this scroll, looking down from it as from a precipice, the bathers halloo; every limb in motion to preserve their place on the very crest of the wave. Should they fall behind, the squadrons that follow would overwhelm them; dismounted, and thrown forward, as certainly would they be run over by the steed they ride. 'Tis like charging at the head of cavalry: you must on.

An expert swimmer shifts his position on his plank; now half striding it; and anon, like a rider in the ring, poising himself upright in the scud, coming on like a man in the air.

At last all is lost in scud and vapour, as the overgrown billow bursts like a bomb. Adroitly emerging, the swimmers thread their way out; and like seals at the Orkneys, stand dripping upon the shore (I, 317-318).

and laughter of the natives in the water. Those who are expert frequently change their position on the board, sometimes sitting and sometimes standing erect in the midst of the foam. The greatest address is necessary in order to keep on the edge of the wave: for if they get too forward, they are sure to be overturned; and if they fall back, they are buried beneath the succeeding billow (IV, 269-270).

Note here that while Melville follows his text closely so far as the details of surf-riding are concerned, even using the same phrases in several places, he for the most part garbs his account in picturesque, metaphorical language.

Melville uses some of the most bizarre of the accounts given by Ellis as the framework of much of his satire, which he achieves by clever variations from his sources. As part of his satire on war, for example, he includes a battle-chant which is suggested by a war poem printed in *Polynesian Researches*. The latter contains eighty-five lines and is a boastful address of a native warrior to the gods of war, imploring their aid in battle, applauding their prowess as warriors, and picturing the savage fashion in which they vanquish their enemies. There are numerous allusions to the murderous weapons of the natives and the deadly manner in which they are wielded against adversaries. It is interesting to observe that Melville takes two lines of this poem almost exactly as he finds them. Since the rest of the poem is not similar in phraseology, it will be necessary to give here only brief excerpts containing these similarities (the italics are mine):

ELLIS

O Hiro, to whom shall I deliver
the song of war!
Shall I declare it to Marama, the
warrior born of Hiro
Who came forth with skill (to ar-
range the battle),

MELVILLE

Our clubs! our clubs!
The thousand clubs of Narvil
Of the living trunk of the palm-
tree made;
Skull breakers! Brain spatterers!
Wielded right, and wielded left;

With the savageness of the dog, the
strength of the shark,
That shall sever the head where the
skull joins the neck,
*Causing the live bodies to run head-
less.* . . .

. . . .
Our onset shall be as the rolling sea,
Our conflict the struggle of travail,
Let it be as the sea in a storm,
As the sea raised by sudden tempest,
Roo, the first-born god, shall cause
destruction:

*The heads of men shall be caught
as fish in the net* (I, 160-162).

Life quenchers! Death dealers!
*Causing live bodies to run head-
less!*

. . . .

Our slings! our slings!
The thousand slings of Narvil
All tasselled, and braided, and
gaily bedecked.

In peace, our girdles; *in war our
war-nets;*

*Wherewith catch we heads as fish
from the deep!* (II, 134-135).

Ellis's exposition of the mythology of the Polynesians provides Melville with material for his satire on religion. In Chapter CXIV of *Mardi* an idol-maker declares that his images are mere logs until paid for. This bit of cynicism was inspired by Ellis's account of an idol-maker who affirmed that his images became gods only when they were placed in the temple:

ELLIS

I had repeated conversations with a . . . maker of gods, whom I met with on a visit to Raiatea. As he appeared a serious inquirer after truth, and I could place some confidence in what he related, I was anxious to know his own opinion as to the idols it had been his business to make,—whether he really believed they were the powerful beings which the natives supposed; and if so, what constituted their great power over the other parts of the tree from which they were hewn. He assured me that, although at times he thought it was all deception, and only practised his trade to obtain the payment he re-

MELVILLE

Seeing that Hevaneva handled his wares with much familiarity, not to say irreverence, Babbalanja was minded to learn from him what he thought of his trade; whether the images he made were genuine or spurious; in a word, whether he believed in his gods.

His reply was curious. But still more so, the marginal gestures wherewith he helped out the text.

'When I cut down the trees for my idols,' said he, 'they are nothing but logs; when upon these logs, I chalk out the figures of my images, they yet remain logs; when the chisel is applied, logs they are still; and when all complete, I at last

ceived for his work, yet at other times he really thought the gods he himself had made were powerful beings. It was not, he said, from the alteration his tools had effected in the appearance of the wood, or the carving with which they were ornamented, but because they had been taken to the temple, and were filled with the atua, that they became so powerful (I, 259).

stand them up in my studio, even then they are logs. Nevertheless, when I handle the pay, they are as prime gods as ever were turned out in Maramma' (II, 38).

Melville finds ideas for his satire on religion not only in Ellis's discussion of Polynesian mythology but also in his remarks on native kings.

ELLIS

Having proceeded in this manner for a considerable distance, to indicate the dominion of the king on the sea, and receive the homage of the powers of the deep, they returned towards the shore.

During this excursion, . . . two deified sharks, a sort of demi-gods of the sea, were influenced by Oro to come and congratulate the new king on his assumption of government. If the monarch was a legitimate ruler, and one elevated to the office with the sanction of the superior powers, these sharks, it was said, always came to pay their respects to him, either while he was bathing in the sea, or during the excursion in the sacred canoe. But it is probable that when they approached while his majesty was in the water, some of his attendants were stationed round, to prevent their coming too near, lest their salutations should have been more

MELVILLE

Over and above numerous other miraculous powers imputed to the pontiffs as spiritual potentates, there was ascribed to them one special privilege of a secular nature: that of healing with a touch the bites of the ravenous sharks swarming throughout the lagoon. With these they were supposed to be upon the most friendly terms; according to popular accounts, sociably bathing with them in the sea; permitting them to rub their noses against their priestly thighs; playfully mouthing their hands, with all their tiers of teeth.

At the ordination of a pontiff, the ceremony was not deemed complete until, embarking in his barge, he was saluted high priest by three sharks drawing near; with teeth turned up, swimming beside his canoe (II, 15).

direct and personal than would have proved agreeable. Yet it is said that the parents of the present rulers of some of the islands, at the time of their inauguration, actually played with these sharks without receiving any injury (III, 87).

In the same chapter Melville includes another bit of religious satire, which is this time suggested by Tyerman's and Bennet's discussion of native rulers:

TYERMAN AND BENNET

Children do not take the names of their parents, and each person has but one at a time; this, however, he may change at will, and go by ten or more in the course of his life; but formerly no one durst appropriate that of the sovereign, which would have been death; and so sacred was this prohibition that if there were a slight resemblance only, between a subject's name and the king's, the former must be abandoned. Hence we have never met with either person or thing called by any sound at all like *Pomare*. As this proscription extended to the whole family of the arii, or blood-royal, and also to the principal chiefs, the names of their vassals and inferiors, nay, those even of plants and animals (to avoid desecration), were wont to be changed when any of the privileged order received at birth, or afterwards adopted, similar ones (I, 108).

MELVILLE

And the degree of consideration in which they [the pontiffs] were held may be inferred from the fact, that during the lifetime of a pontiff, the leading sound in his name was banned to ordinary uses. Whence, at every new accession to the archiepiscopal throne, it came to pass that multitudes of words and phrases were either essentially modified, or wholly dropped. Wherefore, the language of Maramma was incessantly fluctuating; and had become so full of jargonings, that the birds in the groves were greatly puzzled; not knowing where lay the virtue of sounds so incoherent (II, 14).

Chapter CXLIV of *Mardi*, a satire on lawyers, may have been inspired by Ellis's discussion of sorcery and witchcraft:

ELLIS

Sorcery and witchcraft were extensively practised. By this art, the sorcerers pretended to be able to inflict the most painful maladies, and to deprive of life the victims of their mysterious rites (I, 277).

....

Incantations sometimes commenced with an imprecation or curse, either by the priest or the offended party, and it was usually denounced in the name of the gods of the party, or of the king, or some oramatua. The poor people entertained the greatest horror of this mode of vengeance, as it was generally considered fatal, unless, by engaging a more powerful demon, its effects could be counteracted.

This dreadful system of iniquity and demon tyranny was complex and intricate. The party using sorcery against another, whose destruction they designed, employed a tahutahu, or a taataobu-tara, whose influence with the demons procured their co-operation, and was supposed to induce the *iti*, or spirit, to enter into the victim of their malice.

....

The imprecation was seldom openly denounced, unless the agent of the powers of darkness imagined his victim had little prospect of escape, and that his family were not likely to avenge his death. In general these mysteries were conducted with that secrecy which best comported with such works of darkness. Occasionally the tahu-

MELVILLE

In a certain quarter of the Archipelago was an island called Minda; and in Minda were many sorcerers, employed in the social differences and animosities of the people of that unfortunate land. If a Mindarian deemed himself aggrieved or insulted by a countryman, he forthwith repaired to one of these sorcerers; who, for an adequate consideration, set to work with his spells, keeping himself in the dark, and directing them against the obnoxious individual. And full soon, by certain peculiar sensations, this individual, discovering what was going on, would straightway hie to his own professor of the sable art, who, being well fee'd, in due time brought about certain counter-charms, so that in the end it sometimes fell out that neither party was gainer or loser, save by the sum of his fees.

But the worst of it was, that in some cases all knowledge of these spells was at the outset hidden from the victim; who, hearing too late of the mischief brewing, almost always fell a prey to his foe; which calamity was held the height of the art. But as the great body of sorcerers were about matched in point of skill, it followed that the parties employing them were so likewise. Hence arose those interminable contests, in which many moons were spent, both parties toiling after their common destruction.

....

tahu employed his influence with the evil spirit to revenge some insult or injury he or his relatives had received; but more frequently he exercised it for hire. From his employers he received his fee and his directions, and having procured the tubu, or instrument of acting on his victim, repaired to his own rude marae, performed his diabolical rites, delivered over the individual to the demon he invoked, imploring the spirit to enter into the wretch, and inflict the most dreadful bodily sufferings, terminate at length the mortal existence, and then hurry the spirit to the *po*, or state of night, and there pursue the dreadful work of torture (I, 279-282).

Indeed, it even happened that a sorcerer would be secretly retained to work spells upon a victim who, from his bodily sensations, suspecting something wrong, but knowing not what, would repair to that self-same sorcerer, engaging him to counteract any mischief that might be brewing. And this worthy would at once undertake the business; when, having both parties in his hands, he kept them for ever in suspense; meanwhile seeing to it well that they failed not in handsomely remunerating him for his pains (II, 162-164).

Melville's habit of borrowing extraordinary information for the purpose of satire is perhaps best illustrated in Chapters XCVI and XCVIII of *Mardi*. In the former chapter he makes use of Ellis's account of the unusual operation of the trepan, turning the material to his own particular needs by using it to form a satire on "successful" operations:

ELLIS

The operation of trepanning they sometimes attempted, and say they have practised it with success. It is reported that there are persons living in the island of Borabora on whom it has been performed, or at least an operation very much resembling it: the bones of the skull having been fractured in battle, they have cleared away the skin and coverings, and, having removed the fractured piece of bone, have carefully fitted in a

MELVILLE

With a gourd of water, and a tappa cloth, the one-armed Upoluan carefully washed the wound; and then calling for a sharp splinter of bamboo, and a thin, semi-transparent cup of cocoanut shell, he went about the operation: nothing less than the 'Tomoti' (head-mending), in other words the trepan.

The patient still continuing insensible, the fragments [or bone] were disengaged by help of a bam-

piece of cocoanut-shell, and replaced the covering and skin; on the healing of which the man has recovered. I never saw any individual who had undergone this operation, but from the concurrent testimony of the people, I have no doubt they have performed it (III, 39).

boo scalpel; when a piece of the drinking cup—previously dipped in the milk of a cocoa-nut—was nicely fitted into the vacancy, the skin as nicely adjusted over it, and the operation was complete.

And now, while all present were crying out in admiration of Samao's artistic skill, and Samoa himself stood complacently regarding his workmanship, Babbalanja suggested that it might be well to ascertain whether the patient survived. When, upon sounding his heart, the diver was found to be dead.

The bystanders loudly lamented; but declared the surgeon a man of marvellous science (I, 342-343).

Similarly, two chapters later Melville changes Ellis's discussion of another very unusual operation into a satire on scientists who attempt fantastic experiments:

ELLIS

It is also related, although I confess I can scarcely believe it, that on some occasions, when the brain has been injured as well as the bone, they have opened the skull, taken out the injured portion of the brain, and having a pig ready, have killed it, taken out the pig's brains, put them into the man's head, and covered them up. They persist in stating that this has been done; but add, that the persons always became furious with madness, and died (III, 39).

MELVILLE

Once upon a time, during his endless sea-rovings, the Upoluan was called upon to cobble the head of a friend, grievously hurt in a desperate fight of slings.

Upon examination, that part of the brain proving as much injured as the cranium itself, a young pig was obtained; and preliminaries being over, part of its live brain was placed in the cavity, the trepan accomplished with cocoa-nut shell, and the scalp drawn over and secured.

This man died not, but lived. But from being a warrior of great sense and spirit, he became a perverse-minded and piggish fellow,

showing many of the characteristics of his swinish grafting. He survived the operation more than a year; at the end of that period, however, going mad, and dying in his delirium (I, 346-347).

In adapting this passage from Ellis, Melville embellishes the original with a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that "science would at last enable philosophers to produce new species of beings, by somehow mixing, and concocting the essential ingredients of various creatures: and so forming new combinations" (III, 347).

When a writer extracts material from a certain set of books with the freedom of Melville, any parallels between his book and the works from which he borrows become significant as probable sources. In the foregoing pages there are given as sources only those passages which seem to contain conclusive internal evidence that they were used by Melville. But Melville's source books abound in extraordinary legends, beliefs, and customs which appear also in *Mardi*, though not similar enough in phraseology to be regarded conclusively as sources.⁷

It may be stated, by way of summary, that, at the very least, Melville borrowed two passages from F. D. Bennett, two from Wilkes, one from Tyerman and Bennet, and ten from Ellis. In some instances he selected factual information which he used by way of background; but in most cases he took the most extraordinary and most bizarre of the accounts he found; and these he embellished for purposes of satire.

⁷ The most notable of these parallels are:

The custom of stripping in homage to kings: Melville, I, 235; Ellis, III, 81.

The practice of rulers riding on men's shoulders: Melville, I, 235; Ellis, III, 81.

The legend of the giants who stole an island: Melville, I, 246-247; Ellis, I, 255-256.

The legend of the warriors who leaped from a cliff: Melville, I, 322-323; Tyerman and Bennet, II, 54-55.

The fish ponds of Borabolla: Melville, I, 333-335; Ellis, I, 115-116; Wilkes, IV, 68; Tyerman and Bennet, III, 151.

A list of queer native gods: Melville, II, 22; Ellis, I, 254-256.

A wrestling match: Melville, II, 147; Ellis, I, 165-166.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A MARGARET FULLER LETTER TO ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

LOUIS C. JONES

New York State College for Teachers

THE original of the following letter from Margaret Fuller to Mrs. Robert Browning is in the Abernethy Library of American Literature, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont. It is published here through the courtesy of Miss Viola C. White, Curator. The date is 1849, and it was written shortly after the first meeting of the two women. Margaret Fuller, Count Ossoli, and their year-old child were but recently come to Florence following the defeat of the radical forces in Rome. Interesting collateral reading are Mrs. Browning's letters¹ to Miss Mitford, December 1, 1849, and September 24, 1850, and to Mrs. Jameson, February 26, 1852.

Casa Libri (n.y.)

Thursday 6th Dec

Dear Mrs. Browning,

Thanks for sending me the names. I find I had already the same cap-pattern, but it looked so pretty on your baby's head I did not recognize it.

I am very sorry the nurse did not come up stairs with him—if you send her again will you tell her to do so, that he may exchange a few looks with mine. I think babies seem amazed at one another. They are not in haste to make acquaintance, probably they still feel what a world lies hidden in each person, they are not yet made callous by those habits of hasty unfeeling intercourse soon formed by what is called society.

It seemed to me when I was last at your house, as if a curtain fell down between us. A great sadness fell upon me, just after Mr. Browning came in; it did not seem to come from him: he seemed cheerful and glowing after his walk, but some cause changed suddenly the temper of my soul, so that I could barely realize what was passing & the cloud did not leave me for several hours. Did you share any such influence. I think probably it was confined to me,

¹ *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, I, 428, 459; II, 59.

but have noted the day & hour in my diary, in case any interpretation should later be tendered.

Those fragments expressed the almost universal feeling toward Poe. Several women loved him, but it seemed more with passionate illusion which he amused himself by inducing than with sympathy. I think he really had no friend. I did not know him, though I saw and talked with him often, but he always seemed to me shrouded in an assumed character. Still as I did not know him and do not accept the opinions of others till my own impressions have confirmed them; as I did know he had much to try his spirit I always treated him cordially. He seemed to feel that *I* was not prejudiced against him; he even said that he had faith in me, that he thought me not only incapable of baseness, but incapable of understanding it; that this was for him a strong expression of esteem, shows what his life had been. He said in a sketch he published of me that he thought me capable of great affection. Now, seeing these bitter waters poured out even upon his tomb, I have remembered these things and regretted that I never tried whether more friendliness from me might have been useful to him, but it is only the millionth time that I have let occasions pass when suffering fellow men might have been soothed or helped. Pardon that the leaf is soiled. I had not observed it. Ever

truly yours,
M. Ossoli

(Envelope addressed to Mr. & Mrs. Browning
via Maggio)

THE BRIDE OF THE SEA

ORAL SUMNER COAD

New Jersey College for Women

LONGFELLOW, whose imagery is frequently less than adequate, achieved undeniable success in "The Building of the Ship" (1849) with its famous description of the ship as the bride of the ocean. But I have never seen it pointed out that this beautiful figure had already been used by Whittier in "The Ship-Builders," first published in the *United States Magazine, and Democratic Review* (New York) of April, 1846. Longfellow handled the metaphor in a more elaborate and more effective way than did Whittier, but the

similarity is sufficiently close to suggest indebtedness, as the following excerpts should indicate:

THE SHIP-BUILDERS

Hol strike away the bars and blocks,
And set the good ship free!
Why lingers on these dusty rocks
The young bride of the sea?
Look! how she moves adown the grooves,
In graceful beauty now!
How lowly on the breast she loves
Sinks down her virgin prow!

THE BUILDING OF THE SHIP

He waits impatient for his bride.
There she stands,
With her foot upon the sands,
Decked with flags and streamers gay,
In honor of her marriage day,
Her snow-white signals fluttering, blending,
Round her like a veil descending,
Ready to be
The bride of the gray old sea.
.....
Loud and sudden there was heard,
All around them and below,
The sound of hammers, blow on blow,
Knocking away the shores and spurs.
And see! she stirs!
She starts,—she moves,—she seems to feel
The thrill of life along her keel,
And, spurning with her foot the ground,
With one exulting, joyous bound,
She leaps into the ocean's arms!

The common use of the vessel's lingering on the rocks or the sands, of her movement down the slip when the blocks are knocked away, and of her willing descent upon the breast or into the arms of the ocean, is perhaps more than coincidence.

That "The Building of the Ship" was not written until three years after "The Ship-Builders" had appeared is proved by Longfellow's journal for 1849, in which he refers to the progress of the poem

under the dates of June 18, September 20, and September 22.¹ While it cannot be demonstrated that Longfellow saw Whittier's poem before its publication in 1850 in *Songs of Labor and Other Poems*, the following facts should be taken into account: About 1846 the *Democratic Review* was one of the more prominent magazines of the country, and it enjoyed a substantial literary position.² Whittier and Hawthorne were regular contributors, and Bryant, Lowell, Poe, and Simms, as well as the young Walt Whitman, published frequently in its columns. So far as I have observed, Longfellow contributed but one poem to the *Review*, "God's Acre" in December, 1841; but the periodical gave due attention to his works, *Ballads and Other Poems* receiving a twelve-page review in February, 1842, and *Poems* (1846) being noticed in July and again in August, 1846, while *The Poets and Poetry of Europe* was the subject of a long article in February, 1847. These considerations point to the conclusion that Longfellow must have been a reader of the magazine in which "The Ship-Builders" was first brought out.

"The Building of the Ship" may owe no debt, either conscious or unconscious, to Whittier. There is, of course, the possibility of independent invention by Longfellow or of his borrowing from some other predecessor who may have employed the figure—Wordsworth's sonnet "On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic" (1807) offers a faint parallel in the espousal of "the everlasting Sea" by the "maiden City." But there can be no question that Whittier preceded his more poetic contemporary in likening the launching of a ship to the union of a bride and bridegroom, or that the details in the two comparisons are noticeably similar.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THOMAS GODFREY IN ENGLAND

C. LENNART CARLSON
Pascoag, Rhode Island

IN a previous article in *American Literature*,¹ I discussed the reception of Thomas Godfrey's "Victory" and *The Court of Fancy* by Ralph Griffiths, the editor of the *Monthly Review*, and noted the

¹ See extracts from the journal in Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1886), II, 142, 147.

² Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), pp. 677-684.

¹ "Thomas Godfrey in England," *American Literature*, VII, 302-309 (Nov., 1935).

favorable attention given to Godfrey's work by him and his reviewers. This I ascribed partly to Griffiths's personal relations with Provost William Smith, Godfrey's friend and patron. In the same article mention was made of a statement by Godfrey's earliest biographer, Nathaniel Evans, to the effect that Godfrey's most important minor poems, "The Invitation," "An Ode on Friendship," "An Ode on Wine," and "A Night Thought," had also been given favorable attention in England. The manner in which they came to be noted there has now been discovered. It is additional evidence not only of the English interest in Colonial literary efforts, but also of Godfrey's close connections with Provost William Smith, and of the latter's concern for his preferment.

The four of Godfrey's poems that have just been noted were first published at Philadelphia in the *American Magazine*. "The Invitation" appeared in the issue for January, 1758, and the other three pieces in the issues for August, September, and October respectively. That they were published here because of Provost Smith's interest in Godfrey is suggested by a note in the September issue of the periodical.² Here the Provost, who was one of the chief supporters of the monthly, explains that Godfrey had secured a "lieutenant's commission in our provincial forces," and on leaving with his regiment had left his poems in the hands "of a friend." He continues, and informs us that for that reason "we enjoyed the pleasure which his own modesty and diffidence would, perhaps, long have prevented." The "friend" whom the Provost here mentions, was none other than himself. So anxious was he to secure favorable attention for Godfrey, that he not only published his verses in the periodical in which he himself was interested, but to all appearances introduced them to his English publisher friends. This fact would seem to be proved by the publication of these four poems by Ralph Griffiths in the *Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence*³ in March, 1759. Griffiths and

² *American Magazine*, I, 604 (Sept., 1758).

³ The *Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence* was a pretentious and substantial periodical, but neither as disorganized nor dully informative as the title would suggest. It began to appear in 1758, and ran through 1760. Judging from its present rarity, and its short run, one may perhaps conclude that it did not enjoy an extensive sale. As Griffiths's addition to the already overgrown family of monthly magazines, it had to withstand severe competition, and though it was far superior to many of the monthlies that had preceded it, they eventually seem to have forced it out of existence. It merits particular attention because it contains a far larger proportion of American items than any other English period-

Smith had been acquainted since 1754, at least, as appears from my previous article, and furthermore, the publication of Godfrey's poems in the *Grand Magazine* coincides with the visit of Provost Smith to England, in the spring of 1759. Altogether, it seems probable that Provost Smith furnished Griffiths with copies of the *American Magazine*, either during the year or else immediately on his arriving in England, and that Griffiths published the Godfrey material as soon as was convenient.

Little editorial criticism preceded the pieces in Griffiths's magazine. He contented himself with saying that "There is nothing that can give greater pleasure to liberal and ingenuous minds, than to have an opportunity of introducing real merit, in its earliest stages, to the notice of the world."⁴ Then he went on to explain that he was publishing some pieces from a periodical work carried on in the Colonies the preceding summer. Also, he included a short biographical account of Godfrey,⁵ based on the one that Provost Smith had inserted in the *American Magazine* in September, 1758. His criticism not only shows a tolerant and polite interest in the work of the young Colonial writer,⁶ but has importance in revealing that the editor of a leading English review was disposed to encourage the

ical of the time. In the very first volume appeared the "Preliminary Address to the Pennsylvania Almanac" entitled "Poor Richard Improv'd" (I, 123), and in the same volume appeared also an "Account of the Sufferings of Peter Williamson," angry and resentful political propaganda, inserted to stir English readers against the atrocities perpetrated by the French and the Indians, in their warfare with the English colonists. Other items of American interest also appeared here.

⁴ *Grand Magazine*, II, 100 (March, 1759). In a footnote Griffiths makes mention of Godfrey's glazier father, a self-taught man, whom men of science in the Colonies were crediting with having invented Hadley's sea-quadrant. He promised that the succeeding issue of the periodical would contain "three original letters to the Royal Society, about the year 1730; one by Mr. Godfrey himself, and two by James Logan, Esq; of Philadelphia; with Mr. Godfrey's draughts, figures, etc," all of which would be ample proof of the elder Godfrey's part in inventing the instrument. For some unknown reason the letters never appeared in the magazine.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ That Griffiths's interest in American verse was not merely an isolated interest in Godfrey, appears from his insertion into the *Grand Magazine* of poems by other authors, whose work had previously been published in the *American Magazine*. Most important in this connection, certainly, is his attention to the work of James Sterling, whose long and tedious *Poem on the Invention of Letters and the Art of Printing*, was originally published in the *American Magazine* in March, 1758. An account of Sterling is available in *James Sterling, Poet, Priest, and Prophet of Empire* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1931), by Lawrence C. Wroth. The importance of Griffiths's attention to Sterling I shall treat more fully later, in other connections.

literary efforts of promising amateurs, and not to satirize the lack of training of the Colonial poets, or the occasional weakness of their technique. It seems worth noting, too, that he does not attempt to quarrel with Provost Smith's verdict in the *American Magazine*, that "The Invitation" "is extremely beautiful of its kind; and neither Waller nor Prior have ever exceeded the delicacy and luxuriant softness of the first stanza." That opinion he transcribed verbatim in the *Grand Magazine*, and let it redound to Godfrey's credit.

More significant than the critical estimate of Godfrey's work, at least so far as he himself was concerned, were some of the remarks in the biographical note. That note purported to be transcribed from the "periodical work" that had furnished the poems. However, it has some alterations which suggest that Griffiths was trying to secure for Godfrey attention, and perhaps military preferment, in England. The account in the *American Magazine* had merely referred to his commission. That in the *Grand Magazine* openly affirms that the Pennsylvania levies "cannot be long kept up," and continues:

It is to be hoped a provision may be made for him on a more lasting footing in the *regular* service. We have often had men at the helm, and no doubt now have, who would rejoice in an opportunity of providing for friendless merit.

Though Griffiths's appeal did not secure for Godfrey a more desirable commission, one would like to imagine that his kind attention to him, and his acquaintance with Godfrey's work, already in 1758, was partly responsible for the favorable notice that he later gave to "Victory" and *The Court of Fancy*.

WARD OR THE DEVIL!

ESTON EVERETT ERICSON
The University of North Carolina

IN Edward Augustus Kendall's *Travels Through the Northern Parts of the United States* appears this footnote:¹

Dr. Mather, of Boston, one of the early puritans, had acquired the reputation of constantly preaching hospitality, but never practicing it.

¹ (New York, 1809), I, 155. Credit for the anecdote is given to the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*.

The Reverend Mr. Ward, another puritan, settled on the Connecticut, and an old chum of the doctor's, resolved on putting the unfavorable part of this character to the test, and accordingly went to his house in disguise. After being reproachfully ordered from the doctor's door, and denied, one after another, lodging, bread, meat, and money, "Sir, since," said Ward, "you will not give me lodgings, nor money, nor food, nor drink to me, I pray for your advice; you will direct me to a stew?" The doctor cried out, "Vagrant of all vagrants! the curse of God will fall on thee; thou art one of the non-elects! Dost thou suppose, villain, I am acquainted with bad houses? What dost thou want at a stew?" Mr. Ward replied, "I am hungry, weary, thirsty, moneyless, and almost naked; and Solomon, the wisest king the Jews ever had, tells me and you, *that a whore will bring a man to a morsel of bread at the last.*" Now Dr. Mather suspected a deception, and cried, "*Tu es Wardonus vel Diabolus.*" Mr. Ward laughed, and the doctor took him in and gave him all he wanted; and Mr. Ward preached for the doctor next day both morning and evening.

This, it will be observed, is merely an American version of the *bon mot* attributed to Sir Thomas More on the occasion of his first meeting with Erasmus. The latter, impressed by the barbs of wit that shot from More's tongue, remarked, "*Aut tu Morus es aut nullus,*" at which More rejoined, "*Aut tu es Erasmus aut diabolus.*" So far as the writer of this note can discover, the incident was first related by Cresacre More in his life of the illustrious chancellor.² But More's great-grandson motivates the retort in a spirit that is hardly consistent with the character of Sir Thomas when he implies that the satanic reference was made "because at that time he [Erasmus] was strangely disguised, and had sought to defende impious propositions."³

² *The Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight*, by Thomas (i.e., Cresacre) More, Esquire (London, 1726). The Preface gives 1627 as the probable date of the original. The *D. N. B.* says "probably 1631."

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.

January 22, 1937

The Editors of *American Literature*
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

The Committee of the Modern Language Association on the Survey of American Manuscript Material has been continued by the Council of the Modern Language Association at the request of the American Literature Group. This committee has been authorized to co-operate with a similar committee of the American Historical Association in furnishing advice, co-operation and encouragement to the governmental agencies in whose hands the conduct of the survey now lies. The Historical Records Survey, under the auspices of the United States Government, is willing and anxious to use its facilities to discover and record the location of manuscript material in American literature throughout the United States. The committee, therefore, asks that any member of the American Literature Group who has information concerning the location and nature of such manuscript material will communicate with the committee at his earliest convenience.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

STANLEY WILLIAMS

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN, Chairman

ON REVIEWING

New York University
Washington Square College
New York City
December 18, 1936

The Editors of *American Literature*
Duke University
Durham, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

Am I right in assuming that *American Literature* aims to encourage young scholars? If I am, then Professor Edd Winfield Parks's

analysis of William Charvat's University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation, *American Critical Thought: 1810-1835* in *American Literature* for November, 1936, is so at variance with this policy that I feel some protest is necessary. To begin with, Professor Parks exercises none of that wise discrimination which an established man might be expected to show to the novice, none of the generous interest, for example, that the professional book reviewer uniformly extends to the first book of a poet or novelist. Had he done so, his review would have had altogether a different temper, for Dr. Charvat's dissertation, after the usual false starts and stops, makes a genuine contribution to our understanding of the culture of the early nineteenth century. He has established the all-important influence of the Scotch rhetoricians, Kames, Blair, Alison, et al., upon the *principal reviewers* in America between 1810 and 1835. Professor Parks's review gives the impression that Dr. Charvat has done a very sketchy job: "he does not consider Edgar Allan Poe's highly important Preface to the 1831 edition of his poems; the letters on literary and critical thought of such a man as Jefferson; or Henry Reed's edition of Wordsworth." Now I submit that, while these items should be considered in a definitive *history* of the criticism of the period, *they have nothing whatever to do with the prevailing critical temper of the age*. Can Professor Parks show that "Poe's highly important Preface to the 1831 edition of his poems" influenced a single reviewer of that time? Of course not. By "highly important" Professor Parks means that the essay is important to us, not to the critical thought of that day. Professor Parks has not only been ungenerous to a worthy young scholar's first book, but he has missed the whole point of that book.

A typical example of poor reviewing is contained in Professor Parks's implication of inadequacy in the assertion that only two pages in the dissertation are devoted to Bryant, whom he considers the chief critic of the age. That Bryant was the chief critic is an *ex post facto* judgment and decidedly arbitrary, at that. Further, it is not the *length* of any criticism which counts, but the *quality* of it. Why does not Professor Parks indicate the faults on these two pages?

Furthermore, some of Professor Parks's strictures seem inexcusable even on the basis of incomprehension. For example, he charges that Dr. Charvat's "narrowed method leads to an incomprehensible

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Donn Byrne: A Biographical and Critical Study. Herbert Greenberg (New York).

Lydia M. Child. Barbara D. Simison (Yale).

Emerson's Views Concerning the Scholar and Education. Hazen Carpenter (Wisconsin).

Richard Watson Gilder. C. R. Boothby (Pennsylvania).

A Study of the Sources and Allegory of Melville's *Mardi*. Alfred Grimwood (New York).

Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt. Marius Blesi (Virginia). Mr. Blesi has given up E. C. Stedman.

Thomas Nelson Page. John O. Eidson (Duke).

French Influences upon Poe. Cullent Bryant Colton (New York).

Walt Whitman and the Brooklyn *Evening Star* of 1845-46. (Mrs.) Florence Freedman (New York).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF GENERAL NATURE:

A History of Shakespearean Drama on the American Stage to 1792. Cedric Gale (New York).

Primitivism in American Literature, 1820-1860. Frank Buckley (Minnesota).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

Carlyle and the American Transcendentalists. W. S. Vance (Harvard).

Herman Melville: Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851. Luther S. Mansfield (Chicago).

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Evart A. Duyckinck and His Circle: A Study of Literary New York, 1840-1860. Luther S. Mansfield (Williams).

Katherine Tress of New York University has dropped the critical biography of Rose Terry Cooke and will gladly turn over to another much material in her possession.

Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

- [CAREY, MATHEW] McCadden, Helen M. "The Father of the American Book Fair." *Catholic World*, CXLIV, 547-551 (Feb., 1937).

Brief sketch of the Philadelphia printer and bookseller who organized the first American book fair in 1802.

- [JOHNSON, SAMUEL, JR.] Gibson, Martha J. "Identifying Samuel Johnson, Jr." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 688-689 (Dec., 1936).

Johnson edited a dictionary published in 1798.

- [PAINE, THOMAS] Anonymous. "The English Voltaire. Tom Paine: Citizen of the World." *Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 1826, pp. 65-66 (Jan. 30, 1937).

The character and career of a man of "whose positive achievements little remains but a few striking phrases—and his share in the making of the United States. . . ."

- Laski, Harold J. "A Valiant Pamphleteer." *Manchester Guardian Week.*, XXXVI, 116 (Feb. 5, 1937).

A bicentenary tribute to Tom Paine, who, among other things, wrote "the most permanent literature of the American Revolution."

- [WILLIAMS, ROGER] Wroth, Lawrence C. "Variations in Five Copies of Roger Williams's *Key into the Language of America*." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXIX, 120-121 (Oct., 1936).

A list of typographical variations.

- [WINTHROP, JOHN] Greenberg, Herbert. "The Authenticity of the Library of John Winthrop the Younger." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 448-452 (Jan., 1937).

"About fifteen books in the entire collection" in The New York Society Library "may be safely said to have belonged to the library of the younger Winthrop."

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Miller, P. "The Puritan Theory of the Sacraments in Seventeenth Century New England." *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 409-425 (Jan., 1937).

An analysis based on the writings of John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Peter Bulkeley, George Phillips, Thomas Cobbett, Thomas Shepard, Cotton Mather, and Solomon Stoddard.

Shurter, Robert L. "Shakespearean Performances in Pre-Revolutionary America." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXVI, 53-58 (Jan., 1937).

Discusses the various theatrical companies giving Shakespearean performances in America prior to the Revolution.

II. 1800-1870

[COOKE, P. P.] Hogan, W. J. "An Unpublished Poem of Philip Pendleton Cooke." *Educational Forum*, I, 81-86 (Nov., 1936).

A brief biographical sketch is followed by the poem, "The Ballad of Count Herman." Quotations are extracted from a "short unpublished biography" of J. P. Kennedy, now in the possession of Mrs. A. B. Bevan.

[COOPER, J. F.] Arndt, K. J. R. "New Letters from James Fenimore Cooper." *M. L. N.*, LII, 117-120 (Feb., 1937).

Two new letters by the novelist, published with annotations.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Burke, Kenneth. "Acceptance and Rejection." *Southern Rev.*, II, 600-632 (Winter, 1937).

Contains critical comments on the works of Whitman, Emerson, and T. S. Eliot.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Barbour, Frances M. "Margaret Fuller and the British Reviewers." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 618-625 (Dec., 1936).

"It was Margaret Fuller Ossoli, wife and mother, not Margaret Fuller, woman of letters, who interested English critics in 1852."

[HALIBURTON, T. C.] Harvey, D. C. "The Centenary of Sam Slick," *Dalhousie Rev.*, XVI, 429-440 (Jan., 1937).

Biographical and critical sketch of the humorist Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Gallup, Donald C. "On Hawthorne's Authorship of 'The Battle-Omen'." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 690-699 (Dec., 1936).

A contribution to the *Salem Gazette* (1830) is ascribed to Hawthorne.

Stewart, Randall. "Hawthorne and the Civil War." *Studs. in Philology*, XXXIV, 91-106 (Jan., 1937).

Hawthorne's "views of the war and the effect of certain environmental conditions brought about by the war upon the writer and the man."

Turner, Arlin. "A Note on Hawthorne's Revisions." *M. L. N.*, LI, 426-429 (Nov., 1936).

A discussion of Mrs. Hawthorne's influence in causing the novelist to "purify" his works by the expurgation of certain passages from later editions.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Hayakawa, S. I. "The Boston Poet-Laureate: Oliver Wendell Holmes." [Japanese] *Studs. in Eng. Lit.*, XVI, 572-592 (Oct., 1936).

Despite poetic bromides, "Holmes's poetic gifts might have flourished more richly had he lived in a time when 'Metaphysical' poetry was popular."

[KENNEDY, J. P.] See entry under *Cooke, P. P.*

[LOWELL, J. R.] Weber, Carl J. "More About Lowell's 'Dead Rat'." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 686-688 (Dec., 1936).

More data on the quarrel between Lowell and Julian Hawthorne in 1886.

[POE, E. A.] Hudson, Ruth L. "Poe and Disraeli." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 402-416 (Jan., 1937).

Poe "found in the novels of the young Disraeli sufficient precedent for his use of" many details in his own works. The point is illustrated by examples taken from Disraeli's *The Young Duke*.

Mabbott, T. O. "The Source of the Title of Poe's 'Morella'." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 26-27 (Jan. 9, 1937).

The title of the tale "Morella" may have been derived from Juliana Morella, a child prodigy, who was born in Barcelona in 1595.

Pettigrew, R. C. and Marie M. "A Reply to Floyd Stovall's Interpretation of 'Al Aaraaf'." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 439-445 (Jan., 1937).

"Al Aaraaf is not an instrument of destruction, nor is Nesace, its ruler, an agent of God's wrath." On this point and others the writers disagree with Mr. Stovall's two expositions of the poem.

Pollock, A. "A Play about Poe." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXVIII, 8 (Nov. 17, 1936).

A criticism of Sophie Treadwell's play, *Plumes in the Dust*, based upon the life of Poe.

Winters, Yvor. "Edgar Allan Poe: A Crisis in the History of American Obscurantism." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 379-401 (Jan., 1937).

Poe as a critic, poet, and short story writer is a poor author whose reputation has been exaggerated to the point of deluding scholars.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Canby, H. S. "The Man Who Did What He Wanted." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XV, 3-4, 15 (Dec. 26, 1936).

[WHITMAN, WALT] Allen, Gay W. "Walt Whitman—Nationalist or Proletarian." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 48-52 (Jan., 1937).

Though he drew upon the American scene for concrete imagery and locations, Whitman's "thought, his style, his mysticism, and his literary sources were European or Asiatic."

Glicksberg, C. I. "Walt Whitman in New Jersey: Some Unpublished Manuscripts." *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LV, 42-46 (Jan., 1937).

Disjecta membra concerning Whitman's latter-day travels in New Jersey which may have served as notes for an as yet unidentified newspaper article.

Silver, R. G. "Thirty-one Letters of Walt Whitman." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 417-438 (Jan., 1937).

Letters and post-cards by Whitman 1863-1890.

See entry under *Emerson, R. W.*

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Currier, T. F. "Whittier's 'Lines in an Album'." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 699-700 (Dec., 1936).

The poem was published in 1843.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Ashby, Nanette M. "Aliment for Genius." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 371-378 (Jan., 1937).

A brief treatment of various theories calculated to explain why American literature could not flourish.

Garrett, Kathryn. "The First Newspaper in Texas: *Gaceta de Texas*." *Southwestern Hist. Rev.*, XL, 200-215 (Jan., 1937).

The paper was prepared in Texas and the type was set in Texas; it was addressed to Texans and devoted solely to Texas affairs. Because of political complications it was printed in Natchitoches, Louisiana, on May 25, 1813.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Simonds, Katherine. "The Tragedy of Mrs. Henry Adams." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 564-582 (Dec., 1936).

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Balicer, H. C. "Szczepanik's 'Portrait' of Mark Twain." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXI, 968-969 (Feb. 20, 1937).

"The Austrian Edison" reproduced Clemens's portrait in textiles.

Hamada, Masajiro. "Mark Twain's Conception of Social Justice." [Japanese] *Studs. in Eng. Lit.*, XVI, 593-616 (Oct., 1936).

It had no concern with metaphysical idealism but was an application of the evolutionary theory to human action.

Leisy, E. E. "Mark Twain's Part in *The Gilded Age*." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 445-448 (Jan., 1937).

An explanation of "the exact part each author had in the work," based on Clemens's own MS entries in a copy.

Waggoner, H. H. "Science in the Thought of Mark Twain." *Am. Lit.*, VIII, 357-370 (Jan., 1937).

"He lost faith in conventional religion under the influence of Thomas Paine, his scientific reading, and his own native skepticism."

[FIELD, EUGENE] Anonymous. "Birthplace of Eugene Field." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 5 (Dec. 18, 1936).

Eugene Field's childhood home in St. Louis, now housing a valuable collection of Fieldiana, has been recently opened to the public.

[HARRIS, G. W.] Blair, Walter. "Sut Lovingood." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XV, 3-4, 16 (Nov. 7, 1936).

Concerned with the humorous stories of George Washington Harris.

[HAWTHORNE, JULIAN] See entry under *Lowell, J. R.*

[MISCELLANEOUS] Taylor, Walter F. "That Gilded Age!" *Sewanee Rev.*, XLV, 41-54 (Jan.-March, 1937).

Evidence shows that writers of the Gilded Age were neither complacent nor emasculate, as recent criticism has alleged.

IV. 1900-1937

[BRISBANE, ARTHUR] Anonymous. "Arthur Brisbane." *Chr. Sci., Mon.*, XXIX, 14 (Dec. 29, 1936).

A bit of necrology.

[BROOKS, VAN WYCK] Anonymous. "Emerson's New England: A Lost Leadership." *Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 1819, pp. 1021-1022 (Dec. 22, 1936).

An English appreciation of *The Flowering of New England*, together with a partial account of Van Wyck Brooks's development as a critic.

[BURKE, KENNETH] Glicksberg, C. I. "Kenneth Burke: The Critic's Critic." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXVI, 74-84 (Jan., 1937).

Discusses Burke's critical principles and theories.

[CABELL, J. B.] Jack, P. M. "James Branch Cabell Period." *New Republic*, LXXXIX, 323-326 (Jan. 13, 1937).

Reveals the superficiality of Cabell and the period.

[CATHER, WILLA] Trilling, Lionel. "Willa Cather." *New Republic*, LXXX, 10-13 (Feb. 10, 1937).

Miss Cather's world "broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts," and this "rejection of her own time must make her talent increasingly irrelevant and tangential—for any time."

[DEVOTO, BERNARD] Wilson, Edmund. "Complaints: II. Bernard DeVoto." *New Republic*, LXXXIX, 405-408 (Feb. 3, 1937).

"What does he want? If he does not believe in the improvement of society, how does he expect then that things will work out?—and what have the values of literature got to do with it?"

[ELIOT, T. S.] Otake, Masaru. "T. S. Eliot: The Lyric Prophet of Chaos." [Japanese] *Studs. in Eng. Lit.*, XVI, 542-554 (Oct., 1936).

Praz, Mario. "T. S. Eliot and Dante." *Southern Rev.*, II, 525-548 (Winter, 1937).

Discusses Eliot's debt to Dante.

See entry under *Emerson, R. W.*

[FRANK, WALDO] Harrison, Charles Y. "An Open Letter to Waldo Frank." *Modern Month.*, X, 6-8 (Jan., 1937).

Deals with Frank's attitude toward the intellectual and literary followers of Trotsky.

[HUGHES, HATCHER] Leake, Grace. "Southern Personalities: Hatcher Hughes, Dramatist." *Holland's*, LVI, 12, 67 (Feb., 1937).

[MASTERS, E. L.] E., R. F. "Portrait in Line Introducing Edgar Lee Masters." *Bookbuyer*, II, 18 (Feb., 1937).

Brief biographical sketch of Masters.

Van Wyck, W. "Edgar Lee Masters and Twentieth Century Prosody." *Personalist*, XVII, 75-80 (Jan., 1937).

Masters wrote the *Spoon River Anthology*, "as noble a work as has ever been penned by an American. . . . The passions that tug at the hearts of mortals are assembled therein, a majestic pageant of colorful colorlessness."

[MORE, P. E.] Richards, P. S. "The Religious Philosophy of Paul Elmer More." *Criterion*, XVI, 205-219 (Jan., 1937).

Dr. More accepts a clear-cut metaphysical dualism which posits a God who is transcendental and eternal, but who lacks "the attributes of infinity and omnipotence."

[MUMFORD, LEWIS] Glicksberg, C. I. "Lewis Mumford and the Organic Synthesis." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLV, 55-73 (Jan.-March, 1937).

"In opposition to the utilitarian ideal he calls for a symmetrical development of society itself."

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Dobrée, Bonamy. "The Plays of Eugene O'Neill." *Southern Rev.*, II, 435-446 (Winter, 1937).

The plays of O'Neill often fail to produce the best effect because he is trying "to combine two methods, that of the modern naturalistic stage with that of the medieval morality play."

Tapper, B. "Eugene O'Neill's World View." *Personalist*, XVIII, 40-48 (Jan., 1937).

From an analysis of *Strange Interlude* and *Mourning Becomes Electra*, the author draws the conclusion that O'Neill's world-view is that of Freudian psychoanalysis, and this does not offer an adequate cure for "the sickness of our age."

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Aaron, Daniel. "A Postscript to *The Last Puritan*." *New Eng. Quart.*, IX, 683-686 (Dec., 1936).

[STRIBLING, T. S.] Lebreton, Maurice. "L'Évolution sociale dans les états du sud, d'après les romans de T. S. Stribling." *Études Anglaises*, I, 36-52 (Jan., 1937).

[MISCELLANEOUS] ANONYMOUS. "Best Sellers 1936." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXI, 213-214 (Jan. 16, 1937).

ANONYMOUS. "Literary Awards of the Year." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXI, 220 (Jan. 16, 1937).

Calverton, V. F. "Proletarianitis." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XV, 3-4, 14-15 (Jan. 9, 1937).

Supports the view that American proletarian literature of the present time suffers from dictation from abroad and from being controlled by converts to the Stalinist branch of the Communists.

Hansen, Harry. "High Spots of 1936." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXI, 206-208 (Jan. 16, 1937).

A survey of the American literary scene in 1936 by the editor of a well-known book column.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

ANONYMOUS. [Notes on the Derivation and Meaning of the Word "Wop."] *N. & Q.*, CLXXI, 446 and 462 (Dec. 19 and 26, 1936); CLXXII, 12 (Jan. 2, 1937).

Barge, William D. and Caldwell, Norman W. "Illinois Place-Names." *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXIX, 189-311 (Oct., 1936).

Dobie, J. Frank. "Stories in Texas Names." *Southwest Rev.*, XXI, 411-418 (July, 1936).

The fourth and last instalment on Texas place-names.

McGill, Anna B. "The National Folk Festival: An Evaluation." *Southwest Rev.*, XXI, 423-428 (July, 1936).

Silver, R. G. "A Note on the Vocabulary of Strike-Breakers." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 8 (Jan. 2, 1937).

Defines three words used by strike-breakers: "Missionary," "Think," "Noble."

Sollars, Edna S. "Campaign Verse of Abraham Lincoln." *Catholic World*, CXLIV, 536-541 (Feb., 1937).

Includes extracts from campaign songs used during the Presidential election of 1860.

Strout, Alan L. "Pop Goes the Weasel." *N. & Q.*, CLXXI, 318 (Oct. 31, 1936).

Notes the use of the line "Pop goes the weasel" in an early American song beginning, "My Mary's got the whooping cough."

Taylor, M. "Use of Sinewy Vernacular Urged on English Teachers." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 6 (Nov. 27, 1936).

Native youth should be encouraged to "acquire a pleasant, conversational, American vernacular."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Clemens, Cyril. "Housman as a Conversationalist." *Mark Twain Quart.*, I, 9-10, 13, 18 (Winter, 1936).

A report of the poet's conversation in 1930, in which his reactions to various American writers are set forth.

Jones, Idwal. "Letters on the Pacific Rim." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XV, 3-4, 15 (Jan. 30, 1937).

On literature and literary activities, past and present, in California.

BOOK REVIEWS

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes.* By Frank Luther Mott and Chester E. Jorgenson. ("American Writers Series.") New York: American Book Company. 1936. clxxxviii, 544 pp. \$1.00.

GENERAL BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: *The Military Career of a Philosopher.* By J. Bennett Nolan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1936. vi, 101 pp. \$1.50.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ENGLISHMAN AND AMERICAN. By Verner Winslow Crane. The Colver Lectures, 1935, Vol. 19. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, for Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1936. 142 pp. \$1.50.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND HIS CIRCLE: *A Catalogue of an Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, From May 11 through September 13, 1936.* [New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1936.] ix, 155 pp. \$1.00.

No one of these books attempts a comprehensive study of Franklin except the *Representative Selections* of Mott and Jorgenson. Each of the others deals with a limited phase of his many-sided activities.

From the point of view of new material, Nolan's *General Benjamin Franklin* is perhaps the most valuable of the group. Franklin tells of his brief expedition into the Pennsylvania hinterland in his *Autobiography*, but his biographers have added little to his own account. "On December 18, 1755," writes Mr. Nolan, "after Braddock's disastrous defeat had imperiled the very existence of Pennsylvania as an English colony, the Sage departed upon his expedition to the frontier. He organized the Moravian settlements, built Fort Allen with its flanking fortresses, and returned to Philadelphia when the Assembly reconvened on February 5, 1756." Mr. Nolan fills this outline in complete and graphic detail with the assistance of the Franklin papers, the Moravian diaries, the newly deposited William Smith papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and many other documents. His narrative, which is annotated at every point from these original sources, is a miniature tale of adventure as well as a chapter in history, with interest centering on a somewhat portly but exceedingly wise middle-aged man of action (*pro tem.*) as its hero.

Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American is a series of four Colver Lectures delivered at Brown University in 1935. Their value to students of Franklin depends solely on a point made in the last of them.

Franklin's marginalia in his copies of William Knox's *The Claims of the Colonies* (1765) and the *Protest against the Bill to Repeal the American Stamp Act* (1766), Mr. Crane believes, indicate that he was secretly a dominion home-ruler at a time when his public utterances were more conciliatory to Parliament. If so—and Mr. Crane offers only a reasonable supposition that the dates of the notes are as early as those of the pamphlets in which they were entered—Franklin's change a decade later to an unqualified belief in American independence was much less sudden and paradoxical a transition than is usually believed. The other lectures merely support this point by an examination of Franklin's character and of his more general social and political views.

Representative Selections conforms to the general standards of the series in which it is published by presenting a critical bibliography and a full chronology as well as a lengthy interpretative introduction and critical notes. Furthermore, it is one of the most ambitious and learned volumes in that series. The selections from Franklin's writings are made with the purpose of illustrating the growth of his mind. A generous portion of the *Autobiography* is followed by many of the early essays, among them a few pages from *A Dissertation on Liberty &c.* (1725) (omitted from Smyth and most other collections), much material from *Poor Richard* including a facsimile of the issue for 1753, political as well as personal correspondence from the middle years, and the "bagatelles" and satirical essays. There is here sufficient material for a careful review of his principal religious, ethical, literary, philosophical, political, economic, social, and educational ideas, in themselves and in their development, and for the re-creation of his personality. His scientific writings alone are slighted, probably because of their circumstantial nature, although his scientific ideas may also be traced in outline in miscellaneous sources.

But unfortunately the broad scope of the selections is not paralleled by an equally broad basis of interpretation of Franklin's mind and activity on the part of the editors. Mr. Mott's exhaustive knowledge of the American periodical literature of the day and Mr. Jorgenson's philosophical mind and familiarity with the critical literature on eighteenth-century thought should have been an ideal combination of editorial faculties. But their inclusive and thorough scholarship is marred by an urgent effort to bind Franklin to a central thesis which is admittedly novel and, although containing more than a modicum of truth, is too narrow for a mind of such versatility and range as his. This thesis is that Franklin may best be understood by relating all of his thought to an "essential unity in the light of scientific deism, tempered by his debt to Puritanism, classicism, and neo-classicism." The application of this yardstick is reasonably suc-

cessful with reference to theological, moral, and scientific problems, but it fails in whole or in part with reference to other problems, particularly the political. But even if successful, so narrow a tractarian point of view is inconsistent with traditional ideals of impartiality and perspective in the function of editorship. The place for such a thesis is in the tract or other specialized study, from which it might ultimately find its way into the broader current of Franklin criticism and become relatively important to a measured judgment of him. It should not dominate, to the exclusion of other views, a volume of *representative* selections.

Benjamin Franklin and His Circle is a permanent record of an exhibition in The Metropolitan Museum (May 11-September 13, 1936). Mr. Halsey contributes a brief essay on Franklin's interest in the arts; and the listed exhibits include portraits of Franklin and of his contemporaries in various media—remarkably inclusive although that by Mason Chamberlain is conspicuous for its absence—scenes of eighteenth-century life, and personal and contemporary memorabilia. Although the primary value of the volume was occasional, it has sufficient usefulness as a work of reference to justify its retention after the occasion has passed.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

JOHN TRUMBULL, CONNECTICUT WIT. By Alexander Cowie. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1936. xi, 230 pp. \$2.50.

When Mr. Cowie announces his book as a "study of the creative life" of John Trumbull, his phrase is to be taken literally. Several facts prevent it from being considered as a biography of the poet, the most important of which is its abrupt conclusion when Trumbull is only twenty-five years old. The remaining fifty-six years of his life, during which poetry was at best incidental to a public career, are summarized in a few pages. Furthermore, two of the longest and ablest chapters in the book are critical essays on Trumbull's two best poems, respectively *The Progress of Dulness* and *M'Fingal*. And finally, among the unpublished sources which were used, there was discovered almost nothing of a personal or biographical nature. The man Trumbull is no clearer an image than he was before Mr. Cowie wrote.

On the other hand, the development of Trumbull's poetic mind is now thoroughly documented and his achievement more satisfactorily appraised than it had been, in spite of the work of Tyler, Parrington, and others. For the new material upon which he worked, Mr. Cowie is chiefly indebted to three sources: the unpublished Tyler papers in the Cornell University Library, the Woodbridge papers in the Detroit Public Library, and a nearly complete file of the *Connecticut Journal* in the Yale Uni-

versity Library. From these documents Mr. Cowie has been enabled to demonstrate that Trumbull's muse was always, even in his earliest experiments, satirical and comic in spite of the emphasis placed upon more solemn work in the 1820 collection. This conclusion furnishes a new perspective for the criticism of the two long poems upon which Trumbull's reputation rests. Furthermore, by a careful study of Trumbull's education and reading, mainly in an unpublished "Critical Reflections" (1778), Mr. Cowie is able to demonstrate that, in spite of the poet's obvious Hudibrastic inspiration, he was immediately indebted to Swift and Churchill more than to Butler himself, and that his imitative genius represents a composite of impressions from many similar writers of classical and neo-classical type rather than a literal adaptation of the work of any one. And for the first time, Trumbull's Addisonian essays are examined. Finally, a study of the dates of editions of *M'Fingal* and other sources establishes the fact that, contrary to popular impression, this Revolutionary satire had little popularity or influence during the period of the war itself, and gained great respect as a poem from conservatives and liberals alike in the period 1782-1820, when American literature was in a formative state and works of comic genius were comparatively rare. Such discoveries help to re-create the mind rather than the personality of a poet, and are of inestimable value in a critical analysis of his work.

Mr. Cowie expresses the hope that, by subordinating the mechanisms of his researches, he has prepared a book "not merely for the scholar but for the general reader of more than average curiosity regarding the literary history of our country." Certainly his book is more readable than many another life of a minor poet, but it is to be feared that his general reader must have more than average persistence in the reading of solemn pages lightened only by the occasional quotations of poetic passages of archaic humor. A confusing stylistic mannerism is the habit of referring (many times) to a book or a fact with a qualifying phrase, each time as though it had not previously been mentioned. For example, *An Elegy on the Times* is so introduced on pp. 124, 125, 131, again on p. 133, where it is discussed at length, and on p. 144. Similarly, the fact that Silas Deane encouraged Trumbull to finish *M'Fingal* is mentioned on pp. 144 and 159, fully documented by a letter on pp. 164-165, and then restated, almost as a new idea, on p. 166. Many like cases might be noted, with the suspicion that the book was written in fragments rather than consecutively.

Nevertheless, Mr. Cowie has done for scholarship what he set out to do: he has furnished us with a judicious analysis and estimate of Trumbull's lasting work, without overpraise or false humility, against the back-

ground of a careful examination of his lesser and unpublished poetry and of those literary, biographical, sociological, and political factors which operated as cause or effect of the poet's work.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

NOAH WEBSTER, SCHOOLMASTER TO AMERICA. By Harry R. Warfel. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1936. xvi, 460 pp. \$3.50.

NOAH WEBSTER, PIONEER OF LEARNING. By Ervin C. Shoemaker. New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. xii, 347 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Warfel's biography is made up of a prologue and nineteen chapters; appended is a nine-page section called "sources and bibliography" and the volume is concluded with a ten-page index. In his Preface the author tells us that his interest in Webster grew out of a study of the history of nationalism in America. Such a study must indeed be largely concerned with Webster, whose writings were veritable textbooks of Americanism, and whose influence was all the more powerful for being so largely indirect. Mr. Warfel has well brought out the multifarious patriotic activities of his hero. If Wesley took the world for his parish, Webster took the United States for his school, and all the inhabitants thereof for his pupils. He caught them young, with his spelling books, histories, primers, readers and the like, and kept at them as long as they lived with a constant bombardment of treatises, learned and popular, on an amazing variety of subjects, everywhere sounding the patriotic note and laying down the law with magisterial assurance. Mr. Warfel's title brings out beautifully the most characteristic and important feature of Webster's activities; the man's weakness as well as his strength may be summed up in the word "schoolmaster." Mr. Warfel has done a good job, a job that sadly needed doing; he has shown in detail that Noah Webster is a major, not a minor figure in the history of American culture. His book reads well, though marred now and then by fanciful passages such as this: "As little Noah Webster trudged to school, his bright eyes studied the flowers, trees and sky" (p. 15). Most of us, too, would prefer a plural verb-form after *data* (p. 252). The etymology 'female weaver' which the author gives for Webster's name (p. 5) is dubious; see *MLR* XXII (1927), 131 ff. Webster's phonetic observations on the unstressed syllable of *honour* and *favour* (p. 66) do him credit and ought not to be called "surprising" unless one is surprised at the accuracy of his ear. If Webster dropped the final *e* of *medicine* but not of *fugitive* (p. 314), he was presumably governed by a familiar rule of English spelling, according to which *n* may end a word but *v* may not.

Dr. Shoemaker's book is an attempt to give "a full portrait of Webster

as an educator" (p. v). His monograph seems to be a doctoral dissertation of the Teachers' College of Columbia University. Its quality is too low to justify extended notice in this journal.

Johns Hopkins University.

KEMP MALONE.

PROPHET OF AMERICA: *Emerson and the Problems of To-day*. By Newton Dillaway. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. xi, 423 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Dillaway is a preacher of the gospel of Emerson to the sick world of the 1930's. He has some right to be heard, for he is a seasoned disciple, having spent, as he says, "many years of 'thankful laboriousness' in behalf of the man from Concord." Now he brings us his harvest of sermons, not only on such familiar themes as optimism and consistency, but on economics, education, war and peace, and so forth. Under each heading he arranges his liberal borrowings from Emerson's text and generally drives home each passage by restating it in his own language and by adding up-to-date illustrations and applications. The present volume is, he admits, only a beginning of what might be done; but it is enough to serve as the basis for at least a tentative appraisal.

If his purpose and his general method are justifiable, there can, I think, be no serious quarrel with the way in which Mr. Dillaway has done his work. His interpretations of Emerson's original meaning are nearly always orthodox. He makes his peculiar contribution by supplying what is in effect a modern paraphrase of the old text and by showing how the old teachings can easily be altered to apply specifically to problems of today. His manner is suited to this purpose. It is noteworthy that we should at last have Emerson done into the idiom of the American business man. We read in a chapter on "The Experience of God" that "Just as the stock quotations often pass out of sight before we can catch the exact quotation, so the light of intuitiveness whizzes in and out and is gone before we can cry 'Hold.' The ticker tape of the Infinite Mind, or the intuitiveness, has the correct quotations; but our finite minds can only approximate the exact figures." The chairman of the board of directors of a steel corporation and the president of an insurance company are among our contemporaries cited for Emersonian sentiments. Altogether there is a fairly extensive *Who's Who* of living Emersonians, including clergymen, columnists, business men, and even political leaders. The book, published only a month or two before a presidential election, is especially timely in its references to social and economic ideas debated by political parties during the campaign. It shows, however, a pretty comprehensive concern with the problems that

confront our generation, and everywhere there is an obvious effort to be fair and to stick to what one might suppose the opinions of Emerson would be if he were alive today.

But the question remains whether Mr. Dillaway's purpose and method can be fully justified, however well he has succeeded in doing what he wished to do. It may be objected, with at least some show of reason, that neither Emerson nor any other author can be taken out of his own time and place and made a commentator on the problems of a later generation without violence. Changing times alter the complexion of old problems. One remembers too Emerson's own conviction that truth is not static but grows and changes. Emerson himself had, if I understand him rightly, no notion of prescribing cures for specific social or political ills of future generations. Nor did he wish to establish a cult, though he must often have prayed to be defended from those who considered themselves his friends and disciples. Half a century after his death he is, one suspects, in more danger from friends than from enemies.

What he did try to teach is to be had in his own words. And in spite of the curious opinion held by some critics that, though a great teacher, he was no great writer, he does not need to be rewritten or paraphrased. Few writers ever knew so well what they wanted to say and few ever wrote in a style better suited to the thought. Before he published his first book he had completed his long period of orientation. The first book was a true prospectus of all that was to follow. Within the next eight years he rounded out the record of his thought in addresses and essays until its significance was unmistakable. Then he spent some thirty more years in providing, out of his amazing store of observation and experimentation, illustrations and applications of the old fundamentals. Thus he was his own commentator and, in a sense, rewrote his own works more than once. What remains unpublished surely deserves to be brought to light. And the value of the record can still be enhanced for intelligent readers by critical and biographical studies throwing new light on the growth of his thought and art out of the soil of his own time and of the past. But it is hard to see the need of a revised and popular version of Emerson for the current year.

On the other hand, the question of how Emerson appears in the eyes of our contemporaries is one of great interest, and some light upon it can be had from Mr. Dillaway. But many readers will doubtless continue to believe that Bliss Perry, in his little book of only a few years ago, has said the needful and the wisest words upon that subject.

Columbia University.

RALPH L. RUSK.

LITERATURE AND AMERICAN LIFE: *For Students of American Literature.*

By Percy H. Boynton. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1936. xiii, 933 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Boynton's volume perfectly illustrates the difficulties into which the one-volume history of American literature falls. For, by reason of the extension of knowledge in the field, orthodox literary history, in the sense of an account of the lives and works of authors thought to be worthy of inclusion in such a volume, is itself a richer and more complex problem than it was half a century ago. The interpretation of Thoreau is an instance in point; it is no longer sufficient to discuss Thoreau as a transcendentalist, but his social views, his modern or contemporary significance, must also be dealt with. In the next place, especially is it true of the American field that a great mass of material of mediocre literary merit is of importance because it is typical or representative—Mr. Boynton, for examples, devotes a couple of pages to the Muckrakers. In the third place, there is the problem of folk literature and of quasi-folk material—a question which has especially interested this author, who gives a good deal of space to song and balladry in America as well as to Negro folk-lore and the like. And finally, there is the more dubious problem of the theater—does its history belong to literature? Mr. Boynton believes that it does, for he has attempted to sketch its development.

All these matters make the question of organization difficult, but this problem is further made complex by two fundamental problems. One is that colonial history seems rather remote and seems, therefore, not to have much to do with what follows. The second is regional life in America. In the effort to be fair to the cultural life of various regions, Mr. Boynton has had to do a goodly amount of chronological back-tracking, with the inevitable result that the progress of the whole book is impeded.

But above all, the task is how to fuse literary history and social history. Mr. Boynton sees that American literature has an intimate relation with the rich history of American society, but his endeavor to equate the two has brought him face to face with an almost insuperable difficulty. He cannot go forward in a straight line with his literary history because he has to bring up the reserves in the shape of social comment and sociological interpretation; but just as he is well launched upon a discussion of, let us say, the frontier, he has to remember that he is also writing a history of American letters.

Confronted by these perplexities, Mr. Boynton has done the best he could do. The book seems to me to lack unity in the sense of being a

relation of the rise and development of the forms of literary art in the United States, though it has the unity which comes from everywhere having something to do with American culture. Had he written the story of American culture, his pages would have fallen more clearly into focus, but he is, after all, interested in literature primarily. His dilemma is illuminating, for it is precisely the dilemma into which the subject has fallen, and until we can find some better means of fusing social history and literary lore than we have yet done, few of us are likely to avoid these same pitfalls. As it is, Mr. Boynton's critical evaluations are buried among masses of sociological observations.

Each division of the book is accompanied by a useful working bibliography. There are one or two unfortunate repetitions of quotations and contradictions of fact; and in general it is to be said that Mr. Boynton has done better with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than he has with the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. If his book is not the definitive history we have been waiting for, it is a valuable illustration of the perplexities of the field.

Harvard University.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

EARLY AMERICAN BOOKS & PRINTING. By John T. Winterich. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1935. xvii, 253 pp. \$2.50.

The author's aim in writing this book was to combine a utilitarian manual for rare book collectors with an interesting treatise in narrative form on the chief printed rarities produced by Americans or dealing with America. In this purpose he has succeeded so well that not only connoisseurs in the field but scholars and bibliophiles of all kinds will read it with both enjoyment and profit.

Beginning with the earliest European books describing or even mentioning America, Mr. Winterich passes on to the introduction of the press in New England, imprints of value by reason of their earliness, the spread of printing to the Pacific, and the classes of sought-after "firsts," down to the more prized first editions of contemporary writers of note. In this sense it is a partial history of printing in America, though the writer warns the reader in advance that he is to expect neither a perfectly balanced nor an inclusive account. His style is graceful and his enthusiasm and humor are winning. To the novice especially, much information of value is presented, and the novice will not regret the author's decision not to assemble the numerous sources cited *passim* throughout the volume into a bibliography for reference. A workable index is supplied.

Some slips are inevitable in a work mentioning so many books and writers as this does. Thus *Androborus*, 1714, was not "the first dramatic

composition to be written" in America (p. 157), unless *The Bare and the Cubb* of Virginia in 1665, Benjamin Colman's *Gustavus Vasa*, 1690, and Tony Aston's "play of the country" at Charleston in 1703 are to be passed over. Charles Brockden Brown did not spend his last years doing literary hack work in New York, with frequent return journeys to his birthplace (p. 154), but keeping a store in Philadelphia and giving his spare time to hack work and magazine editing. *The Power of Sympathy* cannot be classed as either biography or history (p. 150), despite the Elizabeth Whitman footnote, the Fanny Aphthorp digression, and the "Founded in Truth" label, because the plot of the novel, the Harrington-Harriot romance, has no foundation in fact. *Charlotte Temple* (p. 151), published in London in 1790, should be classed as an English novel, though its surprising vogue was confined to the United States. Mathew Carey's *Columbian Magazine* did not yield to the *American Museum* (p. 165) but paralleled its career from January, 1787, to December, 1792. The fact that these errata all occur in Chapters VII and IX indicates only that the period 1790-1810 is still largely a No-Man's Land to most American literary historians.

One need suggested by this as by all recent works in the field is that of a full and scholarly study of the Green family of printers, descendants of Samuel the first of Cambridge. Much more is known and written about the Bradfords of New York and Philadelphia and other lesser families, despite the fact that the Greens, through at least six generations, far surpassed all their American contemporaries in duration of service, extent of territory—from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Fredericksburg, Virginia—and in amount and importance of typographical output.

University of Maine.

MILTON ELLIS.

STEPHEN FOSTER, *YOUTH'S GOLDEN GLEAM: A Sketch of His Life and Background in Cincinnati, 1846-1850*. By Raymond Walters. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1936. 160 pp. \$1.50.

In all American history there is probably no figure that has become so legendary as Stephen Foster. Perhaps it was because so little was known of the man himself that apochryphal anecdotes took the place of fact until his brother issued a brief biography, thirty years after Stephen's death. Then it was too late to correct the legends that had already arisen, nor have modern research and careful study of the few documents extant prevented the state of Kentucky from labeling the shrine in Bardstown as the place where "My Old Kentucky Home" was written, nor Henry Ford from purchasing as Stephen Foster's birthplace a house that was obviously not yet built when the little lad was born.

Thus it is that anything factual concerning Foster's life holds a curious fascination for the student, and the appearance of a newly discovered letter or contemporary newspaper item is something of an event. While Dr. Walters may not have turned up any new biographical information concerning Foster, he has accomplished something that may be of greater importance; he has reconstructed the background of Stephen's four years in Cincinnati more thoroughly than it has ever been painted before. He has taken the already quoted letters of Stephen and members of his family, and through newspapers, directories, church records, and other contemporary sources has told us much about the persons who are mentioned and shown the part they played in the life of the city. He has traced the career of the firm of Irwin and Foster, for whom Stephen worked as a bookkeeper, and he proves what had previously been surmised, that the firm's shipping business kept Stephen constantly in touch with the wharves where the Negroes from the South sang their folk-songs.

The minstrel performers who visited Pittsburgh are dealt with at length, and the musical life of Cincinnati in the years 1846 to 1850 is set forth so clearly and thoroughly that it is to be hoped that some day Dr. Walters will write a complete history of music in Cincinnati.

The book is highly readable; Stephen actually lives in its pages and his sociable, mirth-loving character is apparent whenever he appears. The book is valuable in adding to the background and circumstances which made Foster's songs what they are—a truly American expression which could never have been produced on the seaboard, but which had to come from the heart of America, where the diverse factors that created our heritage found their meeting place.

The book is fittingly dedicated to Josiah K. Lilly, founder of Foster Hall in Indianapolis, of whom Dr. Walters writes: "[his] enthusiastic devotion to Stephen Foster's life and work has brought forth notable contributions to the history of music in America."

Glen Ridge, New Jersey.

JOHN TASKER HOWARD.

THE NATIONALIZING OF BUSINESS, 1878-1898. By Ida M. Tarbell. ("A History of American Life," Volume IX, Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, Editors.) New York: The Macmillan Company. 1936. xvi, 313 pp. \$4.00.

Among the unfinished tasks that remain to challenge the American student is that of clarifying our national history during the complex and crucial period from the Civil War to 1900. Toward the achievement of this task, Miss Tarbell has contributed an intelligent synthesis and interpretation of the voluminous materials available on the economic history

of the period. Her interpretation, briefly summarized and somewhat simplified, is as follows: The main drift of the times was toward the consolidation of business on a nation-wide scale. The controlling personal force was that of a small group of industrialists—men like Carnegie, Hill, Harriman, and Rockefeller—whose paramount influence over the national life was not, during that era, seriously undermined. The consolidation of capital provoked a similar consolidation of the various protagonists of capital, chiefly labor and agriculture. By the efforts of each of these groups to obtain the control and use of the government, the political history of the times was largely conditioned; from the basic economic struggles among them, the vitality of lesser issues like the tariff and the currency was derived.

Miss Tarbell has documented her work extensively, and has included also an admirable "Critical Essay on Authorities" (pp. 278-293). Her former affiliation with the strongly partisan group of the Muckrakers has not prevented her from telling her story impartially, even objectively; and her journalistic experience has not kept her from exercising the best talents of the scholarly historian—talents for careful assembly of evidence, sound generalization, intelligent synthesis, and clear portrayal.

To the literary historian, Miss Tarbell's work offers food for reflection on the economic approach to the study of literature—its limitations and its possible value. The limitations of an economic approach are obvious when, on comparing the history related by Miss Tarbell with large areas in American literature, one is able to find only the slightest connection. Neither F. Marion Crawford nor Henry James, for example, is to be interpreted in the light of economic conflict, although each was aware of it. On the other hand, the value of an approach through economic history is shown by the existence of a considerable body of American literature which *has* responded vigorously to economic forces; and Miss Tarbell's account suggests the need for interpreting that literature in accordance with its distinctively American backgrounds, rather than in accordance with some imported formula like that of the Marxian critics. Is it not possible—even probable—that such men as Henry George and Edward Bellamy, and in less degree Howells and Garland, can be profitably studied as autochthons, as individual minds, directed by a unique national tradition, and reacting upon a unique national experience? To be sure, the student of these authors can understand them in part in the light of their derivation from Tolstoy or Spencer or the British Fabians. Conceivably, though, he might understand them still better by seeing them in their constant and vital relation to the environment of strenuous economic struggle which Miss Tarbell has so adequately portrayed.

Mississippi College.

WALTER FULLER TAYLOR.

ACROSS SPOON RIVER: *An Autobiography*. By Edgar Lee Masters. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart. 1936. 426 pp. \$3.50.

It was somewhat of a shock to this reviewer to realize that Mr. Masters is now sixty-seven years of age, that he is contemporary with William Vaughn Moody, Clyde Fitch, and Booth Tarkington, and that twenty-two years have passed since the sensational *Spoon River Anthology* in 1915. The appearance of that book so definitely marked the success of the pre-war modernists that it is still hard to think of its author as anything but a young radical. Yet even at that time Mr. Masters was not young. *Spoon River* was the culmination of many years of struggle to find expression for a thwarted and stumbling experience; and its attainment was never repeated.

This is the story which Mr. Masters tells in *Across Spoon River* with as little restraint as he used in describing his characters. If his life has been a succession of disappointments and blind lunges, his difficulties have not been caused by inhibitions. His father had revolted from the farm to the village, from labor to the law; the son carried the revolt to the city and through the law to poetry. But the progress is from simplicity and self-security to complexity and doubt; primitive forces are not lessened by the movement away from the soil. "My head was always bowed in an attitude of attack," Mr. Masters says of himself in a moment of clear self-knowledge, and it would seem that he gained from that posture the strength which kept him always plunging forward on his path, as well as the short-sightedness which held his eyes always to the ground immediately before his feet. Even in his old age and retirement, the deity of his discovery is Knanyin P'usa, the goddess of mercy, "contemplating the distress of men, . . . the eternal womanly, . . . a kind of mediatrix between the powers that punish and myself undergoing punishment there in the valley, and there climbing the hill." This is naturalism in its most extreme American version, the naturalism of Dreiser and Anderson, before the movement was lost in the symbolism and stylized sub-romanticism of Faulkner or Jeffers. The nature to which Mr. Masters offers his devotion is a dumb and brutal mother who lives in cities and river bottoms, and who seeks the more blundering and stupid of mankind for her especial mismanagement.

An era of literary history is brought to a close by the life records in *A Story Teller's Story*, *A Book about Myself*, and *Across Spoon River*. Even though there may be still further to go in following down *Time and the River*, the special kind of frustration of the generation which reached its maturity before the twenties, and which revealed the sources of Mark Twain's dismay in *The Mysterious Stranger*, has found its

voices. We can never return to the faith of Emerson in a Nature identified with an all-good because science has its clutches on the psyche, both social and individual. But the work of Masters, Dreiser, and Anderson, however vital, was destructive and futilitarian. It marked the recognition of the challenge of science, not the solution of the problems presented. New hypotheses are already emerging from the materialistic determinism of the early years of the century, and new literary modes to deal with them. The naturalism of Masters is not the naturalism of the younger writers. This much we can tell, even though the scene is too close for us to have much perspective for our judgment of the issues involved.

But this very fact makes *Across Spoon River* an invaluable document. As personal history it is a sincere and frank exposition of a baffled soul. As literary history, it tells at first hand of that brief renaissance which centered in the home of Mrs. Moody and the office of *Poetry* in the years just before the war. Harriet Monroe, Dreiser, Sandburg, Lindsay, Robinson, even Amy Lowell and Stuart Sherman, move across its pages, with Homer and Shelley large in the shadows. Sandburg has lived on to speak to a new generation in a language which it understands, but most of the others are gone, and with them the literary movement which found its most exact expression in *Spoon River Anthology* and *Winesburg, Ohio*. For its very confusion, this book has a significant story to tell, but its virtue is honesty rather than clarity or understanding.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

BRIEF MENTION

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHIES OF RELIGION. By Henry Nelson Wieman and Bernard E. Meland. Chicago: Willett, Clark, and Company. 1936. 370 pp. \$3.00.

This volume should preface a titular "contemporary"; it concerns, in fact, living writers only. "Philosophy" and "Religion" are both defined liberally: the positions represented pass from the extreme supernaturalism of Gresham Machen (the "intellectual" among Fundamentalists) and the American disciples of Karl Barth to the naturalism of Santayana, John Dewey, and Alfred North Whitehead; and among the "philosophers" we discover the American poet-critic, John Crowe Ransom, and the premier columnist, Walter Lippmann; Irving Babbitt and P. E. More are—curiously, in view of the inclusions—omitted. Though Wieman and Meland quote liberally, their book is an exposition, somewhat clumsy and verbose, not—what would have been more useful—an anthology provided with a brief, analytic introduction. To recall past correlations of art and religion is, in the presence of this volume, to be struck with the remoteness of the explicated speculations, some of them sentimentally rhetorical, some professedly scientific, from the interests of contemporary American literature.

Boston University.

AUSTIN WARREN.

PETROLEUM VESUVIUS NASBY. By Cyril Clemens. With a Foreword by Irvin S. Cobb and an Introduction by Carl Holliday. Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society. 1936. xvii, 162 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Clemens has collected and presented the available facts concerning the chronology of the career of the author whose pseudonym was Petroleum V. Nasby, David Ross Locke—his life, his authorship of the Nasby papers, his association with various newspapers, his appearances as a lecturer, and his contributions to poetry, the drama, and serious fiction. The numerous details will make the book an indispensable aid to future students whose work concerns this humorist. Because, however, Mr. Clemens's study of such important subjects as the breadth of Locke's popularity, the nature of his influence in politics and journalism, and the technique of his comic writing is unfortunately rather superficial, there is still need for more complete scholarly consideration of these matters.

University of Chicago.

WALTER BLAIR.

BRITISH AUTHORS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Edited by Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1936. 677 pp. \$5.00.

Biographical sketches of a thousand authors, for the most part writers of belles-lettres, are included in the present volume, and in their selection Canada has been represented. Students of American literature may be interested in the accounts given of the lives of "Sam Slick," Basil Hall, Archibald Lampman, and others. The sketches are of varying length and accuracy.

C. G.

LETTERS OF ELIAB PARKER MACKINTIRE OF BOSTON: *Written between 1845 & 1863, to Reverend William Salter of Burlington, Iowa.* Edited by Philip Dillon Jordan. New York: The New York Public Library. 1936. 168 pp. \$1.25.

The epistles contained in this pamphlet are filled with references to political and religious, as well as to business, matters of Boston, and are written from an orthodox, conservative angle. Of special interest is their author's attitude toward abolition and the Civil War.

C. G.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY AND PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. By THOMAS HUTCHINSON. Edited from the Author's Own Copies of Volumes I and II and His Manuscript of Volume III, with a Memoir and Additional Notes by Lawrence Shaw Mayo. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1936. Three volumes. xxix, 466; xi, 391; x, 453 pp. \$15.00.

Volumes I and II of the Tory governor's history appeared first in Boston in 1764 and 1767 respectively, and Volume III, in London in 1828. Hutchinson's own copies of the first two volumes contained many corrections in his hand as well as an amount of new material interleaved. Volume III was edited by a grandson of the author who handled the text in the style of his day. Mr. Mayo, accordingly, now gives us a reliable text, corrected as far as possible by Governor Hutchinson himself. The work is beautifully printed, and the notes supplied by the editor are helpful—and not too abundant.

C. G.

SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS IN THE OLD SOUTH. By Thomas Cary Johnson, Jr. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia. 1936. vi, 217 pp. \$2.50.

Professor Johnson attacks vigorously two notions which he thinks are widely held by American historians: "that the Old South was intellectually dead" and "that its intellectual attention was devoted exclusively to the study of the classics" (p. 197). From his study of college catalogues, magazines, records of societies and clubs, he has amassed an abundance of materials which certainly indicate a widespread interest in popular science. The material is impressive, but it appears that the really productive scientists in the South, mostly physicians, were comparatively few. Professor Johnson does not tell us how the South resembled or differed from the North or the European countries in its scientific interests, and he has practically nothing to say concerning the scientific and pseudo-scientific interests of such literary figures as Byrd, Poe, and Simms. The book deals primarily with the thirty years immediately preceding the Civil War, and Professor Johnson hardly touches upon the beginnings of Southern interest in science. One would like to have a fairly detailed account of certain important Southern scientists such as Audubon (who is merely mentioned), Joseph Le Conte, William Charles Wells, "who was, if we can believe Darwin, the first to suggest the theory of evolution by natural selection" (p. 3, n. 2), and of James Woodrow, under whom Lanier studied at Oglethorpe. J. Fred Rippy's *Joel R. Poinsett* and S. W. Geiser's series of articles in the *Southwest Review* on "Naturalists of the Frontier" would have furnished more materials, and David K. Jackson's *The Contributors and Contributions to The Southern Literary Messenger* would have enabled Professor Johnson to identify the authors of scientific articles in that magazine. One questions the accuracy of the first part of the following sentence: "Mississippi was still a frontier state in 1861; at least, few of its leaders were native-born" (p. 28). By the test here suggested, California is still a frontier state. Professor Johnson has made an important contribution to the intellectual history of the South, but he should not be so continually surprised and irritated by the ignorance of other historians concerning what no one else has really investigated.

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH, 1607-1936. By William B. Hesseltine. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1936. xiii, 748 pp. \$3.75.

For most of the separate periods in Southern history there are reliable surveys, but there has been no satisfactory treatment of Southern history

as a whole. Professor Hesselstine has attempted to supply that need with a particular view to college students. The emphasis is upon economic, political, and social aspects of the South; not much attention is paid to cultural or literary phases. There is a brief chapter on "The Literature and Thought of the New South," but none dealing with any earlier period. The reviewer is disposed to question a few statements such as "... former indentured servants and others . . . rapidly rose out of the yeoman and into the aristocratic classes" (p. 41) and "... Greensboro, where Johnson surrendered [to Sherman]" (p. 569). The number of typographical errors exceeds the normal number. On p. 165 "and" appears instead of "who." On p. 455 a sentence is rendered meaningless by the misprint of "reindicate" for "vindicate."

MAJOR AMERICAN POETS. Selected and Edited, with Chronologies, Bibliographies, and Notes. By Harry Hayden Clark. New York, etc.: American Book Company. 1936. xiv, 964 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Clark's anthology bears a general resemblance of C. H. Page's *The Chief American Poets*, published in 1905 and for some reason never revised. In addition to the poets in the older collection, Professor Clark has included Freneau, Emily Dickinson, Lindsay, and Robinson. In spite of copyright restrictions, he has managed adequately to represent every poet included. His bases for choosing the selections are stated in the Preface: "An attempt has . . . been made to include not only poems which are intrinsically good as works of art but also poems which express each poet's political, religious, social, economic and æsthetic views" (p. v). An important feature is the inclusion of "representative prose statements of the theories and aims which underlie and direct and in part explain their practice, their poetic art" (p. vi). In the back of the book appear a brief bibliography of "General Principles of Poetics" and full notes on the various poets. The notes include a chronological outline of each poet's life, a usable annotated bibliography, and notes on the individual poems. In general, the scholarly apparatus is admirable; and the selections are well chosen. For some of the poets Professor Clark has had difficulty in finding adequate prose statements of their poetic theories. In his comments on books and articles in his bibliographies he has been somewhat over-generous in his praise; how many books and articles dealing with American literature deserve to be labeled "authoritative" or "exhaustive"?

MERLE JOHNSON'S AMERICAN FIRST EDITIONS: *Bibliographic Check Lists of the Works of 199 American Authors*. Third Edition: Revised and Enlarged by Jacob Blanck. New York: R. R. Bowker Company. 1936. xiv, 507 pp. \$10.00.

The scope of this book, which is of greater value to collectors than to students of American literature, is suggested by a sentence in the Preface: "This volume is not intended as a substitute for the extant bibliographies of American authors, but as a source of information concerning those authors whose enthusiasts have not yet offered a complete bibliographical record" (pp. vii-viii). But for Mr. Johnson's death, there would probably be fewer errors than appear in the third edition of a work first published in 1928. The reviewer calls attention to the following: P. 103, "Thomas Holley Chivers: A Selection by Lewis Chase. Oglethorpe University Press, 1929" is not a separate publication but a reprint from Thornwell Jacobs (ed.), *The Oglethorpe Book of Georgia Verse*. P. 166, for "John Owen Beatty," read: "John Owen Beaty." Pp. 192-193, for "Mrs. [Ellen] Glasgow," read: "Miss Glasgow." P. 235, for "J. O. Sargent," read: "Epes Sargent." P. 275, "The Blackwater Chronicle. New York, 1853" was written not by John Pendleton Kennedy but by his brother Pendleton. P. 485, "A Leaf of Grass from Sandy Hill" should read: "A Leaf of Grass from Shady Hill." P. 486, *New York Dissected* was edited by Emory Holloway and Ralph Adimari (not "Adiman").

SERIES OF OLD AMERICAN SONGS: *Reproduced in Facsimile from Original or Early Editions in the Harris Collection of American Poetry and Plays, Brown University*. With Brief Annotations by S. Foster Damon, Curator. Providence, R. I.: Brown University Library. 1936. \$5.00 a set, or 20 cents each.

This is not a book but fifty separate pieces of sheet music reproduced in facsimile with Professor Damon's comments typewritten on blank pages. The period to which the songs belong is 1759-1858. "Nothing still readily available has been included," says Professor Damon in his Preface. "The typed notes appended to each song are designed merely as an introduction, a hint or two as to its nature and history. Except in the field of balladry, almost no work has been done to solve fundamental problems; in this state of our scholarship it is impossible to be exhaustive and conclusive. The notes reveal insight and discrimination as well as painstaking research. The collection begins with two songs about General Wolfe. It includes John Dickinson's "The Liberty Song" (from *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanac* for 1769), Nathaniel Niles's "The American

Hero" (1775), and "The Capture of Burgoyne" (1777). Among the other songs included are "Old Grimes," "Jim Crow," "Zip Coon," "The Rose of Alabama," and "Old Rosin the Beau." "Old Tare River" obviously refers to Tar River in North Carolina.

NOT UNDER FORTY. By Willa Cather. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1936. viii, 147 pp. \$2.00.

Miss Cather explains her title in a Prefatory Note: ". . . the book will have little interest for people under forty years of age. The world broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts, and the persons and prejudices recalled in these sketches slid back into yesterday's seven thousand years. . . . It is for the backward, and by one of their number, that these sketches were written." The six sketches are "A Chance Meeting," which deals with a niece of Flaubert's; "The Novel D  meubl  ," an admirable bit of literary criticism; "148 Charles Street," which deals with Mrs. Annie Fields; "Miss [Sarah Orne] Jewett," to whom Miss Cather is deeply indebted; "Joseph and His Brothers," which concerns a novel of Thomas Mann; and "Katherine Mansfield." Miss Cather's first volume of essays places her among the best essayists of our time. As a stylist, she is almost without a peer among her American contemporaries.

AUDUBON. By Constance Rourke. With 12 colored plates from original Audubon prints. Black and White Illustrations by James MacDonald. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1936. 342 pp. \$3.00.

"This biography," says Miss Rourke, "had its more distant origin in a concern with American frontiers. Audubon's writings, imperfect as he knew them to be, are essential to a knowledge of frontier life along the Ohio and in Louisiana during a significant period, and his development has something to say as to the place of art and science there" (p. 319). Modern research, she continues, goes "far to dispel the idea that Audubon, a struggling artist and scientist, lived with hardship on a crude frontier; indeed this idea is not borne out by the essential record. Crudeness has often been attached to the frontier as by a stereotype, and the notion that men had no concern there with matters of the mind has had widespread currency" (pp. 321-322). Miss Rourke's dominant interest in Audubon, however, is not in the frontier or in Audubon's drawings or writings but in the character of the man. That character she presents simply and vividly in one of the best written biographies of recent years.

THE UNEXPECTED YEARS. By Laurence Housman. Illustrated. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1936. 338 pp. \$3.00.

ROMANTIC ADVENTURE: *Being the Autobiography of Elinor Glyn*. Illustrations. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1937. 350 pp. \$3.50.

Here are two interesting autobiographies by English authors of very different kinds who have attracted wide attention in America and helped to break down nineteenth-century literary conventions in both countries. Both Mrs. Glyn and Mr. Housman have visited the United States more than once. Mr. Housman, whose comments are always kindly, first came to America during the war. "At that time," he says, "the United States was still good hunting-ground for indigent authors who could put up readings or lectures" (p. 260). The brother of A. E. Housman, who figures largely in *The Unexpected Years*, he is perhaps "the Empire's most censored author"; and his latest visit was to see Helen Hayes in *Victoria Regina*, still banned in his native land.

Mrs. Glyn, according to her own reckoning, has spent fully ten years of her life in the United States, where her *Three Weeks* created as great a sensation as in England. On her first visit she found everybody talking about the book from New York society to Western miners. She met Mark Twain, who told her that he liked *Three Weeks* very much. "He also added that I was grossly misunderstood, but that he had no intention of defending me, since he was not on earth 'to do good'—at least not intentionally!" (p. 144). Apropos of which this reviewer recalls a remark of Jack Halliday's in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg": "*That's* got the hall-mark on it!" In a chapter on "Hollywood in the Early Days" Mrs. Glyn gives some account of her connection with the motion picture industry at a time when the producers wanted the names of prominent novelists but seldom listened to suggestions from them. Her comments on American social life in pre-war days are sometimes wide of the mark but more often shrewd and discerning.

THE BEST LOVED POEMS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. Selected by Hazel Felleman. Garden City, N. Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1936. xxxvi, 670 pp. \$1.69.

There are earlier anthologies of favorite poems, but no earlier compiler has been so situated as to know what poems the American people love as Miss Felleman, who for fifteen years has conducted the "Queries and Answers" page of the *New York Times Book Review*. This experience and not her personal taste, she says, is the basis of her selection,

although she adds: "I feel free to say that there are few of the poems that I would not have included myself" (p. vii). There are perhaps as many poems by English authors as by American. At least one hundred and thirty of the poems are by unknown authors. Teachers of poetry in college and high school will perhaps be surprised to find nothing of Shakespeare here, only two poems from Tennyson, and only one each from Keats and Shelley, while Mrs. Caroline Norton has two. Mrs. Browning has three to her husband's two. Berton Braley, Longfellow, and James Whitcomb Riley have four each, Poe only two, and Whitman none. The poets represented by the largest number of selections are Kipling with eight and Ella Wheeler Wilcox with fourteen. With the exception of Edwin Markham, who has five poems, the volume contains practically nothing by any living poet who would be mentioned in a college course in contemporary poetry. The book is certainly an important document for those who, like Professor A. M. Schlesinger, would approach American literature from the point of view of the social sciences, finding William H. McGuffey more significant than Emerson. Teachers of English, however, will probably react in one of two ways. Some will feel that if Miss Felleman's collection represents what the American people love, why spend more money trying to raise the literary taste of the public? Others, feeling that they belong to Arnold Bennett's "passionate few" who keep alive the taste for great poetry, will shrug their shoulders and say: "What has the average American to do with poetry anyway?"

JOEL BARLOW, POLITICAL ROMANTICIST

M. RAY ADAMS

Franklin and Marshall College

UNTIL RECENTLY most writers on Joel Barlow have dwelt upon the early American part of his career and upon his abortive attempts to enshrine the glory of his native country in an epic poem, to the neglect of his long sojourn abroad as a citizen of the world and of his revolutionary writings. His biographer, Charles Burr Todd, devoted comparatively little attention to this portion of his life and work and chose to regard him primarily as "the pioneer of American poetry" and one of "the great leaders of Republicanism in America." Within the last few years his fame has been reassessed with more nearly a due proportion of emphasis upon the European aspects of his career.¹ This study is an attempt to trace his connection with political radicalism, particularly in France and England at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. "It is this later Barlow," as V. L. Parrington remarks,² "completely new outfitted by French romantic tailors, that after years remember." "The kindly thing," writes Russell Blankenship,³ "is to remember Barlow as a lover of freedom and an ardent advocate of universal education and to forget his heavy-handed toying with poetry." I shall accordingly treat of his poetry only in so far as it was made the vehicle of revolution-

¹ The Joel Barlow Commemoration at Redding, Conn., June 22, 1935, touched all the facets of his many-sided life, but its feature was the address of the French ambassador. Victor Clyde Miller, in his monograph, *Joel Barlow, Revolutionist, London, 1791-92* (Hamburg, 1932), has told the story of Barlow's second visit to London. His special contributions to the subject are his assembling of information about Barlow in the Public Records Office and of manuscript material in the British Museum, his elaboration upon the influence of Paine on *Advice to the Privileged Orders*, his analysis of the *Letter to the National Convention* in the light of the Constitution of the United States and of the French constitutions of 1791 and 1793, and his careful survey of bibliographical data belonging to the period. Miller has not, however, dealt fully with Barlow's more purely personal contact. Maria Dell Isola has written of him as the herald of the League of Nations ("Joel Barlow: Précurseur de la société des nations," *Revue de Littérature Comparée* XIV, 283-296, April-June, 1934). T. A. Zunder, who has competently canvassed his early life to the last detail in his *The Early Days of Joel Barlow* (New Haven, 1934), promises as thorough a treatment of his later career.

² *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1928), I, 383.

³ *American Literature* (New York, 1931), p. 189.

any ideas. It is notable, however, that in these portions he comes nearest to true inspiration.

Barlow's prose, most of which was written during the years spent abroad, has given to him fully as secure a claim to literary distinction as his poetry. It bristles with his democratic convictions and is entirely free of the cumbersome paraphernalia of expression which make his poetry so labored and artificial. As a prose writer he is like Paine in the impetuosity of his onslaught upon tyranny of whatever sort, in his pamphleteering ability, and in his saturation with the gospels of reason, optimism, and universal benevolence. Yet his prose has been rarely appraised by literary historians and has been singularly neglected by the anthologists. Even his *Advice to the Privileged Orders* has been so little known that two writers⁴ on Barlow have referred to it as though it were a poem.

No other American of importance came to know so much of the French Revolution at first hand. His friend and classmate Josiah Meigs wrote to him upon his return to America: "I consider you as bringing to us more valuable information than any native American has ever returned from Europe with."⁵ His residence of more than thirteen years in France was coincident with the era of the Revolution. The fervor of his nature, to which it appears that his earlier conservatism had not allowed full play,⁶ was released and the heady liquor of revolution made him an ardent romanticist in politics. He wrote, then, with the knowledge but not with the detachment necessary for calm historical appraisal. He himself in his unpublished "Notes for a History of the French Revolution,"⁷ written apparently about 1797, has given us just such a portrait of himself as a political romanticist:

No man can pretend to have seen it all. Some have been too near, others too far off, some blinded by their interests, or prejudices, others

⁴ A. C. Baldwin, "Joel Barlow," *The New Englander*, XXXII, 413-437 (July, 1873); and Vernon C. Squires, "Joel Barlow—Patriot, Democrat, and Man of Letters," *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, IX, 299-308 (July, 1919).

⁵ Unpublished letter of Dec. 22, 1805, in the Pequot Library, Southport, Conn.

⁶ "The associations which he had formed in Paris combined with innate tendencies which had long been latent to make him an avowed liberal in religion and republican in political sympathies" (F. B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Yale College*, New York, 1907, IV, 5). See also T. A. Zunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74, 103-105, 144, 168.

⁷ This document is in the "Barlow Papers," MSS Am. 507, in the Harvard College Library. For the privilege of quotation from this collection I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, its present owner. The larger part of the collection was made by Lemuel G. Olmstead, grandnephew of Joel Barlow.

rendered indifferent from their want of sensibility; and no man can say that he does not belong to one of these classes . . . For myself, I partake of the disabilities and advantages of these [first] three classes without having anything in common with the fourth . . . It would be difficult for a native to have an acquaintance more particular and at the same time more general than mine has been, especially with several who began the business and directed its first and most characteristic movements.

His adventures began with his coming to Paris in June, 1788, as the agent of a land company, later proved fraudulent, to sell lands and enlist immigrants, it being thought, especially after the beginning of the Revolution, "that many Frenchmen of the more cultivated and prosperous classes would be induced to take up permanent abode in America, now that cultivation and prosperity were such blots on their 'scutcheons at home.'"⁸ With Barlow was associated the Scotchman William Playfair, an ardent early revolutionist who assisted in the capture of the Bastille but who soon turned violently reactionary and wrote his *History of Jacobinism* (1796) against his former confederates.⁹ J. P. Brissot, the traveler and revolutionary leader, was, according to Barlow's biographer, evidently associated with the same company.¹⁰ The agents met with flattering success among both the middle and the higher orders. Barlow wrote to his wife on January 1, 1790:

Many respectable & wealthy families are now making their purchases and are going this spring; among whom are several noble men & some members of the National Assembly . . . If the first 100 people find themselves happy, the stream of immigration will be irresistible; they may be followed by a million of European settlers into the western country.¹¹

⁸ Charles Downer Hazen, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 144.

⁹ John G. Alger, *Englishmen in the French Revolution* (London, 1889), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰ Charles Burr Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow* (New York, 1886), pp. 62, 70. Brissot's *New Travels in America* (1791), translated by Barlow the following year, with its picture of the free and happy life beyond the seas, led many Frenchmen of the middle class to migrate to America later. For an account of Brissot's activity in stimulating American colonization schemes, see Appendix A, "On the Origin and Development of Pantisocracy," of J. R. MacGillivray's *Wordsworth and His Revolutionary Acquaintances* (1930), an unpublished Harvard dissertation. For a general treatment of Brissot as the "great apostle of Americanism in France," see Bernard Faÿ, *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America: A Study of the Moral and Intellectual Relations between France and America at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1927), pp. 237-244, 285-286, 320-321.

¹¹ Unpublished letter in the "Barlow Papers."

His friend John Trumbull remarked to Oliver Wolcott with as much truth as facetiousness on "The Visions of Barlow." Soon the unscrupulous character of the company's speculations became evident.¹² Barlow was, however, exonerated of conscious complicity: The best evidence of his essential innocence is that Volney, although he found reprehensible "that trite, idle, and inflated rhetoric which has condemned five hundred meritorious families to hardship and misery,"¹³ continued to hold Barlow in the highest esteem for the rest of his life. However, his associates in America attempted to throw all the odium of failure upon him, as he thought, on account of his conversion to extreme republicanism. When the land company failed him, he turned to his pen for support.

In the meantime travel and political intercourse had brought him into contact with many of the leading minds of the new dispensation. He had come to France armed with letters of introduction from Washington to Lafayette and Rochambeau. Jefferson, then minister to France, presented him to the nobility and to literary and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the court. On July 12, 1788, he was off to London, where he spent nearly three months. A friendly reception awaited him there from Dr. Richard Price, with whom he had been in correspondence before leaving America.¹⁴ It is evident from this that he had early been attracted into the orbits of the more liberal English thinkers on the eve of the revolutionary era.

The journal of this first visit to England, portions only of which

¹² A body of immigrants arrived in America in 1790 to find that the company had no title to the lands, and after several dispossessions were finally in 1795 granted territory by Congress in the section where Gallipolis, Ohio, now stands. For full accounts of the enterprise, see Theodore T. Belote, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis*, 1907, Series 2, Vol. III, No. 3 of the *University Studies* of the University of Cincinnati; and J. G. Rozengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1907). C. F. Volney, in his *View of the Soil and Climate of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1804), gives the history of the expedition as told by some of its survivors in 1795, when he visited Gallipolis and "was struck with its forlorn appearance."

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

¹⁴ In 1786 Barlow had sent to Dr. Price by John Adams a manuscript copy of *The Vision of Columbus* and asked his advice about publishing it in England. In a letter of Feb. 4, 1787, he had advised against its publication there because of "the Dedication to the King of France, the encomiums on France and the American army, and the censures of this country." On March 24, 1788, Price wrote that he had "taken care to convey to Mr. Hayley and to Mr. Day the copies you directed to them." For the text of these letters, see T. A. Zunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229. The originals are in the "Barlow Papers" and in the Pequot Library, respectively.

have been published by Todd, is preserved in two notebooks of the "Barlow Papers." It shows both the practical bent of his mind which was to make him later a kindred spirit with Robert Fulton, and the democratic sympathies which were soon to ripen into the downright philosophy of revolution. He was attracted by various mechanical exhibitions, from harpoons and mangles to steamboat models. And the first authentic record extant of his association with Thomas Paine is in an entry for August 26: "Mr. Paine, the author of *Common Sense*, has shown me the modle [*sic*] of his iron bridge. The king of France will probably employ him to build one over the Siene [*sic*] & the king of England over the Thames." But that their initial common interests went beyond bridges is evident from an entry for August 29: "Dined at Mr. Vaughan's with Mr. Paine, Mr. Tooke & several other English Genl."¹⁵ No man of liberal tendencies could have talked in 1788 with Horne Tooke, then in the thick of the fight for parliamentary reform, without having his heart moved as by a trumpet. In fact, Barlow saw the famous Westminster election of 1788 perpetrated upon the people and gave a vivid and indignant picture of the corruption and bribery then accepted as a matter of course in English politics. In the entry for August 4, he writes:

The voters on such a street or parish . . . breakfast with such a duke or lord and proceed with him to the polls. Thus he puts himself upon a level with the most ragged, vile, and worthless of creation, who move in a tumultuous procession through the streets, reeling and huzzaing, with his Grace or the candidate at their head . . . When we hear in common language that such a duke sends *sixteen members to Parliament*, and that such a gentleman has *bought a borough*, what shall we think of the political freedom of this people?¹⁶

As yet it is noticeable that he writes as the somewhat proud and condescending American constitutionalist before the access of revolutionary fervor had warmed his blood. In the journal entry for October 3, we read:

I presume there are not to be found five men in Europe who understand the nature of liberty and the theory of government so well as

¹⁵ These passages were first published by T. A. Zunder in his "Notes on the Friendship of Joel Barlow and Tom Paine," *American Book Collector*, VI, 96-97 (March, 1935). Zunder here presents evidence, though he himself discounts it, that Barlow and Paine had previously met in America.

¹⁶ Quoted by C. B. Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

they are understood by five hundred men in America. The friends to America in London and Paris are astonished at our conduct in adopting the New Constitution. They are as intemperate in their idea of liberty as we were in the year seventy-five.¹⁷

And yet he observes that the fact that "one sixth of the kingdom lies in heath" is due in part to "the sacred rights of private property." He argues for a more democratic use of the public domain. Of Richmond Gardens he writes: "The only objections to them are the expense, & the vast quantities of ground that they occupy, part of which might be employed in raising men instead of shrubs."¹⁸

Barlow soon began to chafe under the restraints of American constitutionalism. His association on the eve of the Revolution with Lafayette and with such Girondist leaders as Volney, Garat, La Harpe, and Laplace, to whom he was introduced by Jefferson, and with the French literati, influenced him much toward liberalism in religion and politics. The direct influence of Jefferson himself was probably not without weight. The birth of the Revolution, which he saw in all its horrors and all its ecstasies, completed his conversion. Unfortunately, however, only a few letters written in 1789 are extant and these yield us little specific information about the impact of public events. On July 28, for example, he wrote his wife, then still in America, with quiet confidence in the eventual reformation of the world through what he had witnessed:

All the cruel things which you see published, however horrible, however cruel, however just, however noble, memorable, and important in their consequences, have passed under my eye, and it is really no small gratification to me to have seen two complete revolutions in favor of liberty . . . I look upon the affairs of this nation as on the point of being settled on the most rational and lasting foundation . . . Nothing but the contemplation of the infinite happiness that I am sure will result to millions of human beings from these commotions could enable me to tolerate the observance of them.¹⁹

¹⁷ Quoted by C. B. Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 84. See also the partly unpublished entry for Aug. 4, 1788.

¹⁸ Unpublished entry for Aug. 19, 1788. See also the unpublished entry for Oct. 11, 1788.

¹⁹ Quoted by C. B. Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Todd has incorrectly given the date of this letter as July 20. The original is in the Pequot Library.

His intimate acquaintance with Grégoire, the revolutionary bishop, and with Condorcet strengthened his conversion, though for the larger part of the first year of the Revolution he was absorbed by the colonizing enterprise.

On July 10, 1790, Barlow and Paul Jones, with ten other Americans, came as a deputation from their countrymen in Paris before the National Assembly and presented to them a congratulatory address, soliciting admission to the festival of the Revolution on the Champs de Mars. The style of the address suggests that it was probably drawn up by Barlow himself, though it was delivered by William Henry Vernon. In it the belief was expressed

that the nations would emerge from their lethargy and would claim the rights of men with a voice that could not be stifled; . . . that the luxury and passion of ruling would lose their illusory charm; that those chiefs, those kings, those gods of the earth, would renounce the idolatrous distinctions lavished upon them, in order to mingle with their fellow-citizens and rejoice at their happiness.²⁰

The next day Barlow wrote to his wife: "We made yesterday our wonderful address to the Nat'l Assembly—such thunderclaps of applause never were heard."²¹ Four days later he wrote to her of the famous first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille: "The great scene of yesterday . . . was the sublimest ever presented to man I am sure."²² Todd tells us that Barlow left Paris for London in the spring of 1791 because "the enormities of the Jacobins rendered residence there unsafe."²³ But this is a doubtful explanation. While at this time the bourgeoisie were separating from the masses and while the extreme Left took heart after the death of Mirabeau in early April, the Jacobins did not resort to violence until July 17 in the so-called Massacre of the Champs de Mars. Moreover, Barlow was, as we shall see, in and about Paris much of the time during the Terror. It is more likely that he was originally drawn to London for this visit on business or perhaps to escape the difficulties in which he had become involved with the land company. The agents were then quarreling among them-

²⁰ For the full text of this address, and the reply of the president of the Assembly, see John G. Alger, *Glimpses of the French Revolution* (London, 1894), pp. 111-114. The French version of the Americans' address is in the "Barlow Papers."

²¹ Unpublished letter in the "Barlow Papers."

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

selves and Barlow's connection with them was growing very tenuous.²⁴ However, the protracting of his stay was undoubtedly due to his enlistment as an active propagandist in the movement for political reform.

No sooner was he there than he affiliated himself with members of the flourishing London Constitutional Society, the best known of the organizations aiming at political reform, in the work of which he soon became intimate with such liberal political and literary leaders as Horne Tooke, Joseph Priestley, John Thelwall, Thomas Holcroft, Jeremiah Joyce, Robert Merry, and William Hayley.²⁵ His political essays were given the full approval of the society and he was formally made a member with James Mackintosh in March, 1792, his name having been proposed by Horne Tooke.

In 1792 he met William Godwin, and the philosopher records in his diary for this year that Barlow was one of a group with whom he discussed the principles of *Political Justice* before its publication:

During this year I was in the singular situation of an author possessing some degree of fame for a work still unfinished and unseen. I was introduced on this ground to Mr. Mackintosh, David Williams, Joel Barlow, and others, and with these gentlemen, together with a Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Holcroft, had occasional meetings in which the principles of my work were discussed.

Another entry for this year runs: "Tea at Barlow's with Wolstonecraft [*sic*] and Holcroft. Talk of self-love, sympathy, and perfectibility, individual and general."²⁶ But however well the philoso-

²⁴ See unpublished letters from Barlow to Abraham Baldwin of May 3 and Oct. 17, 1791, in the "Barlow Papers." In the latter he wrote: "I have done with all ideas of pushing Scioto any further."

²⁵ Hayley in particular had sought an introduction to Barlow through their common friend, Dr. John Warner, and had hailed him in a burst of epistolary verse. See the unpublished letter from Hayley to Warner in the Pequot Library. In this collection there are three unpublished letters from Hayley to Barlow belonging to this period. In one of Oct. 23, 1792, Hayley thanks him for a copy of the *Letter to the National Convention*, "which, though I am *not yet a Republican*, I have read with great pleasure. It is full of reason and philanthropy." This letter is interesting, too, for its account of Hayley's early intimacy with Cowper. For Hayley's story of a visit from Warner and Barlow, see Hayley's letter quoted in V. C. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁶ C. Kegan Paul, *William Godwin, His Friends and Contemporaries* (London, 1876), I, 71.

pher and Barlow agreed in principle²⁷ and respected one another, their temperaments had little in common. On the other hand, it is not hard to imagine that Barlow's buoyant nature easily took fire from Holcroft's. The acquaintanceship between the Barlows and Mary Wollstonecraft grew into considerable intimacy. Before she went to Paris in 1792, Barlow assisted in arrangements for her lodging there.²⁸ In the latter part of the year she came to Barlow for advice concerning her brother Charles's emigration as a farmer to America. Several extant letters from Mary Wollstonecraft to Mrs. Barlow attest the closeness of their friendship.

But, after all, the most important of all the acquaintanceships developed at this time was that with Paine, whose influence upon his mind soon became more powerful than that of all others. They were both in London from the summer of 1791 to the autumn of 1792 and were undoubtedly often drawn together by common friends and common interests. Rickman, at whose house Paine was living quietly during the summer of 1791 while places of assembly were being closed to him, mentions Barlow among Paine's visitors at the time along with Mary Wollstonecraft, Thomas Christie, Priestley, and Horne Tooke.²⁹ One of Paine's friends whom he came to know very well was Dr. John Warner, who in 1790 had gone to Paris as chaplain to the English ambassador, Earl Gower, and had there been indoctrinated with revolutionary ideas.³⁰

In February, 1792, Barlow came forward with a mediocre satire in verse, *The Conspiracy of Kings*, and the most exhaustive and most distinguished of his prose writings, *Advice to the Privileged Orders in the Several States of Europe, resulting from the Necessity and Propriety of a General Revolution in the Principle of Government*. In both he gives full rein to his pugnacious instincts,

²⁷ It may be noted here that in an essay supplementary to *The Vision of Columbus* entitled "A Dissertation on the Genius and Institutions of Manco Capac," Barlow had illustrated the influence of political systems upon the human mind by the differences in national character between the peoples of Mexico and Peru. This theme was to receive its elaboration in *Political Justice*.

²⁸ See an unpublished letter from Barlow to Mrs. Barlow, dated at Paris June 10, 1792, in the "Barlow Papers."

²⁹ See Thomas Clio Rickman, *Life of Thomas Paine* (London, 1819), pp. 100-102.

³⁰ Three very affectionate unpublished letters from Warner to Barlow have been preserved in the Pequot Library. In one, dated at Stourhead, Dec. 6, 1791, he writes of entertaining Madame de Sillery, pioneer of modern French education and revolutionary mentor of the young Louis Philippe.

but, in the latter especially, there is a great deal more than sound and fury. *The Conspiracy of Kings* is a political satire in the tradition of Juvenal, written as an attack upon the sovereigns of Europe who had just formed a coalition against republican France. "The poem aims," writes Tyler,³¹ "to be very exasperating, even appalling; somehow succeeds in being only abusive; emits mere howls of metrical vituperation." But it is the passion of a patriot of mankind, not of a demagogue. It opens with an address to the great of the earth, who owe their stations to the monumental rascality and conscienceless ambition of their sires or to their own success in deluding the people and keeping them in ignorance. Such epithets as "knaves whom meanness styles the great," "crested reptiles," "those prolific monsters, courts and kings," and "sceptered horde" are scattered at random through his denunciation. He has boundless confidence that the French Revolution will rise to the greatness of its task and in the name of human nature lead the world to a new outpost of truth. He sees the native dignity of man prostituted to the show of power, and benevolence and independence of spirit made impossible by wars and the slavish adulation paid to the supposedly great.³²

But Barlow directs the bitterest part of his denunciation in *The Conspiracy of Kings* against the enemies of the French Revolution in England. He denounces Pitt for abandoning his earlier liberalism. The lion's share of his political railing, however, goes to Burke, whom he pictures as a sort of half-angel and half-devil: so inextricably are the elements of good and evil mixed in him:

Oh Burke, degenerate slave! with grief and shame
The Muse, indignant must repeat thy name.
Strange man, declare—since at creation's birth,
From crumbling chaos sprang this heaven and earth . . .
Declare from all these fragments whence you stole
That genius wild, that monstrous mass of soul;

³¹ Moses Coit Tyler, *Three Men of Letters* (New York, 1895), p. 171.

³² See *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow* (1796), pp. 242, 248-249. This volume contains all the productions originally published in 1792 and the *Letter Addressed to the People of Piedmont*. The collection was published in New York by John Fellows, who had in 1795 published separately the *Advice*, *The Conspiracy of Kings*, and the *Letter to the National Convention*. An avowed deist, Fellows had found sympathy for his ideas in a correspondence with Barlow and became intimate with Paine upon his return to America. *The Conspiracy of Kings* was reprinted in 1932 as an appendix to V. C. Miller's *Joel Barlow, Revolutionist*, London, 1791-92.

Where spreads the widest waste of all extremes,
 Full darkness frowns and heaven's own splendor beams;
 Truth, error, falsehood, rhetorics's raging tide,
 And pomp and meanness, prejudice and pride.³³

In his "Note on Mr. Burke," an appendix to the poem, he lays upon the statesman the responsibility for the war of the powers against France, which he considers the insidious outgrowth of the *Reflections*:

where in his quality as the political schoolmaster of his age . . . the professed enemy of tyrants, the friend of the people, . . . he tells them that this revolution is an abominable usurpation of a gang of beggarly tyrants; that its principle is atheism and anarchy; that its instruments are murders, rapes, and plunders; that its object is to hunt down religion, overturn society, and deluge the world in blood. Then in the whining cant of state piety and in the cowardly insolence of personal safety, he calls upon the principal sovereigns of Europe . . . to make war with the principles which he himself had long labored to support and to blast the fairest hopes of public happiness that the world had ever seen . . . What is the language proper to be used in describing the character of a man, who in his situation, at his time of life, and for a pension of only fifteen hundred pounds a year, could sit down deliberately in his closet and call upon the powers of earth and hell to inflict such a weight of misery upon the human race?³⁴

Paine had chastised the author of the *Reflections* with whips; Barlow chastises him with scorpions. There is more rage than depth of argument in his onslaught, but it well represents the exasperated temper of the radicals at the beginning of 1792 in England. One of his English correspondents wrote him concerning the poem: "I think I shall see you in the Tower before long. If so, take care to procure good apartments."³⁵

Advice to the Privileged Orders is the type of writing of which Barlow shows undoubted mastery—argumentative prose and historical discussion. It shows best his extraordinary capacity for public business and his intellectual versatility, which led Henry Adams to call him a "universal genius." It is the most carefully composed and ablest of his writings in prose. Into it went at the

³³ *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow*, pp. 245-246.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 257.

³⁵ Unpublished letter of March 25, 1792, from J. T. Clarke to Joel Barlow, in the Pequot Library.

same time all the pent-up feelings of a volcanic republican. Of its inception he wrote to his brother-in-law, Abraham Baldwin, on October 17, 1791:

I am meditating an attack which will be announced in a manifesto something like this, *The Renovation of Society, or an Essay on the Propriety of a revolution in the governments of Europe*. I have such a flood of indignation and such a store of argument accumulated [*sic*] in my guts on this subject that I can hold it no longer; & I think the nurslings of abuses are cut more to the quick than they have yet been by all the diffusions to which the French revolution has given occasion.³⁶

The first four chapters were published by the liberal bookseller Joseph Johnson as Part I in February, 1792. Part II was written in late 1792, but its publication was forbidden by the English government. It was published in Paris by the English press in September, 1793, and in London later the same year under the title, *Revenue and Public Expenditure*. In 1795 it was again "Printed and Sold by Daniel Isaac Eaton, Printer and Bookseller to the Supreme Majesty of the People," who was later imprisoned by the government.

He begins by emphasizing in the preface the fact that the French Revolution is the outcome of argument among the people, not of the use of the sword. He argues that unequal laws have resulted in the rise of a tyrannical class, which, ignoring the virtual equality in power and capacity of men in the same community, have made politics "the inexplicable Science." He outlines the "shifts of sophistry" by which the rights of kings have been supported:

In one age it is the *right of conquest*, in another the *divine right*, then it comes to be a *compact between king and people*, and last of all it is said to be founded upon general convenience, the *good of the whole community*.

He makes, with Paine, the naïve assumption of the fundamental simplicity of good government:

Whether a change of government shall take place and extend through Europe . . . is to be decided by men who reason better without books than we do with all the books in the world.³⁷

³⁶ Unpublished letter in the "Barlow Papers."

³⁷ *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow*, pp. xi, xv.

He proceeds to deal with certain relics of the feudal system, like primogeniture and the standing army, which had long outlasted their original purpose of national preservation. The feudal system of government represses the habit of thinking, which inevitably leads to the conclusion that all men are equal in their rights. The universities support these outworn feudal institutions. Oxford ignores representative republics and teaches the politics of Aristotle. Finally, Barlow repudiates the personal claims of feudalism to perpetual allegiance and idleness. "For a man to be *born* to an allegiance to another man is to have an evil star indeed; it is to be born to unchangeable slavery." It is a ridiculous anomaly in modern life "that the offspring of a noble family can experience the . . . fatality of being told that to put his hand to the plow or his foot into a counting house, would disgrace an illustrious line of ancestors and wither a tree of genealogy which takes its roots in the groom of some fortunate robber who perhaps was an archer of Charlemagne." Erase these detestable vestiges of the feudal system from society and "honor will be restored to the heart of man instead of being suspended from his buttonhole."³⁸

Next follows an impetuous attack upon the Christian church, defined by Barlow as meaning the Christian religion "perverted and pressed into the service of government."³⁹ It is one of the most determined attacks upon institutional religion in England before the publication of Paine's *Age of Reason*. His political enemies unjustly charged him with religious apostasy, as Paine's enemies charged him with atheism. But he was not consistent enough to follow Paine into complete deism. He did not become even during the Revolution an unbeliever in the Christian system.⁴⁰ But he heartily hated all the forms of its perversion in the hands of ecclesiastical hierarchies. The fact that religion deals with things invisible, he points out, makes it easy to pervert it. So tyranny in league with organized religion stimulates the power of

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33. As early as 1786 Barlow had protested against laws of feudal origin which had survived in the common laws of England and the United States. See Zunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-94.

³⁹ *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow*, p. 44.

⁴⁰ See his *Letter to Henry Grégoire . . . in Reply to his Letter on the Columbiad* (1809), reprinted in Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-233. See also in the Pequot Library Barlow's letter of Oct. 24, 1809, to Jonathan Law, in which he defends himself from attacks upon his religion by Timothy Dwight and others.

mystery over the forces of reason, thus darkening the minds of men in order to impress them.

The chapter on the military system is in large part a repudiation of the so-called system of honor upon which it is built. Honor, though like religion an indispensable element in our lives, may be allowed to destroy the moral sentiments and debase the dignity of man. It has made killing men in itself an honorable employment. Why discriminate between the office of a hangman and that of a soldier? Why are both sides of every military contest equally the road to fame? The pursuit of honor in the profession of arms was made the fashion of ancient kings, who early found war necessary for their existence and in fact often exposed themselves in battle. "They said, 'Let human slaughter be honorable,' and honorable it was."⁴¹ And thus was honor made a mere scutcheon. He proceeds with a ringing denunciation of war in general as a mere instrument of the aggrandizement of kings.

The discussion of the administration of justice is the most arresting and closely reasoned portion of the book. Here are his boldest arguments in favor of a general revolution. He starts with the Godwinian assumption of the pervasive influence of government upon morals and happiness, charging that many vices usually attributed to the "permanent nature of man" really result from the "mutable energies of state." And upon this assumption he bases, like Godwin, his belief in perfectibility. Given a good government which does not pervert the moral propensities with which nature has endowed us, "where shall we limit the progress of human wisdom and the force of its institutions in ameliorating, not only the social conditions, but the controlling principles of man"?⁴² Among the "most degrading retreats of prostituted logic" to which the system of orders and privileges has been driven to justify its existence, are the doctrines that private vices are public benefits and that some are born to command and others to be commanded. With Paine, he accepts Rousseau's doctrine of natural rights, and repudiates Burke's interpretation of the social contract as involving a compact between king and people.⁴³ In outlining the duties of society in relation to the rights of the individual, he pushes his individualist philosophy to an extreme that naturally disturbed the keepers of the common weal. He insists that society is bound to

⁴¹ *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow*, p. 53. ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 71. ⁴³ See *ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

furnish the means of subsistence to him who is born without them, since "she has usurped his birthright and this is restoring it to him in another form."⁴⁴ He justifies a reprisal upon society by the individual on the ground that he is held in indigence by society itself and is thus driven to take another's goods to replace his own. Men organize themselves in society to diminish their physical evils; out of this connection arise moral evils. Solution: instead of trying to remove the moral evil outright by vindictive justice, remove the physical evil by distributive justice, and the moral evil will take care of itself. But the administration of distributive justice in England is handicapped by the venal class of lawyers, who are simply parasites upon the body politic and whose power is built upon the ignorance of the laws of the land fostered among the people by the government's deliberate failure to provide information:

The laws of the land . . . are studied not to be understood but to be disputed. The man whose property is dependent upon a suit at law . . . mounts on the back of a lawyer, like one of Mr. Burke's heroes of chivalry between the wings of a griffin, and trusts the pilotage of a man who is superior to himself only in the confidence which results from his having nothing at stake.⁴⁵

But, as Miller points out, though Barlow condemns extreme economic inequality, he is no leveler.

Lastly, in the fifth chapter, originally published as Part II, Barlow treats of revenue and expenditure with special attention to their connection with war. This is the most intemperate portion of the book. He starts with the assumptions that revenue is always made the end rather than the means of government and that the interests of the governed and those of the government are necessarily opposite. Having paid a tribute to Paine, who had dealt with these subjects in the second part of *The Rights of Man*, as "a luminary of the age and one of the greatest benefactors of mankind,"⁴⁶ he proceeds in the spirit of his master to explain how the origin of the revenue system of Europe is the feudal engagement of a vassal to serve a certain number of days in the wars of his lord

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109. I have not here dealt fully with the sources of the *Advice* since this task has been competently performed by Miller. He has traced various ideas in the book to Montesquieu, Rousseau, Lafayette, Volney, Locke, Price, Paine, and Adam Smith.

at his own expense and the sacrifice of his own private judgment about the object of his service. He concentrates his fire upon two specific revenue policies which are accepted as fundamental in modern public finance: indirect taxation and the funding of the public debts. He attacks the former on account of its disguised character, by which the government hoodwinks the people into supporting it financially. The latter he condemns because it shifts the burdens to generations not responsible for the expenditure,⁴⁷ and he thinks that the necessity of resorting to it results from the failure of modern nations to stir their citizens sufficiently to support wars for profits among merchants, ministers, and generals, instead of for honor among kings as formerly. The most effective means of raising an oppressive revenue is an unrepresentative parliament, which its advocates now support openly and shamelessly by arguing that the people can never be capable of knowing what is for their own good, of making their own laws, or even of understanding them.

Mr. Burke, in a frenzy of passion, has drawn away the veil; and aristocracy, like a decayed prostitute whom painting and patching will no longer embellish, throws off her covering to get a livelihood by displaying her ugliness.⁴⁸

Miller seems to have been the first writer on Barlow to note that the last three of the eight divisions of the *Advice* listed in the introduction were never published and most probably never written. They were "6. The Means of Subsistence. 7. Literature, Science, and Arts. 8. War and Peace." I have discovered among the "Barlow Papers" what is apparently a portion of the projected but unpublished sixth chapter. It is a manuscript of a single page entitled "The Means of Subsistence" but is marked "Chapter VII." Though, as we have seen above, he has insisted in the *Advice* upon the primacy of natural rights even to the point of urging that society is obligated to furnish means of subsistence to him who is born without them, he here shows little patience for Rousseauistic vaporings about the state of nature. The passage is connected in

⁴⁷ Barlow's opposition to the funding system was in consonance with the denial of the radicals that one generation could bind another politically by "the indissoluble compact of a dead parchment." He had expressed the same economic opinion three years before. See the unpublished letter of Sept. 6, 1789, in the Pequot Library.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

theme with Chapter III, "The Administration of Justice," the first sentence appearing to require a context, which has probably been lost.

The fact is that there is no such state [of nature] antecedent to the social, that can be supposed to have existed, unless it be a perfect solitude of one person only; and if there could, it must have been in unnatural state. The only state of nature is a state of society; and the more numerous the members, the more various their pursuits, the more populous their territory, the higher the improvements in every kind of industry and art, provided an universal cultivation of the moral faculties should keep pace with physical exertion, the more perfect would be the condition of that society considered as a state of nature. This, therefore, is my understanding of the term; a perfect state of society is a perfect state of nature.

Thus, following the majority of the philosophers of the Enlightenment, Barlow repudiates Rousseau's doctrine of the perfection of primitive life as an absurdity in radical speculation. Barlow's use of the word "nature" here in the sense of the final consummating stage of a development is rare in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁹

Between April and July of 1792, Barlow was in France on a mission of undetermined nature to Lafayette, then in charge of one of the armies on the frontier. He reached Aix-la-Chapelle just as the news of the declaration of war against Austria was received and wrote his wife of the enthusiasm with which the French residents of the city heard of it.⁵⁰ Again in Paris, he writes to her with equanimity just after the dismissal of the Girondist ministers and in the midst of the universally fierce denunciation of the king which followed this action.⁵¹ He witnessed the riots at the Tuilleries on June 20 and observed concerning them:

This visit to the King by armed citizens was undoubtedly contrary to law but the existence of a king is contrary to another law of a higher original. . . . The constitution of nature is older than that made by the last assembly,—and the people feel this truth; they must express it in their own way, & they always will express it by irregular movements

⁴⁹ I am indebted for this observation to Professor R. D. Havens, of Johns Hopkins University, who has pointed out to me that this is No. 29 of the various meanings of "nature" given in the appendix of A. O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935).

⁵⁰ See an unpublished letter of June 18, 1792, in the "Barlow Papers."

⁵¹ See an unpublished letter of April 25, 1792, in the "Barlow Papers."

till they shall have wit enough to settle the matter according to the laws of nature, which admit of no king.⁵²

It is apparent that Barlow at the time did not discriminate closely between an insurrectionary mob and constituted democratic authority and that he was at heart a well-wisher of these potential demolishers of the throne.

After his return to London came the August massacres in Paris, and, seeing plainly a great change impending in France, he prepared his *Letter to the National Convention of France, on the Defects in the Constitution of 1791, and the Extent of the amendments which ought to be applied*. Dated September 16, 1792, within a week of the proclamation of the Republic, it was presented to the Convention by Paine during the same month and highly praised by him as a member. The Convention declared Barlow a French citizen in recognition of his services to the Republic through this paper.⁵³ About the same time like honors were bestowed upon six others of the British radical leaders. Barlow's friend, John Warner, in a letter from Paris of October 18, announced the honor to Barlow and hailed the new republic:

A thousand thanks to you, my dear jewel of a Joel, for the 'feast of Reason and the flow of Soul' with which you have this day regaled me in your kind letter and that to the N[ational] C[onvention]. It will, I flatter myself, do great credit to the writer and great good to the glorious cause of which he is so able a support . . . How your hearts must have exulted as mine has at the glorious successes of the infant republic, but of Herculean mold, and how must you have laughed, as I have, at the Feast of Lies of the discomfitures of its host with which our courtiers have been regaling themselves. I should think it has been attended to some of them with an Indigestion . . . Leave the scene! No, you must come here and be made a Conventionalist et Citizen. I think you will whether you come or not; for in the *Patriote* of the 25th ult. appeared the following list of 7 Anglais à qui la C[onvention] N[ationale] pourvoit le titre de Citoyen Francois—Thomas Cooper, John Horne Tooke, John Oswald, George Rous, Joel Barlow, Thomas Christie, and whose should the last name be but that of your humble servant, who

⁵² Letter of June 25, 1792, to Mrs. Barlow in the "Barlow Papers." The first sentence only was quoted by Todd, but incorrectly (*op. cit.*, p. 96).

⁵³ A letter from Hérault, the president of the National Convention, dated Nov. 14, 1792, advises Barlow that honorable mention has been made of his *Letter* in the minutes and that its translation has been ordered. This letter and the *procès-verbal* of the Convention, dated Feb. 16, 1793, have been preserved in the Pequot Library.

was not a little pleased to see himself, with his little pretensions, in such good company . . . Pray send your letter to the N. C. to our Friend Hayley . . . And pray send me a *Conspiracy of Kings* . . . I hope you often see our Friend Horne Tooke. Pray, tell me how he does. And that you go to the Constitutional Society.⁵⁴

The *Letter to the National Convention* is unequivocally revolutionary. The pulling up of the rooted order of things no longer has any terrors for him. It is written with an abandon which shows that the wine of revolution has gone to his head. The greatest vice in the French constitution is the maintenance of the King, which even under a limited monarchy has been almost fatal to the cause of liberty. "The experiment . . . has taught a new doctrine, which no experience can shake and which reason must confirm, that *kings can do no good*."⁵⁵ In his *Advice to the Privileged Orders*, Barlow had condemned monarchy in principle but condoned its practice in France as a sort of vestige of the old system necessary to retain for a time only. Here there is not a shred of argument left for it. Assuming that the wise and good should make the laws, it does not follow that, if kings and nobles were always wise and good, they should be the hereditary legislators. The fitness of men for making laws is not dependent upon moral character, but upon whether the law made expresses the will of the people. The national church, being an hierarchy, is but a support of monarchy. Bury them together; religion will not suffer thereby. He ridicules the sacredness attributed to constitutions, since it involves the supposition that our predecessors have had "a degree of discernment to which our own bears no comparison and . . . have known our condition by prophecy better than we know it by experience." As a model of vibrant English and as a declaration of pure republican principle the *Letter to the National Convention* takes no mean rank among the state papers of the period.

⁵⁴ Todd (*op. cit.*, p. 96) confuses the author of this letter with "Dr. Joseph Warner, the English surgeon and philosopher," who was not a revolutionist and, so far as I have been able to determine, not an acquaintance of Barlow. Moncure D. Conway (*The Life of Thomas Paine*, I, 350) was led into the same error. Todd published portions of this quotation, though inaccurately. The original of the letter is now preserved in the Musée de la Coopération Franco-Américaine de Blérancourt. For the transcription of this letter and other material there, I am indebted to Monsieur André Girodie, curator of the museum.

⁵⁵ *The Political Writings of Joel Barlow*, p. 164.

The *Letter* was soon being circulated with the *Advice* wherever there was the least susceptibility to republican propaganda. In a letter to the Society of Constitutional Whigs, Independents, and Friends of the People, presenting copies of the *Letter* and the *Advice*, he confidently declared:

The present disposition in Europe toward a general revolution in the principle of government is founded in a current of opinion too powerful to be resisted and too sacred to be treated with neglect.⁵⁶

He was naturally soon receiving his full share of the suspicion then being directed against the radicals, and in November the *Advice* was suppressed.

In November, 1792, Barlow suddenly left England for France, to escape arrest, it was said, during the movement against the radicals that culminated in Paine's trial, though it appears that no legal action had yet been instituted against him.⁵⁷ He had been urged, however, by some of his friends to present himself for a seat in the Convention. Paine had in September been elected to the Convention from Calais, and it is certain that Barlow entertained an ambition to join his friend in the work of founding the new republic.

Just before leaving England he was deputed with John Frost by the London Constitutional Society to present an address to the French Convention. His companion was an attorney and ally of Horne Tooke and had assisted Paine in his flight in September. At Paris, Barlow and Frost lodged at White's Hotel with Paine. Here on November 18 the English residents in Paris held a celebration at which among other toasts the following was drunk: "The patriotic societies of Great Britain and Ireland, with those who have contributed to inform and enlighten the people—Priestley,

⁵⁶ Unpublished letter of Oct. 6, 1792, in the Pequot Library. This society was organized in April, 1792, by some of the more advanced Whigs and a few of the milder radicals. It was more conservative than the Constitutional and Correspondence Societies and eschewed the political fermentation to which the French Revolution had given rise. Barlow undoubtedly considered their ideas about reform too mild.

⁵⁷ Miller doubts that Barlow left London because of fear of persecution, since both the second and third editions of the *Advice* and the *Letter to the National Convention* were all published by Johnson, "a rather timorous publisher," after the proclamation against seditious publications in May. There may be some reason for the doubt, but I should base it upon the deliberation of the government in Barlow's case rather than upon the timorousness of Johnson. No publisher in England during this period was a greater befriender of radicals with matter to print than Joseph Johnson. In fact, he was later sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for the publication of seditious matter.

Fox, Sheridan, Barlow, Mackintosh, Cooper, Tooke."⁵⁸ The address of the Constitutional Society, in which work Barlow probably had a hand himself, was as bold politically as it was effective rhetorically. It declares the French Revolution to be

the practical result of principles which philosophy had sought in the shade of speculation and which experience everywhere must confirm . . . In this career of improvement, your example will be soon followed; for nations, rising from their lethargy, will reclaim the rights of man with a voice which governments cannot resist.

Barlow and Frost were received at the bar of the Convention on November 28 with great acclaim. Barlow prefaced his reading of the address by an assurance that England would soon come to the aid of the Revolution. The president's answer was calculated even more to inflame conservative opinion against the radicals in England:

The shades of Pym, of Hampden and Sydney are hovering over your heads; and the moment cannot be distant when the people of France will offer their congratulations to a National Convention in England.⁵⁹ The deputies also informed the Convention that the Constitutional Society had sent a gift of one thousand shoes to "the soldiers of liberty." The address of the society was so disquieting that it was said "to have given birth to the state trials of 1794."⁶⁰ Burke read it and declared that "the question . . . is not whether we should make an address to the throne, but whether we should have a throne at all."

On December 4, 1792, Barlow joined a committee of the National Convention, to which his friend, Grégoire, Bishop of Blois, be-

⁵⁸ Quoted by Miller (*op. cit.*, p. 39) from the *Annual Register* for 1792. He thinks that the well-known revolutionary parody of "God Save the King" in praise of the guillotine was probably a product of this occasion. Duyckinck (*Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, New York, 1856, I, 393) wrote that it was said to have been "originally written for the amusement of some of his revolutionary friends at Hamburg" in celebration of the execution of Louis XVI. "There seems," writes Miller, "no ground for denying Barlow's authorship of the lines." But Barlow has left an outright denial of it. See the letter of Oct. 24, 1809, to Jonathan Law in the Pequot Library, quoted in A. R. Marble's *Heralds of American Literature* (Chicago, 1907), p. 173. Cf. also the unpublished letter of Oct. 1, 1810, from Fulton to Barlow in the "Barlow Papers."

⁵⁹ The story of this whole transaction, with the text of the addresses, was presented as evidence against Hardy at his trial for treason nearly two years later. See *The Trial of Thomas Hardy*, reported by Joseph Gurney (London, 1795), II, 49-62.

⁶⁰ *Public Characters*, 1805-1806, p. 163.

longed, on a trip to Savoy to organize the province into a new department. While there he wrote during the same month his *Letter Addressed to the People of Piedmont on the advantages of the French Revolution and the necessity of adopting its principles in Italy*. It was written at the request of the Convention as a piece of propaganda and sown broadcast over the country in French and Italian. It was not published in England, however, until 1795. He calls the attention of the Piedmontese to the timeliness of revolt, since "all the crowned heads of Europe are now covered with thorns"; denounces the system of censorship set over them by their government; brands propaganda against the French in Piedmont as false; apologizes for the cruelty and bloodshed of the Revolution; and ends with an eloquent recital of the efforts of France against the combination of her tyrant enemies. The comparatively liberal *Monthly Review*⁸¹ denounced the *Letter* as based upon the groundless assumption that the whole business of monarchy is deception. While he was in Savoy he was nominated for deputy but was defeated, returning to Paris in early March.

Meanwhile the King had been executed and war had been declared against England. Soon the conflict between the Gironde and the Mountain began moving definitely toward the final overthrow of his friends in power on June 2. But Barlow had been wise enough not to become involved in any of the machinations of the Girondist regime. What might have happened, had he become a member of the Convention, we can only conjecture from the treatment of Paine at the hands of the Jacobins. At first Barlow planned to carry out his oft-expressed purpose of going home, but he was induced by the prospects of a business enterprise of undisclosed character to linger on, untroubled by the lowering of the political sky. On the eve of the Terror in 1793 he removed to Mendon, a suburb of Paris, with his wife, who had come over from London in the latter part of June. He had promised her that he would have nothing more to do with politics, and his circumspection was soon justified.

Temporarily his rage for political writing seems to have been subdued almost completely. His literary activity during the remainder of 1793 appears to have been limited to the publication of Part II of the *Advice* in September and to the editing of the

⁸¹ XVIII, 446-451 (Dec., 1795).

sixth edition of his friend Trumbull's *M'Fingal*, which he brought out in London with a preface. In it, after deploring the influence of *M'Fingal's* great prototype, *Hudibras*, toward the depreciation of republican institutions, he declares it the commendable object of Trumbull "to ridicule monarchy—to expose the absurd arguments and shallow subterfuges which are uniformly used, wherever it is attempted to be supported by reasoning." At the same time Barlow recognized what a recent writer⁶² has elaborated upon in an article on Trumbull—"the impartiality of the Author in aiming the shafts at whatever is censurable in both parties; the extravagant zeal of the Whigs, as well as that of the Tories is exposed without disguise to our disapprobation."⁶³

Meanwhile Barlow's works were going through much the same vicissitudes in England as Paine's, being eagerly sought by the populace and as industriously cried down by the government and its agents. The first part of the *Advice* was perhaps more extensively read than any other radical publication except Paine's *The Rights of Man*, beside which it took its place in breaking up the molds of political opinion. In 1792 Part I was published in German, and in 1794 Parts I and II were published in French. Fox praised it in Parliament. Jefferson congratulated him. But the British condemned the book and its author, seized his letters as those of a suspect, and put emissaries upon his trail in Paris. In January, 1793, a former comrade of Paine in a letter⁶⁴ to him alluded to Barlow's lack of respectability in England. Burke inveighed against him in the Commons. On January 9, Mrs. Barlow wrote to her husband from London:

Our newspapers mention that you are appointed member of the Convention from Savoy, but the French papers say nothing about it, so that we suppose it is not true . . . You cannot think how much you are abused here. The *Oracle* of yesterday has promised his correspondents, that on Thursday he shall publish in this paper an interesting account of the life of Joel Barlow, Author of the *Advice to the Privileged Orders*. Mr. Burke often makes honorable mention of you in Parliament. Sometimes he calls you a prophet, the prophet Joel. I shall enclose you one of his sentences. You are very obnoxious here and it is

⁶² Alexander Cowie, "John Trumbull as a Revolutionist," *American Literature*, III, 287-295 (Nov., 1931).

⁶³ P. ix.

⁶⁴ Moncure D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1892), I, 379 n.

thought you cannot return with safety. The Alien Bill would prevent you, if nothing more.—Mr. Burke said: "The members of the Constitutional Society held open correspondence with certain societies in France, for the express purpose of altering the constitution of this country. A citizen by the name of Joel Barlow, another by the name of John Adams, and citizen Frost were engaged in this correspondence and they had been deemed unanswerable." . . . I fear, my love, you did wrong in going to Paris with Mr. F—t; his character here is so bad it has injured yours, hitherto spotless.⁶⁵

By the middle of 1793 he had become an object of wholesale abuse in the press⁶⁶ of England, where by this time all carriers of "the French disease" were being subjected to the most merciless scrutiny. The shock of English opinion over the violence of the Convention is sympathetically reflected even by Mrs. Barlow in a letter to her husband while he was on the mission of the Convention in Savoy:

I am distressed at the thoughts of a war between this country and France. The death of the unfortunate French king is the present pretext. Surely they could not have done so impolitic an action, setting aside the injustice of it, which I think unparalleled. Their friends condemn them equally as their enemies. The National Convention have most certainly greatly disgraced themselves and their country by showing such passion and violence in their debates and being directed solely by their passions. . . . They have showed themselves too cruel and blood-thirsty for the legislators of any country, particularly of a free one.—Their friends are ashamed of them.⁶⁷

Barlow's records of the Terror are sparse. Of the execution of his friends, the Girondists, in October, 1793, we hear nothing. The fewness of his letters during this period is accounted for not only by the fact that his wife, to whom he was a most faithful correspondent, was with him practically all the time, but also by the fact that he wished to avoid the appearance of offense toward the Jacobins.

⁶⁵ Letter in the Musée de Blérancourt. The larger part of the quotation has been published by Todd (*op. cit.*, p. 109). Zunder, apparently misled by the first sentence, has written that Barlow "was deputy for Savoy" but less accountably that he "was defeated for re-election" ("Notes on the Friendship of Joel Barlow and Tom Paine," *American Book Collector*, VI, 97, March, 1935).

⁶⁶ For examples of this abuse, see Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-49.

⁶⁷ Unpublished portion of a letter of Feb. 1, 1793, in the Musée de Blérancourt.

But while he retired from controversy as the Reign of Terror in France and the State Trials of 1794 in England approached, his revolutionary associations continued unabated. During the summer and autumn of 1793 while Paine with a half dozen of his disciples was in idyllic retirement in the old mansion of Madame de Pompadour, Barlow often joined Mary Wollstonecraft, Nicholas Bonneville, Gilbert Imlay, Brissot, and the Rolands about this friendly hearth.⁶⁸ His friendship for Paine was well demonstrated during the latter's imprisonment. On his way to the Luxembourg after arrest at three o'clock on New Year's morning, 1794, Paine contrived to call on Barlow and entrusted to him the manuscript of *The Age of Reason*.⁶⁹ Barlow's house was searched by the commissaries for papers belonging to Paine.⁷⁰ On January 27, he joined seventeen other prominent Americans in Paris in a fruitless petition to the Committee of Public Safety for Paine's release from prison.⁷¹

In the trials for treason of members of the London Corresponding Society and of the London Constitutional Society in 1794, Barlow's name was linked by the enemies of reform with Paine's. The attorney general in his opening speech at Thomas Hardy's trial represented Paine and Barlow as the arch-conspirators in the attempt to transplant French principles into England through the Constitutional Society. The most inflammatory and downright passages against monarchy in the *Advice* and the *Letter to the National Convention* were read into the record and the charge made that those writings were as subversive of the government as Paine's.⁷² In his summing up, Chief Justice Eyre took occasion to censure the accused for unqualifiedly approving "the works of two celebrated writers, Thomas Paine and Joel Barlow," who sowed "prejudices against the Monarchy" and dared "to strike at the

⁶⁸ See Moncure D. Conway, *op. cit.*, II, 64-68. Conway is certain that the graphic introductory biography of a pamphlet of Paine's pleading for underpaid excisemen, which was written in 1772 but not published until 1793 in London, is the work of Barlow. See *ibid.*, I, 27n. It was probably written during this summer.

⁶⁹ Paine tells the story in the preface to *The Age of Reason*, Part II. See Paine's *Theological Works* (Boston, 1856), p. 66.

⁷⁰ See Moncure D. Conway, *op. cit.*, II, 106. The original of the report of the commissaries is in the Musée de Blérancourt.

⁷¹ For the text of this petition, see *ibid.*, II, 107-109. The original is in the Musée de Blérancourt.

⁷² See *The Trial of Thomas Hardy*, I, 117-125; II, 35-42, 44-46; IV, 211-214. See also Coleridge's *Watchman* (London, 1796), pp. 20, 222.

Orders of this Country to which the public had a devoted attachment."⁷³

Commercial projects, meanwhile, took him to Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Altona. From the last-named city he wrote on August 12, 1794, to his wife at Amsterdam, whither presumably she had accompanied him, that he had read with satisfaction in the newspapers of the decline of the popularity of Robespierre. From this it appears that he had left Paris some weeks at least before the fall of the Jacobin leader on July 28. Another letter ⁷⁴ of August 22 from the same city gives no sign that the momentous news had yet reached him. In the midst of the Thermidorian Reaction he was far from the theater of violent events. On November 6, he writes to his friend Oliver Wolcott from Hamburg in such a way as to show that his republican faith has not been shaken by the enormities of the Terror:

The French Revolution will be such as to offer us much in our turn . . . I know that you and some of my other friends . . . consider my head as turned with these ideas. Perhaps it is, & perhaps it will be set right, when I come among you; but had you seen and felt what I have, I am confident you would have been of my opinion.⁷⁵

The remainder of the letter concerns his contemplated *History of the French Revolution*, which Wolcott and others had urged him to write. Concluding that it would "scarcely stand a chance of being treated impartially by its friends or enemies," he had decided that, though he might not be called "an indifferent spectator," he might be able to "trace the causes of things with more coolness than some others who have attempted or will attempt it."

For some time afterward, when Barlow's energies were not absorbed in business, he turned his mind to his plans for the *History*. In fact, one of the reasons why he did not return to America earlier was this literary undertaking. He wrote Wolcott on April 27, 1796:

Upon arriving at Paris last summer [1795] I found that the work which I contemplated on the history of the French Revolution would detain me there until it would be too late to make the voyage that season.⁷⁶

⁷³ *The Trial of Thomas Hardy*, IV, 423, 424.

⁷⁴ Both these unpublished letters are in the "Barlow Papers."

⁷⁵ *Memoirs of the Administrations of George Washington and John Adams*, edited from the papers of Oliver Wolcott, by George Gibbs (New York, 1846), p. 160.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

During the last months of the Convention he was presumably at work in collecting materials. But the project was interrupted by the prolonged and arduous mission to Algiers which in late 1795 he was persuaded to undertake for the liberation of American sailors held in slavery. In a letter to Mrs. Barlow from Marseilles en route to Africa, he asks her to buy for him "the history of the Revolution of the tenth of August" and the posthumous writings of Madame Roland. "These works," he remarks, "will be necessary for the history of the Revolution."⁷⁷ According to Todd, he made an accumulation of notes, but the only portion of his extant papers indubitably intended for the book is a very incomplete outline in twelve chapters of the progress of the Revolution from the meeting of the States-General to the Peace of Campo Formio. It was evidently written in late 1797 and is preserved in the Pequot Library.

There were perhaps several reasons why the history of the Revolution never materialized. In the first place, it appears that his commercial speculations began yielding him handsome returns as the Directory gradually brought settled government back to France. This would not dispose him to run any useless political risks. Then, with the election of his friend Jefferson to the presidency, the old dream of the glory of America returned upon him and he began to devote much of his time to the expansion of *The Vision of Columbus*.

Much of his time, too, was taken up by his activity in behalf of the various enterprises of the American artist and inventor Robert Fulton, whom he had come to know in 1797 and who resided with him for the next seven years. Barlow was Fulton's unwearied patron through all the experiments in France and England with submarine explosives and steam navigation. In Fulton's first successful experiment with steamboat navigation on the Seine, August 9, 1803, he used a boiler patented by Barlow. This interest was reciprocated by Fulton, who shared Barlow's opinions about the privileged classes and democratic reforms.⁷⁸ In fact, Fulton had

⁷⁷ Unpublished letter of Jan. 13, 1796, in the "Barlow Papers."

⁷⁸ See Fulton's unpublished "Projected Letter to Pitt" in the Pequot Library; J. F. Reigart, *Life of Robert Fulton* (Philadelphia, 1856), pp. 89-92; R. H. Thurston, *Robert Fulton* (New York, 1891), pp. 56-59. It appears from an unpublished letter of March, 1805, from Barlow to William Lee that Fulton had been attacked in France along with Barlow by American correspondents of Federalist sympathies. The letter is in the Pequot Library.

already in England been led into sympathy for reform through his association with the liberal statesman Earl Stanhope, who in his experiments with steam and canal locks was largely instrumental in Fulton's turning from painting to engineering. In particular Fulton hoped to put an end with his submarine invention to all offensive naval warfare, and, with little prophetic insight apparently, to establish the freedom of the seas.

He was the inspirer of Barlow's unpublished poetical fragment of several hundred lines entitled "The Canal," which has as a descriptive title "A Poem on the application of Physical Science to Political Economy in four Books."⁷⁹ In the opening lines addressed to Fulton, he exclaims:

'Tis thine at last
To teach from theory, from practice show
The Powers of State, that *'tis no harm to know*
And prove how Science, with these powers combined,
May raise, improve, and harmonize mankind.

To lead up to the description of a pestilence caused by drought, which in the unwritten sequel he was apparently to show preventable by canal engineering, he turns into verse the astrological lore of the zodiac. He then characteristically traces the enslavement of the human mind from which the Enlightenment was to rescue it, to the mystic scheming of kings and priests; for from the contemplation of the zodiac

sprang the love of emblems, whence began
False science, priest-craft, all the mystic plan
That blind, that brutalize, that rob the race,
Enslave their bodies and their souls debase.

While Barlow did little, in spite of all his efforts to make science "a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man," he did envision clearly its liberating influence upon the corporate life.⁸⁰ Bar-

⁷⁹ There are two copies of "The Canal" in Barlow's hand preserved in the Pequot Library. On the first page of one of them appears the following note: "Only half the first book is yet written. 1 January 1802. Should I not live to finish the poem, I desire that this may be published as a fragment."

⁸⁰ On the tenth page of Barlow's manuscript there is a passage of six lines which prophesies the electric telegraph:

"Ah speed thy labors! Sage of unknown name,
Rise into light and seize thy promised fame.
For the chemic powers their bounds expand;

low's hopes for completing "The Canal" seem to have died hard. On March 30, 1806, he wrote from Washington to Fulton, still in Europe:

I was contemplating the pleasure in getting forward & finishing the fine scientific poem of the Canal, of which you were to write the geological and I the historical and mythological notes, of which you were to furnish the philosophy and I the poetry, you the ideas and I the versification. "Is the mighty fabric vanished?" It seems forever gone.⁸¹

There is nothing here for the epic muse to mourn the loss of; but the fragment is interesting because it shows that Barlow recognized the vital connection between science and free government.

In spite of his career as a revolutionist, Barlow seems never to have been persecuted in France. He knew when to be circumspect. Perhaps his growing affluence⁸² had something to do with the moderating of his revolutionary activities. But in America and England the hunt for radicals was still on. His old friend and tutor President Dwight of Yale, who had been scandalized by his radicalism, was asked by the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Connecticut to prepare a book to replace Barlow's revision of Watts's *Psalms*. "The chief reason for the change was . . . that Barlow . . . had become tinctured with the prevailing French infidel philosophy."⁸³ Noah Webster, who was a consist-

The imprisoned lightening waits thy guiding hand;
Unnumbered messengers in viewless flight
Shall bear thy mandate with the speed of light."

Lemuel C. Olmstead has appended the following comment to his copy of this extract in the Pequot Library: "I repeated the above to Morse, whose first thoughts were in 1834 and who said with enthusiasm and with energy—'It could not be more definite or graphic . . . if it had been written today.'"

⁸¹ Unpublished letter in the "Barlow Papers."

⁸² In fact, his later affluence has, it appears, misled some of the students of his life to attribute to him a motive of personal ambition at least as strong as that of a belief in democracy even in the days of his greatest revolutionary fervor. "Without questioning his sincerity," writes Miller, "it can be said that he became a propagandist in order to advance his own interests" (*op. cit.*, p. 4). That his material interests grew is true, but this was due more to business acumen than to mere political opportunism. Certainly his interests in England were not advanced by the ideas he espoused. His fortune was originally based on French government securities which proved very profitable after the accession of Napoleon, upon whom Barlow certainly wasted no admiration. He later invested heavily in American securities. There is in the "Barlow Papers" an unpublished memorandum of stocks and lands belonging to him in the United States, dated Oct. 26, 1812, two months before his death. It lists \$115,540 in bank and corporation stock and land claims approximately estimated at \$175,000.

⁸³ A. C. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 419. In 1785, at the request of the same body Barlow had undertaken a revision of Watts's book, mainly because some of the psalms had been considered prejudicial to American republican institutions and ill adapted to the new order! See T. A. Zunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173, 178-185.

ent critic of France, was much disturbed by the defection of his classmate. Though in the trouble between the Directory and the American government in 1798 he was instrumental in leading the Directory to recede from the position which the United States had regarded as a sufficient cause for war, his motives were maligned by his political enemies in America among the more unscrupulous Federalists.⁸⁴ Even President Adams, in a letter of February 19, 1799, to Washington full of partisan rancor, speaks of his "many unequivocal symptoms of blackness of heart," and his "babyish and womanly blubbing for peace," and declares that "Tom Paine himself is not a more worthless fellow."⁸⁵ In the Adams-Jefferson campaign he was a victim of partisan hatred and was actually accused of conniving with Talleyrand in an effort to dictate the policy of the United States.⁸⁶ Two open letters⁸⁷ to his fellow-citizens of the United States have been credited with having much to do towards the Democratic-Republican triumph of 1800. Meanwhile in "The Loves of the Triangles" the satirists of the *Anti-Jacobin* in England were picturing him, with a group of transported and outlawed radicals, as heading an invading army borne over to England in the "Floating Frame" of the Great Republic:

Ye soft airs breathe, ye gentle billows waft,
And fraught with Freedom, bear the expected Raft:
Perched on her back, behold the Patriot train,
Muir, Ashley, Barlow, Tone, O'Connor, Paine;
While Tandy's hand directs the blood-empurpled rein.⁸⁸

He tells how, when he went to England on a two weeks' business trip for Fulton in midsummer 1802, he tried to avoid the appearance of offense to the government by not looking up old friends: I knew if I broke loose among my old democratic friends I could not avoid running the gauntlet of all their dinners, getting my name in the

⁸⁴ See Conway, *op. cit.*, II, 298, and Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-160. Conway thinks that there is little doubt that the famous letter to Washington urging peace, Oct. 2, 1798, was written after consultation with Paine (*op. cit.*, II, 284n.).

⁸⁵ *Works of John Adams*, ed. C. F. Adams (Boston, 1850-1856), VIII, 625.

⁸⁶ See Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-174.

⁸⁷ *Letters from Paris to the Citizens of the United States of America* (London, 1800). These letters had been published separately in Paris, dated March 4, 1799, and Dec. 20, 1799. In them he returns to the attack upon the funding system, opposes the building up of an offensive navy, declares that "the perfectibility of human society is not a subject of idle speculation," and urges that "a republican direction be given to the elementary articles of public instruction" (pp. 3 and 31 of Letter II).

⁸⁸ *Anti-Jacobin*, No. XXVI, May 7, 1798.

papers, and becoming an object of jealousy with the government . . . After all, I found in the coach last night a gentleman coming to Canterbury, a great Republican, who quickly found me out, and said he was led to the discovery by having been told the day before by Horne Tooke and Sir Francis Burdett that I was in London incog.⁸⁹

In England as late as 1805 he still shared a common infamy with Paine and other discredited radicals.⁹⁰

At the end of the century he still held the principles of the Revolution in unqualified admiration. But he was more conscious than formerly of the too great demands made upon human nature by the revolutionary thinkers. He had become doubtful of the early realization of pure democracy. Perhaps the most striking examples of how his asperity was subdued as the years passed are found in the changes which he made in his own copy of his *Political Writings* corrected for a new edition, a volume preserved in the Harvard College Library. He tones down his attack on Burke in the *Advice* and is more moderate in his use of superlatives in general. For the oft used word "tyrant" he substitutes "king," "prince," or "priest." In the *Letter to the People of Piedmont* he runs a line through the clause, "who were a disgrace to human nature," in a sentence attacking the men and women of the court of Versailles. And from the *Letter to the National Convention* he eliminates these intemperate sentences on his special antipathy, the funding system:

The man who is called a *politician* . . . in modern Europe exercises an office infinitely more destructive to society than that of a highwayman. The same may be said in general of the *financier*; whose art and mystery in the funding system . . . consists in making calculations to enable governments to hire mankind to butcher each other by drawing bills on posterity for the payment.

As the hard impact of events in France somewhat tempered his political philosophy, he came to look upon America, then just entering the period of Jeffersonian ascendancy, as the only asylum left in the world for liberal ideas. "Of the [French] republic," wrote one of his visitors in 1802, "he entertains the most profound

⁸⁹ Letter of July 2, 1802, from Barlow at Dover to Fulton, in the Pequot Library. Quoted in Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

⁹⁰ See, for example, the *Annual Review* (London, 1805), III, 88, an organ generally liberal in its political philosophy.

contempt and, though he is extremely guarded in his remarks, what does fall from him is full of gall."⁹¹

A letter to his wife, written soon after Napoleon had made himself consul for life, shows, however, that he was not in complete despair even for France. Though he feels that Napoleon has "thrown back the progress of civilization & public happiness," he thinks that the ideas of false grandeur which he has revived cannot last long with moral and scientific progress.

The present state of society is not so much a contest between monarchical and republican principles as between false and true glory. A small degree of moral discernment will serve to decide this question. The example of America will be powerful & irresistible & England is coming on in a solid manner.⁹²

He had no doubt learned during his summer visit to England from his friend Tooke and his publisher Joseph Johnson of the improved state of the public mind. An interesting letter to his wife from Paris later reads:

I sent Erving [American consul at London] one day to Johnson to tell him I was there but did not mean to see anybody but him, & asked him to meet us at the London Coffee house to dinner. He sent me word that he had that day Horne Tooke . . . & others to dine with him, that we must come, & he would answer for the silence of the company. I refused, & next day Johnson met us & we had a great deal of laugh. He is grown fat & careless & happy. He took me by the hand, shaking his sides, & the first word was "Well, you could not get me hanged; you tried all you could." He had enjoyed nine months' imprisonment, within the liberties of the King's Bench, living in a better house & better attended than at home, with his friends coming to see him & his business going on as well as ever . . . I was at Johnson's several times after I got a little tamed.⁹³

In France, meanwhile, wherever the friends of the Revolution gathered Barlow was, if possible, in the midst of them. He was a very frequent guest at the levees of Helen Maria Williams, English poetess and admirer of the Revolution whose dinner parties provided liberal-minded English literary and political leaders and their French friends many a rendezvous during the troubled years

⁹¹ Henry Redhead Yorke, *Letters from France in 1802* (London, 1804), II, 372.

⁹² Unpublished portion of a letter of Aug. 19, 1802, in the "Barlow Papers."

⁹³ Unpublished letter of July 12, 1802, in the "Barlow Papers."

in Paris. A list of the guests at her salon between 1792 and 1802 includes a remarkably large proportion of the leaders of France during that period. Barlow's letters to his wife tell of twelve visits made to Miss Williams's house between May and September of 1802 alone.⁹⁴ At one time he writes of dining there with "the usual great circle of letter folks." At another time he writes: "I was at Helen's last night; I believe she has a party almost every night—30, or 40, or 50, chiefly English." He tells of meeting Fox, Lord Holland, and Carnot at other parties. The intimacy of his friendship with Miss Williams is attested by their own correspondence.⁹⁵ He also, as his letters of 1800 and 1802 abundantly show, was on very informal terms with Madame de Villette, protégée of Voltaire and widow of the revolutionary noble Charles de Villette. Meanwhile he cultivated friendships with the exiled Polish patriot Kosciusko and the French liberal savant Volney, and consulted with Sir Francis Burdett and "a whole host" of English republicans who had come over to Paris during the cessation of hostilities in 1802.⁹⁶

During the next two years *The Columbiad* absorbed all the literary effort for which he had time apart from that devoted to business matters that took him on frequent short trips to England. Under the stimulus of Jefferson's repeated insistence, he set himself to the writing of a history of the United States from a Republican point of view, to offset "the libel on republicanism under the mask of a history of Genl. Washington"⁹⁷ which Marshall was then en-

⁹⁴ See especially letters of May 11, July 9 and 20, 1802, in the "Barlow Papers" (portions published by Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 195, 197, 202). See also Thomas Poole's letter of July 20, 1802, to S. T. Coleridge in Mrs. Henry Sandford's *Thomas Poole and his Friends* (London, 1888), II, 85-86.

⁹⁵ In an unpublished letter of Nov. 16, 1801, to Miss Williams, which has been preserved in the Pequot Library, Barlow wrote: "A thousand thanks, dear Helen, for your divine *Ode to Peace*. I intend to come to kiss you for it as soon as my dear sick wife is able to go out." He includes two stanzas inspired by Miss Williams's poem and asks her "to tell Mr. [John Hurford] Stone if he thinks proper to print them at the end of the *Ode*. I shall be proud to see my name at the foot of a page that bears yours at the top." For the poem which Miss Williams dedicated to his memory, see Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁹⁶ For his relations with Kosciusko, Volney, and English republicans abroad at this time, see the unpublished letters for the following dates from Barlow to Mrs. Barlow in the "Barlow Papers": Aug. 1, 2, 23, 1800; May 18, June 10, July 10, 16, Aug. 5, 1802. In 1802 he published a translation of Volney's *Ruins*, "the best in English." Duyckinck (*op. cit.*, I, 393) has incorrectly given 1792 as the date of the translation.

⁹⁷ Original letter of Jan. 19, 1804, from Jefferson to Barlow in the "Barlow Papers." See also a letter of Jan. 24, 1810, from Jefferson to Barlow, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. H. A. Washington (New York, 1853), V, 496.

gaged in writing; but, like *The History of the French Revolution*, this work eventually was left hardly more than begun as a mere collection of notes. Finally in May, 1805, he embarked⁹⁸ for America. Soon after his arrival he retired to a beautiful estate named Kalorama, near Washington, renewed his old friendship with Jefferson, maintained a salon for American liberals, and suffered at the hands of the Federalists, who continued freely to charge him with both rascality and infidelity. His retreat was termed the "Holland House of America." The recent statement of Grant C. Knight⁹⁹ that he was "radical when young but anti-Jeffersonian after years and wealth had brought responsibilities" is directly contrary to the facts and is typical of the misinformation which several writers on Barlow have shown. However, Barlow's intemperance of expression in his letters to American friends as well as in his radical political papers might easily have lent color to some of the insinuations of his critics. A few months after the Terror, as we have seen, he had written to Oliver Wolcott: "The French Revolution will be such as to offer us much in our turn."¹⁰⁰ In 1795 he had written of "that famous mountebank called St. Paul" and had thus exulted over the stir caused by Paine's *The Age of Reason*: "I rejoice at the progress of Good Sense over the damnable imposture of Christian mummery. I had no doubt of the effect of Paine's *Age of Reason*. It must be cavilled at a while but it must prevail."¹⁰¹ In his pamphlet *The Second Warning* (1798) he had violently attacked Adams and monarchical tendencies in America. But his *Letters from Paris to Citizens of the United States* (1800) had been more restrained in tone. In general, however, there was considerable truth in his charge in 1809 that "the typographical cannibals of reputation" who "only do the work they are set about by their patrons and supporters, the monarchists of America," were deliberately trying to "destroy the effect of my republican writings."

The last expression of Barlow's humanitarian instincts and of

⁹⁸ He had intended to move his residence to Switzerland if John Adams had been re-elected. See a published letter of Aug. 7, 1802, to Mrs. Barlow in the "Barlow Papers." He apparently left France in the good graces of the Napoleonic regime. In 1811 his last service to his country as minister plenipotentiary to Napoleon carried him back to Paris, where for more than a year he lived in his former residence and renewed his friendships with Volney and Helen Maria Williams.

⁹⁹ *American Literature and Culture* (New York, 1932), p. 81.

¹⁰⁰ See n.79. The original of this letter of Nov. 6, 1794, is in the "Barlow Papers."

¹⁰¹ MS letter to John Fellows, dated "Hamburg, May 1795," preserved in the Harvard College Library.

his penchant for huge projects was his plan for a great national university, set forth in his *Prospectus for a National Institution* (1806). This institution was to be the choicest fruit of political justice. In 1800 Barlow had been in correspondence with Jefferson on education at the same time as was P. S. Dupont de Nemours, who at Jefferson's request published his scheme of national education under the title, *Sur l'Éducation Nationale dans les États Unis* (1800). Barlow's institution was to have as its twofold object "the advancement of knowledge by associations of scientific men, and the dissemination of its rudiments by the instruction of youth."¹⁰² It was thus to combine the work of such learned corporations as the Royal Society and the Royal Academy or the National Institute of France with the more conventional type of higher educational training. Barlow drew up a bill for the incorporation of the institution and it passed to a second reading in the Senate, but was never reported out of committee. Though Jefferson was at the time interested in a national university, he preferred a state university national in influence, rather than a centralized federal institution at Washington.¹⁰³ However, by this time the old prejudices against Barlow planted by the Federalists had become so deeply rooted among the people as to make improbable his success in heading any great public enterprise. Even John Quincy Adams, for example, felt assured in 1807 that

Tom and Joel now no more
Can overturn a nation,
And work by butchery and blood
A great regeneration.¹⁰⁴

But Barlow's educational ideas were, under happier auspices, eventually fruitful in more successful efforts. His friend and

¹⁰² *The Prospectus for a National Institution*, published as Appendix C of George Brown Goode's "The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States" in the Goode memorial volume of *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1897, Report of the U. S. National Museum*, Pt. II (Washington, 1901), p. 330. That the *Prospectus* was the fruit of an extended study is apparent from an unpublished letter of Dec. 28, 1798, to General Ira Allen of Vermont. See the extract from this letter preserved in a manuscript volume entitled "Miscellaneous Notes" in the "Barlow Papers."

¹⁰³ See H. B. Adams, *Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (Washington, 1888), pp. 48-52.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted by Duyckinck (*op. cit.*, I, 395) from a poem in the *Monthly Anthology* for 1807 entitled "On the Discoveries of Captain Lewis," a parody of a poem by Barlow on the same theme.

classmate, Josiah Meigs, joined with others in founding the Columbian Institute in 1819 and Columbian College in 1821, which started as attempts under private auspices to carry out essential features of Barlow's plan. "The Smithsonian Institution," wrote George Brown Goode¹⁰⁵ in 1889, "with its dependencies, and affiliations, corresponds perhaps more closely . . . to Barlow's National Institution than any organization elsewhere in the world." Goode conjectures that Smithson knew Barlow in Paris and had been attracted by his *Prospectus*. No one has been able to explain why the British scientist left his money for the establishment of an institution of learning in the New World. Perhaps Barlow's confidence in the cultural future of the country had something to do with it.

In 1807 his great poetical *tour de force* was published. For the purposes of this study, it remains only to show what changes, during the twenty years between the publication of the first and that of the final form of this poem, the revolutionary temper and the radical philosophy wrought in it. Many of the added portions of *The Columbiad* have as their background the revolutionary associations of this period.

The dedication of *The Vision of Columbus* to Louis XVI was intended primarily as an expression of gratitude to France for her aid during the American Revolution. But Barlow's awe-struck deference here toward the "glorious descendant" of the House of Bourbon who is privileged "to act those things as a Monarch which another can only contemplate as a Philosopher or image in the flights of poetry,"¹⁰⁶ is very much in contrast with his later contempt for a king whose dethronement he had in the meantime strongly favored. He dedicated *The Columbiad* to his friend Fulton, who was to him the symbol of the new era. In fact, the dedication to the king had been omitted in later American editions of the poem in its earlier form as well as in the London second edition of 1787.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹⁰⁶ *The Vision of Columbus* (2d ed., Hartford, 1792), p. iv. Here, too, he had given free rein to his prophetic powers: "The great Father of the House of Bourbon will be held in the highest veneration till his favorite political system shall be realized among the nations of Europe and extended to all mankind."

¹⁰⁷ Why the dedication was omitted in the London second edition of 1787 and retained in the Hartford second edition of 1792 is not clear. Perhaps Barlow merely wished not to offend the susceptibilities of Americans whose remembrance of the aid of Louis in their own revolution was still vivid.

In the Preface of *The Columbiad*, to which there is no corresponding portion in the early editions of *The Vision of Columbus*, Barlow tells his readers how in its moral and political tendency he hopes his poem will be more beneficial to society than the classical epics, however far it may fall short of them in poetical distinction. He could not take off his republican glasses even when judging a work of art. He thinks that the *Iliad* has been one of the most mischievous forces in history because it has kept the principle of privilege alive and debased the conception of the average man. Its obvious tendency was to inflame the minds of young readers with enthusiastic ardor for military fame; to inculcate the pernicious doctrine of the divine right of kings; to teach both prince and people that military plunder was the most honorable mode of acquiring property; and that conquest, violence, and war were the best employment of nations, the most glorious prerogative of bodily strength and of cultivated mind. How much of the fatal policy of states and of the miseries and degradations of social man, has been occasioned by the false notions of honor inspired by the works of Homer, it is not easy to ascertain . . . My veneration for his genius is equal to that of his most idolatrous readers; but my reflections on the history of human errors have forced upon me the opinion that his existence has really proved one of the signal misfortunes of mankind.¹⁰⁸

The *Aeneid*, likewise, great monument of human intellect though it is, violates the dignity of common humanity, its real purpose being "to increase the veneration of a people for a master, whoever he might be, and to encourage . . . the great system of military depredation." Barlow proposes in his poem to make "the fictitious object of the action" subordinate to the real object of the poem," which he thus defines:

to inculcate the love of rational liberty, and discountenance the deleterious passion for violence and war; to show that on the basis of the republican principle all good morals, as well as good government and hopes of permanent peace, must be founded; and to convince the stu-

¹⁰⁸ *The Columbiad*, 1st ed., pp. vii-viii. See also the note to Bk. X, l. 261. In one of the unpublished papers preserved in the Pequot Library, he offers a prize of \$100 for "the best treatise" written on the question, "What are the practicable means of rendering the cultivation of the fine arts in America the most beneficial to political liberty?" "It is a mortifying truth," he declares, "that the fine arts have almost uniformly employed their services & lent their aid in favor of despotism either in Church or State or both." See also in the "Barlow Papers" the extract from an unpublished letter of Barlow to John Hurford Stone on the essential antagonism between epic poetry and the democratic outlook. This passage is preserved in the manuscript volume "Miscellaneous Notes."

dent in political science that the theoretical question of the future advancement of human society . . . is held in dispute and still unsettled only because we have had too little experience of organized liberty in the government of nations.¹⁰⁹

Of course monarchical utterances of *The Vision of Columbus* are toned down in *The Columbiad*¹¹⁰ in conformity with the democratic dispensation. *The Columbiad* is thus instinct with a somewhat subdued though not less sincere republican fervor, a detestation of war, and an unimpaired confidence in the future of the human race.

There are many specific topics peculiar to the poem in its expanded form. Its sublimest portion is the thunderous protest against slavery and the prophecy of dire vengeance to come upon its advocates.¹¹¹ They are put into the mouth of Atlas, the guardian genius of Africa, and addressed to Hesper, the guardian genius of America. He taunts the Americans on the inconsistency between their high political pretensions and their denial of liberty to a large portion of the human race. There is a philosophical aside upon the nature of tyranny as being morally debasing to the character of the tyrant as well as to that of the enslaved. He has the Godwinian belief in the saving power of education to work a moral transformation:

Man well instructed will be always just.¹¹²

For the idealization of the divinely nurtured life and the glorification of the atonement in *The Vision of Columbus*, he substitutes praises of the triumphs of science.¹¹³ Another section¹¹⁴ which has no counterpart in the earlier poem and is plainly inspired by the philosophy of the Revolution as filtered through Paine, deals with priestcraft and kingcraft as systems built of force and fraud upon the basis of human ignorance and superstition. Many of the lines read like versified passages from *The Rights of Man* and *The*

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. ix-x.

¹¹⁰ See Bk. V, ll. 109-116.

¹¹¹ See Bk. VIII, ll. 211-394. His convictions against slavery were strong. See unpublished letters of May 25 and June 8, 1802, to Mrs. Barlow in the "Barlow Papers." He urged his friend Oliver Wolcott to use his influence against the introduction of slavery into the Missouri Purchase territory. In a memorandum dated, Washington, July 23, 1811, he directs that his "two black servants . . . be free at the end of six years from the date hereof." A bill of sale shows he sold the servants for \$400.

¹¹² Bk. VIII, l. 340.

¹¹³ *The Vision of Columbus*, Bk. VIII, ll. 411-462, and *The Columbiad*, Bk. IX, ll. 574-634.

¹¹⁴ Bk. IX, ll. 151-188.

Age of Reason.¹¹⁵ But though Barlow shared many of his ideas with Paine in 1807, he seems to have been careful not to bring upon himself the obloquy of openly avowing their friendship by naming him in the poem among the heroes of the new dispensation.¹¹⁶ Among the unmistakable accretions in *The Columbiad* which indicate the influence of revolutionary ideas is the passage¹¹⁷ in which he repudiates Rousseau's doctrine of primitive man as a menace to the interests of society. The prose commentary is preferable to the poetry:

The idea that men were more perfect, more moral, and more happy in some early stage of their intercourse before they cultivated the earth and formed great societies, . . . that the social state of men cannot meliorate, . . . and that they are continually growing worse, is pregnant of infinite mischief. I know no doctrine in the whole labyrinth of imposture that has a more immoral tendency. It discourages the efforts of all political virtue . . . It inculcates the belief that ignorance is better than knowledge; that war and violence are more natural than industry and peace; that deserts and tombs are more glorious than joyful cities and cultivated fields.

Finally, we come to what perhaps is the most striking evidence of the change which the revolutionary years had brought in his feelings. He transfers from Louis XVI to the French philosophers the credit for France's coming to the aid of the young American republic. In the earlier form of the poem he is the "Great Louis" to whom the poet pays respect for his world-encircling vision and sympathy for all oppressed mankind.¹¹⁸ But in *The Columbiad*

¹¹⁵ It was this part of the poem particularly that led to attacks upon its supposed irreligion. See Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221, and the *Eclectic Review*, VI, 403-417 (May, 1810).

¹¹⁶ For this, Barlow was duly taken to task by Rickman. See Rickman, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Conway (*op. cit.*, I, 63) attributes the omission to "the power of theological intimidation." At the time Paine was receiving the full brunt of the antagonism he had aroused by *The Age of Reason*. There seems to be no record of their having met during the four years between Barlow's arrival in America and Paine's death. So poorly, in fact, was Barlow informed about his friend that he, Conway thinks, was "misled" by Cheetham's report of Paine's habitual drunkenness to believe that he had been driven into degradation by his wrongs and the ingratitude of America. In general, in spite of the eloquent defense of Paine in the letter to Cheetham of 1809 (Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-239), Barlow's circumspection seems to have mastered his generous impulses toward his old friend. Paine could have reasonably expected more not only on the basis of their common convictions but on that of their personal relations. In particular, it may be noted that Barlow's long absence from Paris on his mission to Algiers had been made bearable for his wife by Paine's friendship and that Paine had urged Jefferson to appoint Barlow as minister to Holland. See Conway, *op. cit.*, II, 236-237, 289.

¹¹⁷ Bk. X, ll. 393-412.

¹¹⁸ Bk. VI, ll. 7-22.

he is a "young Bourbon" who merely provides an illustration that there may come "good to nations from the scourge of kings."¹¹⁹ The philosophers of France had first seen the enslavement of man and urged the defense of freedom upon the king's attention:

In Europe's realm a school of sages trace
The expanding dawn that waits the human race; . . .
A field that feeds their hopes confirms the plan
Of well-poised freedom and the weal of man . . .
Through tears of grief that speak the well taught mind,
They hail the era that relieves mankind.
Of these the first the Gallic sages stand,
And urge their king to lift an aiding hand.
The cause of humankind their souls inspired,
Columbia's wrongs their indignation fired;
To share her fateful deeds their counsel moved
To base in practice what in theme they proved.¹²⁰

At last, not being able to impress him with positive argument, they artfully turn the king's hatred of Britain's power to the support of the cause of liberty.¹²¹

Naturally, as with most political romanticists, when Barlow's venturing in Europe ended, his inspiration cooled; but it certainly did not harden into a reactionary mold. *The Columbiad*, it may be safely asserted, contains the residue of his revolutionary beliefs and hopes for mankind in general after those for England and France in particular had virtually passed away. The special theater of his hopes at the end was America. So rudely had they been buffeted by the winds of reaction that he was driven at last, after the heated vision of revolution had been dissipated, back to his original moorings, where he took refuge in what James Truslow Adams has called "the American dream," for which the election of his friend Jefferson had been such a signal triumph. This dream he tried valiantly to embody in *The Columbiad*. But the ringing, high-hearted prose in which his earlier radical convictions were clothed will plead against oblivion for his name far more persuasively than his poetry.

It is time that historians of American literature should more generally recognize Joel Barlow as something more than a writer of good doggerel and the author of a turgid epic couched in "gaudy and inane phraseology."

¹¹⁹ Bk. VII, l. 10.

¹²⁰ Bk. VII, ll. 13-38.

¹²¹ Bk. VII, ll. 40-58.

WILLIAM BYRD IN LUBBERLAND

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DURING the spring and autumn of 1728, as one of the Virginia commissioners appointed to run a boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, Colonel William Byrd had occasion to traverse the border from Currituck Inlet, on the Atlantic coast, to a point in the foothills 241 miles to the west. In *The History of the Dividing Line Run in the Year of Our Lord 1728* he disparages not only the border country but the whole province of North Carolina, which he declares to approach nearer than any other part of the world to "the Description of Lubberland."¹ Scattered among notes of surveying, reports of Indian customs, and accounts of swamp and wilderness, his strictures upon North Carolina may be collected as an indictment with six heads.

(I) The inhabitants of North Carolina suffer disadvantages natural to their place of residence. Some parts of the province are almost as sandy and barren as the deserts of Africa (p. 90);² others are swampy and unhealthful. The lower grounds (p. 50), including Edenton, the capital (p. 74), are infested by "that Carolina plague, musketos" (p. 96). For want of navigation and commerce the best estates yield little more than "a coarse subsistence" (p. 52). A certain amount of Carolina trade is drawn to Norfolk, Virginia (p. 36). "The Saints of New England" carry off tobacco without paying duty (p. 42); the Carolinians, doubtless because of poverty, consume New England molasses—"Long Sugar"—instead of sugar; and their rum, from the same region, is called "Kill-Devil" (p. 92). Since the expense of salt commonly obliges them to eat their pork fresh, they contract scurvy, which often develops into the yaws. This "country-Distemper," which destroys the palate and the nose, exhibits all the symptoms of syphilis (p. 54). (II) On the other hand, inconsistently enough, nature in North Carolina favors laziness. "That Indolent climate" discour-

¹ *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, ed. W. K. Boyd (Raleigh, 1929), p. 92. I am indebted to Professor Boyd and the North Carolina Historical Commission for permission to quote from this work.

² Page numbers inserted in the text refer to Boyd's edition.

ages effort (p. 110); corn grows almost without cultivation (p. 92); and hogs, foraging in the pocosins and dismals or living on mast in the woods, provide plenty of pork (p. 92), which, however, fills the Carolinians with "gross Humours" (p. 54). Nothing at Edenton is expensive but law, physic, and strong drink (p. 96). The men of North Carolina lie abed half the forenoon or pass their time in "their belov'd Chimney Corners" while the women spin, weave, and knit. Like Indians, the men force their wives to do most of the work, and "are Sloathfull in every thing but getting of Children" (pp. 50, 66, 68, 72, 92). They take no thought for the morrow, and though they love cider they are too improvident to plant orchards (p. 110). Instead of feeding their cattle they turn them loose to winter in the swamps, so that "these Indolent Wretches" have no milk during half the year, and no dung is collected to improve the soil (p. 54). The goal of their ambition is "the Carolina Felicity of having nothing to do" (p. 98).³ (III) Religion does not thrive in North Carolina. There is no place of public worship (p. 104), and no tribute is paid to God or Caesar (pp. 96, 104) in "a climate where no clergyman can Breathe" (p. 72). The law empowers justices of the peace to marry "all those who will not take One another's Word," and christening depends on the casual arrival of a visiting churchman (p. 72). No people, however, is less troubled with superstitions and "Religious Fumes" (p. 72); most days are Sabbaths (p. 72); and the inhabitants of Edenton are without hypocrisy, "acting very Frankly and above-board in all their Excesses" (p. 96). Where churches are neglected the Quakers multiply "for want of Ministers to Pilot the People a decenter way to Heaven" (p. 68).⁴ (IV) Government is weak in North Carolina. Governors are treated with great freedom and familiarity (p. 96). Laws are feebly executed; the magistrates have little authority (p. 104). "In N Carolina, every One does what seems best in his own Eyes" (p. 74; cf. p. 104). (V) Such a province is, therefore, a natural asylum for outcasts: persons with "a thorough Aversion to Labor" (p. 92; cf. p. 102), violators of marriage laws (pp. 46, 48, 50), fugitives from debt (pp. 40, 58), runaway slaves

³ Byrd specifies, however (p. 304), that laziness and easy living prevail not only in Carolina but in the southern part of Virginia.

⁴ Byrd speaks here of Nansemond County, Virginia, but his opinion of Quakers is equally relevant to those of Carolina.

(p. 56), and criminals (p. 58). (VI) In view of all this, it is not surprising that the borderers, when the line is run, hope to find themselves on the Carolina side (pp. 74, 88).

Such are Colonel Byrd's charges. How far are they confirmed or extended by independent observations of other travelers in colonial North Carolina, without reference to information from other sources than printed records of travel? The evidence falls under the six heads of Byrd's indictment.

I

Few visitors admired the scenery of eastern North Carolina. Approaching Wilmington from the sea, Janet Schaw described America as "a dreary waste of white barren sand, and melancholy nodding pines. . . . All seems dreary, savage and desert."⁵ An anonymous observer remarked that travelers from the North, following the main highway through Carolina, saw only "a mere Sand Bank."⁶ William Logan found the land between Edenton and Wilmington to be

very poor, flatt, sandy, & barren, & nothing but Pines growing on it, excepting it be near some Branch of a River where there are some Oaks, but within sixty or seventy miles of this place [Wilmington] is intirely a bed of Sand & worse than any I ever saw in the Jerseys; but they say that at the Head of their Rivers they have very good Land.⁷

The Surveyor of Post Roads on the Continent of North America declared that the road between Wilmington and Charleston was

certainly the most tedious and disagreeable of any on the Continent of North America, it is through a poor, sandy, barren, gloomy country without accomodations for travellers. Death is painted in the countenances of those you meet, that indeed happens but seldom on the road. Neither man nor beast can stand a long journey thro' so bad a country where there's much fatigue and no refreshment.⁸

⁵ *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*, ed. E. W. Andrews and C. McL. Andrews (New Haven and London, 1923), pp. 279-280.

⁶ *A New Voyage to Georgia. By a Young Gentleman. Giving an Account of His Travels to South Carolina, and Part of North Carolina* (2d ed., London, 1737), p. 47.

⁷ "William Logan's Journal of a Journey to Georgia, 1745," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI, 15 (Jan., 1912). Hereinafter cited as *Pennsylvania Magazine*.

⁸ *Journal Kept by Hugh Finlay . . . during His Survey of the Post Offices between Falmouth and Casco Bay in the Province of Massachusetts, and Savannah in Georgia* (Brooklyn, 1867), p. 67. Finlay visited Carolina in 1774.

J. F. D. Smyth characterized the region north of Edenton as "a country covered with sand and pines, a continued dead flat, infested with swamps, and the land every where miserably poor and barren."⁹ He had no higher opinion of the four hundred miles between Edenton and Georgetown, South Carolina:

It is all universally an immense sand-bank covered with pines, which however generally grow very tall and lofty.

It is likewise totally a wide extended dead flat, covered in a thousand places with stagnated water, which without doubt must be extremely unhealthful; this the sallow cadaverous complexion and countenances of the inhabitants sufficiently evinces.¹⁰

The Great Dismal Swamp on the Virginia border and the Great Alligator Dismal Swamp between Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, the latter swamp "reported to be named from a monstrous Alligator or Crocodile of a most prodigious magnitude that once was seen here,"

are in a great degree inaccessible, and harbour prodigious multitudes of every kind of wild beasts peculiar to America, as well as run-away Negroes, who in these horrible swamps are perfectly safe, and with the greatest facility elude the most diligent search of their pursuers.

Run-away Negroes have resided in these places for twelve, twenty, or thirty years and upwards, subsisting themselves in the swamp upon corn, hogs, and fowls, that they raised on some of the spots not perpetually under water, nor subject to be flooded, as forty-nine parts out of fifty of it are; and on such spots they have erected habitations, and cleared small fields around them; yet these have always been perfectly impenetrable to any of the inhabitants of the country around, even to those nearest to and best acquainted with the swamps.¹¹

The roads in North Carolina were so poorly marked that John Brickell, M.D., heard of wayfarers "lost for eight, others for fourteen Days, before they could meet with any human Creature to inform them what part of the Province they were in."¹² Smyth lost his way near the Chowan River:

⁹ J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), II, 103. Smyth traveled in North Carolina in the early 1770's; the precise date is uncertain.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 94.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 101-102. Cf. II, 239.

¹² *The Natural History of North-Carolina. With an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants* (Dublin, 1737), p. 263. Brickell was in North Carolina in Feb., 1730, perhaps 1730/1731 (p. 387). A John Brickell was among the signers of "The Grand Jury's Address to His Majesty," Edenton, April 1, 1731 (*The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, ed. W. L. Saunders, Raleigh, 1886, III, 135).

Being extremely fatigued, hungry, and dry, I called at several miserable hovels, at the distance of five or six miles asunder, but could neither obtain directions on my way, or any kind of refreshment; even the water was so very ill tasted, and insalubrious, that it could scarcely be drank.

I rode on in this miserable dilemma and precarious situation, among these ignorant wretches, until night approached, when they all refused to permit me to lodge under their shelters: "Wondering (as they said) where I came from, or why I should come there, where nobody comes; but (telling me) if I could get to Mr. Tyers's, about seven miles off, I might get quarters; for he often had strange, outlandish folks to lodge at his house; and was a rich man, and had a mill, and a blacksmith's shop, and a still."

These people are the most wretchedly ignorant of any I ever met with. They could not tell me the name of the place, county, or parish they resided in, nor any other place in the adjacent country; neither could they furnish me with any directions, by which I might again discover and ascertain the right way.

Their appearance also is equally sordid and mean, being of a sallow complexion and yellowish hue, almost as tawney as mulattoes, with the smoak of the light-wood (the roots and knots of pine, so named here), which is their whole fuel, clothed in cotton rags, that had been once dyed of some colour, and all enveloped in dirt and nastiness.¹³

William Logan found no ferry across Albemarle Sound (two miles wide at Edenton); a storm delayed him a day and a half at Wilmington when the ferry was disabled.¹⁴ South of Wilmington Hugh Finlay passed two bad bridges, a *very* bad bridge, a long causeway, a stretch of deep sand, a small, flat, leaky ferry, a road across an island in the Cape Fear River (built of rotten logs through a swamp and hardly passable with a horse), and a second ferry. "This public avenue," he remarked, "to the most flourishing town in the Province, will induce a stranger to believe, that the people in this country have no Laws, such is the report concerning North Carolina."¹⁵

North Carolina was considered unhealthful. Hardly anyone

¹³ J. F. D. Smyth, *op. cit.*, I, 103-104.

¹⁴ "Journal," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXXVI, 9-14.

¹⁵ *Journal*, p. 66. Finlay learned (p. 74) that the road had been granted forever to Colonel William Day, the King's Attorney's son-in-law, on condition of keeping it in repair. For further information about the island and about methods of road-building near Wilmington, see Alexander Schaw, "Description of North Carolina," in Janet Schaw, *Journal*, pp. 279-280.

could pass a year at Edenton without an attack of chills and fever.¹⁶ Low, uncleared lands and stagnant water, since long, narrow, sandy islands almost excluded the tide from the sounds, rendered New Bern and, indeed, much of the province unwholesome in summer; the inhabitants were "much afflicted with feavors," and at New Bern "on hot Calm Days you'll see a thick scum on the water, which occasions a Disagreeable stench. at this time the fishes ly Dead on the water."¹⁷ John Lawson mentioned the prevalence of yaws, a disease which, he said, differs from the pox only in lacking a gonorrhoea.¹⁸ Dr. Brickell pronounced yaws to be a venereal disorder contracted from intercourse with negroes, "by which means it is hereditary in many Families in *Carolina*, and by it some have lost their Palates and Noses."¹⁹ He listed some strange remedies for sickness: for instance, "The *Louse* is not plenty in this Province. They are eaten by Rusticks for the *Jaundice*, and *Consumption*, and to provoke *Urine*."²⁰ In direct contradiction to Colonel Byrd, he asserted that Edenton was very little troubled with "Musketo's."²¹

The volume of trade between North Carolina and England was much smaller than that of other Southern colonies.²² Having no good ports, North Carolina was obliged to deal largely through Virginia and South Carolina. The older plantations, it is true, ran

¹⁶ Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, "The Spangenberg Diary," *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, ed. A. L. Fries (Raleigh, 1922), I, 38. Bishop Spangenberg, in 1752, led Moravians from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to their new settlement at Wachovia (in the vicinity of Salem).

¹⁷ "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 735 (July, 1921). The Frenchman landed at Beaufort in 1765 and traveled north.

¹⁸ *A New Voyage to Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country: Together with the Present State Thereof* (London, 1709), p. 18. Lawson had lived in North Carolina since 1701; at the time of writing he was Surveyor-General of the province.

¹⁹ *Natural History*, p. 48.

²⁰ P. 165.

²¹ P. 255. Mosquitoes may have been more numerous than usual in 1728!

²² In 1769 the exports of North Carolina to Great Britain and other markets were estimated at a three-year average of £68,350, of which tar, turpentine, and pitch amounted to £17,850; boards, staves, joists, shingles, masts, and lumber to £15,000; and tobacco to £14,000; the imports from Great Britain amounted to £18,000. At the same time the exports of Virginia and Maryland combined were £1,040,000, of South Carolina £395,666, and of Georgia £74,200; and their imports were respectively £865,000, £365,000, and £49,000 (Alexander Cluny, *The American Traveller*, London, 1769, pp. 82, 83, 88, 89, 94, 95, 100, 101). Cluny advises North Carolina to grow corn and wine (pp. 90-91). North Carolina trade passing through Virginia or South Carolina would, of course, augment the apparent exports and imports of those provinces.

back from the rivers into the woods, and most planters had plenty of lumber to build boats and a dock; but the shallow inlets from the ocean to the sounds, frequently opened or filled by storms, kept out almost all but small craft, mostly from New England, and piraguas.²³ Men who made a living with little boats in the sounds and rivers enjoyed no high reputation.²⁴ An English writer ascribed the neglect of North Carolina to the expense of lighterage and to the attractions of Charleston for settlers:

For a long time it was but ill inhabited, and by an indigent and disorderly people, who had little property, and hardly any law or government to protect them in what they had. As commodious land grew scarce in the other colonies, people in low circumstances observing that a great deal of excellent and convenient land was yet to be patented in North Carolina, were induced by that circumstance to plant themselves there.²⁵

While land remained cheap, one man might own two thousand cattle and hogs running loose in the woods.²⁶ "Such herds of cattle and swine are to be found in no other colonies; and when this is better settled, they will not be so common here; for at present the woods are all in common."²⁷ It was foreseen that the production of tar, pitch, turpentine, and resin would decrease when the land was cleared and settled.²⁸ The little tobacco that was grown was usually sold in Virginia, where merchants paid what

²³ Brickell, *Natural History*, pp. 4-5; Spangenberg, "Diary," *Records of the Moravians*, I, 40; Smyth, *Tour*, II, 93; J. Chetwynd, P. Doernique, M. Bladen, and E. Ashe, "Copy of a Representation of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the King upon the State of His Majesties Colonies & Plantations on the Continent of North America [1721]," *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1885), V, 609. Wilmington, south of the sounds, had direct access to the ocean, somewhat impeded by a bar at the mouth of the Cape Fear River.

²⁴ Scotus Americanus, "Informations Concerning the Province of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 619 (Oct., 1926).

²⁵ *An Account of the European Settlements in America* (London, 1758), II, 248-249. (This compilation is usually ascribed to Edmund Burke.) The passage is copied, without acknowledgment, almost *verbatim* (save for the change of "indigent" to "indolent") by J. H. Wynne, *A General History of the British Empire in America* (London, 1770), II, 290.

²⁶ *American Husbandry. Containing an Account of the Soil, Climate, Production and Agriculture, of the British Colonies in North-America and the West-Indies; with Observations on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Settling in Them, Compared with Great Britain and Ireland. By an American* (London, 1775), I, 336-337. This "American" does not profess ever to have visited America, though it would be difficult to find printed sources for much of his usually accurate information.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 338.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 342-344.

they liked; and cattle or hogs were driven mostly to Virginia or South Carolina for sale.²⁹

II

The North Carolinians in general were "very indolent & lazy."³⁰ Cattle and horses, as small as English yearlings, looked out for themselves all winter; "if they live, they live. . . . When spring comes the animals are so reduced by hunger and cold that they hardly recover before fall."³¹ In cold weather they fed mostly on the long moss which hung from the trees.³² "So soon as a Cow calves she is turned into the woods to shift for herself & Calf, which they brand & mark & keep no Dairy's nor milk their Cows but when by chance they come home."³³ Dr. Brickell called North Carolina planters "the worst Horse-masters I have ever met with."³⁴ Only the hogs, more numerous in North Carolina than anywhere else, flourished in neglect:

The *Porke* is excellent good, from their *Hogs* feeding on *Straw-berries*, *Wallnuts*, *Peaches*, *Maiz*, and several other sorts of delicate Fruits, which are the natural produce of this Country, and make it the sweetest Meat the World can afford; as is well known to all Strangers that have been in that country.³⁵

An English economist detailed the unfortunate consequences of failing to utilize "that article essential to all husbandry, *dung*."³⁶ Dr. Brickell remarked that he had never seen one acre in North

²⁹ Spangenberg, "Diary," *Records of the Moravians*, I, 39; "Journal of a French Traveller," *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 738; Smyth, *Tour*, I, 175; II, 98-99.

³⁰ Logan, "Journal," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXXVI, 15-16. The people of Beaufort, in particular, were "very lasy and Indolent" ("Journal of a French Traveller," *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 733). Johann Rudolff Ochs, depending upon information from others, says of North Carolina: "Es führend [*sic*] die Einwohner dieser Provintz gemeinlich ein müßiges Leben weilen sie mit wenig Arbeit ihre Unterhaltung erobern und den Überflusz nicht so könnlich als wie in Süd-Carolina verhandlen können so wenden sie nicht viel Mühe an grossen Vorrath zu bekommen sondern vergnügen sich mehrentheils mit ihrer Unterhaltung und etwas übriges vor die Kleidung so ihnen die von Neu Engelland zubringen zu vertauschen" (*Amerikanischer Wegweiser oder kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung der Englischen Provintzen in Nord-America, sonderlich aber der Landschaft Carolina*, Bern, 1711, pp. 23-24).

³¹ Spangenberg, "Diary," *Records of the Moravians*, I, 39.

³² "Journal of a French Traveller," *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 739.

³³ Logan, "Journal," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXXVI, 15.

³⁴ *Natural History*, p. 53.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

³⁶ *American Husbandry*, I, 364. Not only the quantity, he declares, but also the quality of this article could be greatly improved.

Carolina "managed as it ought to be," and that if farmers in Europe were equally careless their land would produce nothing but weeds.³⁷ Cornfields, in fact, were so full of weeds that it was difficult to find the crop.³⁸ In 1752, traveling 140 miles across northern North Carolina, Bishop Spangenberg saw not a single wagon or plow.³⁹ A man and a boy, with two horses, could have done as much work in a day as twenty negroes with hoes.⁴⁰ In general, however, farmers took things as they came. When the abused soil began to lose its fertility and when game became scarce, a planter would remove to new land farther west, leaving "numerous spots, which, having been under culture, and exhausted, lie absolutely barren for some years, and then are covered gradually with weeds, bushes, and rubbish, among which forest-trees at last shoot up."⁴¹

Poverty, as Colonel Byrd had noted, was no hindrance to procreation. North Carolina girls, said John Lawson,

marry very young; some at Thirteen or Fourteen; and She that stays till Twenty, is reckon'd a stale Maid; which is a very indifferent Character in that warm Country. The Women are very fruitful; most Houses being full of Little Ones. It has been observ'd that Women long marry'd, and without Children, in other Places, have remov'd to *Carolina*, and become joyful Mothers. They have very easy Travail in their Child-bearing, in which they are so happy, as seldom to miscarry.⁴²

A shell-fish called "man of noses" was valued "for increasing Vigour in Men, and making barren Women fruitful; but I think they have no need of that Fish; for the Women in Carolina are fruitful enough without their Helps."⁴³

Even the women, according to Brickell, "do not over burthen themselves with care and Industry";⁴⁴ but they are, nevertheless, "the most Industrious in these Parts."⁴⁵ Miss Schaw, from Edinburgh, inquired at Wilmington why American women were commonly superior in gentility and the graces of life to their husbands, who, as a rule, impartially divided their amorous attentions between their wives and their negro wenches.⁴⁶ Dresses, dancing,

³⁷ *Natural History*, pp. 14-15.

³⁸ "Diary," *Records of the Moravians*, I, 39.

³⁹ *American Husbandry*, I, 364-365.

⁴⁰ *New Voyage*, p. 84. (Copied by Brickell, *Natural History*, p. 31.)

⁴¹ Lawson, *New Voyage*, p. 162.

⁴² P. 32. Cf. Lawson, *New Voyage*, p. 84.

³⁸ *American Husbandry*, I, 349.

⁴⁰ Schaw, *Journal*, p. 163.

⁴⁴ *Natural History*, p. 254.

⁴⁶ *Journal*, pp. 154-155.

and ceremonies at a Wilmington ball reminded her of a Dutch painting; the men made her think of tar and feathers.⁴⁷ Everybody of fashion was invited to Mrs. Corbin's funeral; but just as the service was to begin, more than a hundred uninvited persons arrived noisily in canoes and almost drowned the clergyman's voice. They devoured the banquet that had been prepared for the guests, and returned, like crows from carrion, to their little clearings in the woods beside the creeks.⁴⁸ Poor men, often accompanied by their wives, would often

come to the Towns, and there remain Drinking Rum, Punch, and other Liquors for Eight or Ten Days successively, and after they have committed this Excess, will not drink any Spiritous Liquor, 'till such time as they take *the next Frolick*, as they call it, which is generally in two or three months.⁴⁹

In a settlement near Tar River (where for sport the inhabitants cut off the ears and tails of Smyth's cat and of her kittens), when Smyth went swimming with a Mr. Glen, the latter's wife and sister came to the water-side and hid the men's clothes. Smyth recovered his, but Glen

ran out of the water, and pursued the women stark naked. Having caught his wife, he brought her into the room where her sister and I were, locked the door, took out the key, threw her down on the bed, and notwithstanding her utmost endeavours to prevent him and disengage herself, committed an act that a mere savage would have been ashamed to have attempted in public. This he would afterwards boast of in all companies, in the presence of his wife and every other lady, as an excellent joke, and prodigious piece of humour.⁵⁰

III

Having admitted the laziness and luxury of the North Carolinians,⁵¹ Dr. Brickell asked whether "it can be admired, that the generality of them live after a loose and lacivious Manner, when . . . they have no Clergy to instruct them, and recommend the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154. She concedes, however, that many of the ladies would make a figure in any part of the world.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁴⁹ Brickell, *Natural History*, pp. 33-34. He adds that "the better Sort, or those of good Economy," seldom visit the taverns. Among other amusements he names horse-racing, gambling, cock-fighting, and wrestling. Though musical instruments are "very scarce in Carolina," everyone likes to dance.

⁵⁰ *Tour*, I, 133.

⁵¹ *Natural History*, p. 33.

Duties of a Christian."⁵² The Reverend Hugh Jones, of Williamsburg, Virginia, averred that little religion could be

expected among a Collection of such People as fly thither from other Places for Safety and Livelihood, left to their own Liberty without Restraint or Instruction. . . . The common *nominal Christians* live there not much better than *Heathens*.⁵³

In 1739 the Reverend George Whitefield found in North Carolina "scarce so much as the Form of Religion"; most of the missionaries sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were walking directly contrary to the Gospel.⁵⁴ The efforts of missionaries appeared to have borne little fruit. The Reverend John Blair, upon his arrival in 1704, had felt obliged to buy two horses, one of which was for a guide, since a stranger could not find his way alone. Forbidden to settle at one place (the charity of the Society being intended for the whole country), he rode about thirty miles a day and often slept in the woods. The people were so scattered that they could not easily come together to hear sermons or to bring their children for baptism. Blair returned to England destitute and thirty-five pounds in debt.⁵⁵ In 1708 the Reverend William Gordon found few parishioners who could read or write; most of the vestrymen were illiterate, and all were ignorant and quarrelsome. Bad roads, the ordinary diet of salt pork, corn bread, and muddy water, and a general lack of encouragement and income soon terminated Gordon's services to Carolina.⁵⁶ The Reverend Giles Rainsford wrote in 1712, soon after arriving, "I like the Country far better than any I have hitherto seen and certainly by nature tis one of the best in the world";⁵⁷ but he presently changed his opinion. With hardly an exception the Society's missionaries sent dismal reports from North Carolina.

The letters of the Reverend John Urmston, who was in Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, and Currituck counties from 1710 to

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵³ *The Present State of Virginia. Giving a Particular and Short Account of the Indian, English, and Negroe Inhabitants of That Colony* (London, 1724), pp. 78-79.

⁵⁴ *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, from His Embarking after the Embargo, to His Arrival at Savannah in Georgia* (2d ed., London, 1740), p. 86. Cf. p. 72.

⁵⁵ "Mr. Blair's Mission to North Carolina," *Colonial Records*, I, 600-603 (1886).

⁵⁶ "Mr. Gordon to the Secretary," *ibid.*, I, 708-715.

⁵⁷ Letter, *ibid.*, I, 860.

1721, would make a volume.⁵⁸ The people would contribute nothing to support the church, feeling that they did a favor in merely coming to hear the minister.⁵⁹ Urmston complained that he and his family had lived many a day on a dry crust and salt water from the Sound.⁶⁰ He was often obliged to "work hard with Axe Hoe & spade . . . dig a garden raise beans peas &c."⁶¹ His circuit included points seventy miles apart. "Every body would have a Church by his own door every Sunday or not at all."⁶² Vestrymen met at taverns, not to consider the affairs of the church but to drink and fight.⁶³ They "treat us with a great deal of formality and think there is no difference between a Gentleman and a labourer all fellows at Foot Ball."⁶⁴ Three precincts had no church, though the Quakers had meeting-houses. The unfurnished church building in Chowan was ready to fall, having

neither floor nor seats only a few loose benches upon the sand the Key being lost the door stood open ever since I came into the Country. All the Hoggs and Cattle flee thither for shade in the summer and warmth in Winter the first dig holes and bury themselves these with the rest make it a loathsome place with their dung and nastiness which is the peoples regard to Churches.⁶⁵

Urmston's services were unwelcome in certain quarters:

There are about 40 or fifty families at Alligator and Scogalong about 20 miles down the sound towards the South East from where I lived many marry'd and have children who never were baptized nor ever saw a minister on their shore. I have offered to go thither provided they would procure me a passage a day has been twice prefix'd But they never came for me so indifferent are they and cold in their souls health and tis to be feared live like Beasts I have heard of monstrous doings among them.⁶⁶

In 1712 Urmston wrote that he had had to live on wild fruit, which had caused a violent flux lasting eleven weeks. He would

⁵⁸ In 1712 he wrote to the Secretary of the Society that he had received but one reply to more than fifty letters (Letter, *ibid.*, I, 887). He repeatedly accused the Society of breaking its contract, refusing to send money according to agreement, and declining to honor its bills.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 763, 765.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 763.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, 764.

⁶² *Ibid.*, I, 765.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 769.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 770.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 769-770.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 766. "Scuppernong River" and "Scuponung Lake" were across the Sound from Perquimans River, and Great Alligator River and Alligator Lake were across from Pasquotank River (*William Byrd's Histories*, ed. W. K. Boyd, map facing p. xvi).

quit "this wretched country" if he could.⁶⁷ In 1714 he declared that he must beg or starve.⁶⁸ By 1716 he had lost his credit, and the Society was protesting his bills.⁶⁹ His own son added to his troubles:

I have been forced to turn him adrift for his undutifulness in combining with my Servants to ruin me he got a servant wench with child who had 2 years to serve rendered her not only useless but even a burden to me yet am forced to keep her not knowing where to get a better.⁷⁰

In 1721, he said, "I am buried alive in this hell of a hole."⁷¹ In a final begging letter, written at London later in 1721, he reviewed his nearly twelve years of service

among an ungrateful people . . . with great inconveniences of living in such an obscure corner of the world inhabited by the dregs and gleanings of all other English Colonies and a very unhealthy Country which have driven many Clergymen out of it not being able to stay so many months as I have years and brought others to their Graves.⁷²

It is perhaps significant that on April 2, 1720, a grand jury had presented "Jn^o Urmstone Missionary for being Drunk."⁷³

The numerous Quaker missionaries who visited Quaker congregations in North Carolina were not disposed to place that province upon a special eminence of either iniquity or godliness. Their journals do not imply that North Carolina differed in spiritual matters from other places where Quakers lived. James Logan, Philadelphia Quaker, found the Quakers of Perquimans County to be "sober, solid & grave, & I think very exemplary in their Lives & Conversation";⁷⁴ but the Reverend William Gordon had described them as "extremely ignorant, insufferably proud and ambitious, and consequently ungovernable."⁷⁵ Urmston complained

⁶⁷ *Colonial Records*, I, 850-851, 888.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 117 (1886). At this time, however, he ordered "sugar the best sort" and "a gallon of the best sallet oil" (II, 128).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 247-249.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 417.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 417.

⁷² *Ibid.*, II, 431-432.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II, 401. Giles Rainsford informed the Secretary that Urmston, pretending to be lame, suffered chiefly from laziness, and that he spent the Society's money to improve his plantation (*ibid.*, I, 858; II, 17). When it was rumored after Urmston's return to England that he had applied for permission to come back to Carolina, he was declared in an anonymous letter to the Secretary to be wicked and lewd, notorious for swearing and drunkenness; the people disliked him and would not go to hear him (*ibid.*, II, 431).

⁷⁴ "Journal," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XXXVI, 7.

⁷⁵ *Colonial Records*, I, 714.

that since justices of the peace were authorized to perform marriages, there were "many adulterous Weddings Christians unequally yoked with Quakers or Heathens."⁷⁶

IV

The government of North Carolina was lax and corrupt. The Bernese and Palatine immigrants who settled New Bern under Christoph von Graffenried in 1710 learned that they had been deceived by promises.⁷⁷ When South Carolina, in 1711, sent forces under Colonel John Barnwell to aid in routing the Tuscarora Indians, the Assembly neglected and starved not only its helpers but its own militia, and on one occasion, according to report, most of the Assemblymen stripped stark naked and fought. As Barnwell wrote home,

Col. Boyd informed me that I was the occasion of all this for they were so long drinking my health that they knew not what they did, while poor me drink cold water . . . All ye Field officers came without a dram, a bit of meese bisket⁷⁸ or any kind of meat but hungry stomachs to devour my parcht corn flower, and they began to grumble for better victuals w^{ch} putt me in such a passion at all kinds of ill usages since I came here that I ordered one of their majors to be tyed neck & heels & kept him so, and whenever I heard a saucy word from any of them I imeadiately cutt him, for without this they are the most impertinent, imperious, cowardly Blockheads that ever God created & must be used like negros if you expect any good of them. . . . I am wild exclaiming against this place in writing but when I kiss your Hand I have such a tale to tell of the barefaced villainys daily committed here as will make y^r Hon^r for the future use this country as Virginia does.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 771. In illustration of North Carolina marriage, Professor W. K. Boyd remarks that during the proprietary period the legislature "passed a bill to put illegitimate children on a parity with legitimate ones. This was vetoed by the crown." He cites a nineteenth-century legend "that a certain senator played the fiddle at the marriage of his parents and that a certain governor performed the marriage ceremony at the legal joining of his parents, and that Judge Gaston remarked in a public address that one source of the free negro population was the cohabitation of white women with negro men, and the children of such unions followed the status of the mother" (quoted, with Professor Boyd's kind permission, from a letter).

⁷⁷ Graffenried's narratives are in *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*, ed. V. H. Todd (Raleigh, 1920).

⁷⁸ Mess biscuit?

⁷⁹ "Journal of John Barnwell," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VI, 49, 51, 54-55 (July, 1898).

In 1752 Bishop Spangenberg found the colony in great disorder, with jails broken open and murderers and thieves at large. The laws, he thought, were good but unenforced.⁸⁰

V

The border country or, according to others, the whole province of North Carolina was a haven of refuge for outcasts, outlaws, and paupers. When commissions were appointed in 1710 to run a boundary line the Virginians concluded that most of the witnesses sought were men of ill fame who had left Virginia.⁸¹ Near Albemarle Sound, as Urmston wrote, dwelt men and women of

loose dissolute and scandalous lives and practices . . . many of whom after their transportation from England have been banished out of all or most of the other colonies or for fear of punishment have fled hither. this is a nest of the most notorious profligates upon earth. Women forsake their husbands come in here and live with other men they are sometimes followed then a price is given to the husband and madam stays with her Gallant a report is spread abroad that the husband is dead then they become Man and Wife.⁸²

In 1721 the Board of Trade reported to King George:

The Government of this Province, having for many years been a very disorderly one, this becomes a place of refuge for all the vagabonds, whom either debt, or breach of the Laws have driven from the other Colonies on the Continent; and pirates have too frequently found entertainment amongst them.⁸³

The pirates referred to were Blackbeard (Edward Teach) and his men, whose insolence, robberies, and fornications had been connived at if not encouraged by the government of North Carolina.⁸⁴ To that province, said Bishop Spangenberg, came refugees from debt, deserters of wives and children, and whole bands of horse-thieves, thinking that "here no one would find them, and they

⁸⁰ "Diary," *Records of the Moravians*, I, 31-34.

⁸¹ "A Journall of the Proceedings of Philip Ludwell and Nath^l Harrison Commissioners Appointed for Seteling ye Limits betwixt Virga & Carolina," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV, 42 (July, 1896).

⁸² *Colonial Records*, I, 767.

⁸³ J. Chetwynd, P. Doeminique, M. Bladen, and E. Ashe, "Representation," *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, V, 609.

⁸⁴ Captain Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Pyrates* (2d ed., London, 1724), pp. 76-87; *Colonial Records*, index under "Edward Teach." Teach himself, as Professor W. K. Boyd declares in a letter, was "undoubtedly . . . in collusion with high officials."

could go on in impunity"; and their numbers were increased by people too poor to get land anywhere else or too lazy to feed their stock during the winter.⁸⁵ "This province," declared an anonymous Frenchman in 1765, "is the azilum of the Convicts that have served their time in virginia and maryland. when at liberty they all (or great part) Come to this part where they are not Known."⁸⁶

VI

In 1724 the disputed strip between Virginia and Carolina, fifteen miles broad, was described as "an *Asylum* for the Runagates of of both Countries";⁸⁷ and in 1710, when efforts had been made to determine the boundary, witnesses had hidden themselves in the woods in order not to be found at home for questioning by the Virginia commissioners.⁸⁸

No further references need be accumulated to demonstrate that Colonel Byrd was neither the first nor the last of colonial travelers to disparage North Carolina. Only five of his charges are unsupported.⁸⁹ A certain gusto in belaboring the victim of his ridicule is doubtless exhibited in his description of mosquitoes as a *Carolina* plague, and of the felicity of having nothing to do as a *Carolina* felicity, the plague and the felicity in question being pretty generally distributed; but there is little doubt that he reported substantially what he saw. Fine gentleman and coffee-house wit though he was,⁹⁰ his account of North Carolina is too thoroughly authenticated by other observers to be dismissed as a gratuitous exercise in polite satire.

Precisely how significant the foregoing collection of disparagements may be cannot be determined without weighing information from sources other than the records of travelers. No such estimate can be undertaken here. Certain qualifications, however, may be made in passing.

In the first place, it was not only in North Carolina that travel-

⁸⁵ "Diary," *Records of the Moravians*, I, 40-41.

⁸⁶ "Journal of a French Traveller," *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 738.

⁸⁷ Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 57.

⁸⁸ Ludwell, "Journall," *Virginia Magazine*, IV, 30-42.

⁸⁹ That North Carolinians traded illegally with New England vessels, that pork caused "gross humours," that yaws resulted from lack of salt, that there was no place of public worship in North Carolina in 1728, and that mosquitoes infested Edenton. As Professor W. K. Boyd points out (in a letter), the charge of illegal trading with New England vessels is supported by evidence in the *Colonial Records* for the decade between 1670 and 1680.

⁹⁰ W. K. Boyd (Introduction to *William Byrd's Histories*, p. xi) emphasizes this fact.

ers noticed bad roads, weak government, religious indifference, drunkenness, careless agriculture, contented squalor, and the congregation of fugitives, outcasts, and paupers. Nowhere else, on the other hand, did all these disadvantages exist together, and nowhere else did so many of them appear characteristic rather than exceptional and sporadic.

Such conditions were most noticeable within fifty or a hundred miles of the highway between Portsmouth and Charleston through Edenton, Bath, New Bern, and Wilmington, among swamps and pine barrens through which the ordinary traveler was obliged to pass. The new settlements founded in the western foothills and mountain valleys after the middle of the century exhibited no combination of faults that was peculiar to those settlements.⁹¹ Backwoods society in the Appalachian highlands, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, was much more nearly uniform than the society of the coastal plain. The bad reputation of North Carolina affected chiefly the eastern part of the province—the area which travelers were best acquainted with. To equate eastern North Carolina as observed by Colonel Byrd with Connecticut as observed by Madam Knight, under the common designation of “the Frontier as Lubberland,”⁹² is to trifle with an abused noun which has already lost whatever precision of meaning it may once have had. Byrd’s Lubberland was marked by strongly local peculiarities, having little in common with those of Connecticut or those of western North Carolina. It is not clear upon what grounds the three regions can be subsumed under the general head of “frontiers.”

The disagreeable remarks of travelers in eastern North Carolina were not entirely unmixed with praise. John Lawson describes in glowing colors the beauty of tidewater plantations and the hospi-

⁹¹ Concerning the back country see Spangenberg, “Diary,” *Records of the Moravians*, I, 41; “Journal of a French Traveller,” *American Historical Review*, XXVI, 738; Adam Gordon, “Journal of an Officer in the West Indies Who Travelled over a Part of the West Indies, and of North America, in the Course of 1764 and 1765,” *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. N. D. Mereness (New York, 1916), pp. 399-400; Smyth, *Tour*, I, 172-183, 210-218, 257-260, 280-284; *American Husbandry*, I, 341.

⁹² V. L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind* (New York, 1927), pp. 137-140. Professor Parrington draws a schematic distinction between “the Frontier as Lubberland” and “the Frontier as Land of Promise,” the latter being represented by Crèvecoeur’s sketches. It may be noted in this connection that Jedidiah Morse quotes Crèvecoeur’s remarks on religious indifference and reversion to barbarism among backwoodsmen in general as specially, though not exclusively, applicable to western North Carolina (*Geography Made Easy. Being a Short, but Comprehensive System of That Very Useful as Agreeable Science*, New Haven [1784], pp. 73-78).

tality of planters.⁹³ Josiah Quincy gives a favorable account of North Carolina as contrasted with her southern neighbor.⁹⁴ Dr. Brickell lauds "the best established Government in the world."⁹⁵ Scotus Americanus urges discontented Scots to settle in

the best country in the world for a poor man to go to, and do well. . . . Here each may sit safe, and at ease, under his own fig-tree, indulging himself in the natural bent of his genius, in patronizing the useful arts of life, and in practicing the virtues of humanity.⁹⁶

The tract by Scotus Americanus, like many other eighteenth-century pamphlets, is designed to attract European immigrants to American land; its purpose prescribes its contents. Other scattered tributes to North Carolina concern mostly the fertile foothills in the west, not the barrens and dismal of the longer-settled east.

The evil repute of North Carolina, to which Colonel Byrd's literary talent gave the most pointed but by no means the sole expression, was not entirely a phenomenon of colonial days. During the Revolution, it is true, the colony fought beside her twelve revolting neighbors; but there were many Loyalists in North Carolina, she was noted after the war for her monetary policy, and she hesitated to ratify the Federal Constitution. Though a pretty thoroughgoing post-Revolutionary arraignment of North Carolina by Jedidiah Morse of New Haven⁹⁷ contains hardly any charge that was not equally applicable to the South in general, North Carolina was known in the early nineteenth century as the Rip van Winkle of the South.⁹⁸

⁹³ *New Voyage*, pp. 63-64. See also *An Account of the Cape Fear Country, 1731*, by Hugh Meredith, ed. E. G. Swem (Perth Amboy, N. J., 1922).

⁹⁴ "A Journal, Interspersed with Observations and Remarks, by Josiah Quincy, Jr.," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLIX, 462-464 (1916).

⁹⁵ *Natural History*, pp. 27-29, 256.

⁹⁶ *Informations concerning the Province of North Carolina, Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1773), reprinted in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, III, 619, 621 (Oct., 1926). Guillaume-Thomas Raynal expresses a less favorable opinion of the Scots, both at home and in North Carolina (*Histoire philosophique et politique, des établissements & du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes*, Geneva, 1780, IV, 313-315).

⁹⁷ *The American Geography* (2d ed., London, 1792), pp. 417-418. Morse specifies six charges: (1) disregard of the Sabbath; (2) suckling of white infants by black nurses; (3) limitation of male conversation to cards, the bottle, occurrences of the day, negroes, and prices; (4) general mental indolence; (5) small respect for women; and (6) waste of time in drinking, idling, gambling, boxing, gouging (on which he provides a note, p. 418), cock-fighting, and horse-racing.

⁹⁸ For suggestions incorporated into this paragraph I am greatly obligated to Professor W. K. Boyd, who has provided useful comments on the whole manuscript. I am further obligated, for advice and encouragement, to Professor G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University.

"CHANTING THE SQUARE DEIFIC"—A STUDY IN WHITMAN'S RELIGION

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THE CRITICISMS of Whitman's "Chanting the Square Deific" by theologians range in effect from cries of "blasphemy!" and "heresy!"¹ to rapt appreciation and rhapsodic extensions of some aspects of the poet's ideas.² Literary critics have, on the whole, been mildly contemptuous of Whitman's theology and the peculiar language in which he set it forth.³ Although Whitman offered no apology for his barbaric "yawp," he did anticipate the objections to his theology:

The ripeness of Religion is doubtless to be looked for in this field of individuality, and is a result that no organization or church can ever achieve. As history is poorly retain'd by what the technists call history, and is not given out from their pages, except the learner has in himself the sense of the well-wrapt, never yet written, perhaps impossible to be written history—so Religion, although casually arrested, and, after a fashion, preserv'd in the churches and creeds, does not depend at all upon them, but is a part of the identified soul, which, when greatest, knows not bibles in the old ways, but in new ways—the identified soul, which can really confront Religion when it extricates itself entirely from the churches, and not before.⁴

The purpose of this article is to enquire into the ideas expressed in "Chanting the Square Deific"; to discover their origin and de-

¹ Cf. Augustus Hopkins Strong, *American Poets and Their Theology* (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 460; James Elmer Bailey, *Religious Thought in the Greater American Poets* (Boston, 1922), pp. 200-203.

² Cf. William Norman Guthrie, *Modern Poet Prophets* (Cincinnati, 1899), pp. 248-288; John E. Jacoby, *Le Mysticisme dans la pensée américaine* (Paris, 1931), pp. 174-205.

It is interesting to note the correspondence between "Chanting the Square Deific" and William James's summary of the characteristics of religion in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902), pp. 485-486.

³ Cf. John Bailey, *Walt Whitman* (New York, 1926), pp. 94-95; William Sloane Kennedy, *The Fight of a Book for the World* (West Yarmouth, Mass., 1926), p. 154; Stanley Williams, *American Literature* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 114; Floyd Stovall, *Walt Whitman* (New York, 1934), p. 410; John Addington Symonds, *Walt Whitman, A Study* (London, 1893), pp. 42-61.

⁴ "Democratic Vistas," *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, Camden Edition (New York, 1902), V, 104-105.

velopment in Whitman's notebooks and other poems and prose; and to relate the poem to the whole body of Whitman's religious thinking.

"Chanting the Square Deific" was first published in a twenty-four-page booklet bearing on the title-page: "Sequel to Drum-Taps. (Since the preceding came from the press.) WHEN LILACS LAST IN THE DOOR-YARD BLOOM'D. And other pieces. Washington, 1865-6." The whole volume, including the title-page and table of contents, was immediately appended to the volume of war poems which had recently appeared in New York under the title of *Walt Whitman's Drum-Taps*. These in turn found their way into *Leaves of Grass* in 1867, appended with their own separate title-pages, tables of contents, and pagination, to the Fourth Edition, published in New York. Contrary to his expectations, Whitman's poems on the war and on the death of Lincoln apparently found little more immediate popularity than had the earlier editions of *Leaves of Grass*.⁵ Yet among the eighteen pieces included in the *Sequel to Drum-Taps* are several which have become almost universally known and admired. As he hurried this little volume through the press in Washington, possibly even before *Drum-Taps* had appeared in New York, it seems likely that Whitman attached some special importance to the poems it contained. The war poems, of course, were timely; even more timely were the elegies upon Lincoln, whose death caused Whitman strong poignant grief. "Chanting the Square Deific" merits its place in the volume as a hymn to a new god constituted to console the nation, war-torn and bereft; moreover, it belongs with "Reconciliation" as a war poem addressed especially to the South. In a note proposing a poem on the Crusades, Whitman had said: "Put in this point *strong*, that the great redeeming movements, rebellions of the world have been those—(Such as the Crusades & our own great war)—which have been mainly for *an idea*."⁶ And in the stanza on Satan, he deified the spirit of rebelliousness which had prompted the shelling of Fort Sumter.

⁵In a letter to his mother, dated April 10, 1864, Whitman wrote: "I want to come on in a month and try to print my 'Drum-Taps'. I think it may be a success pecuniarily, too" (Richard Maurice Bucke, ed., *The Wound Dresser*, Boston, 1898, p. 164).

⁶Charles I. Glicksberg (ed.), *Walt Whitman and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 161. Note that the "redeeming movements" come from rebellions, and not from suppressing rebellions. Cf. the discussion of the third stanza of "Chanting the Square Deific," below.

That Whitman attached special importance to the poems in the *Sequel* is shown both by their peculiarly serious message and somber tone, and by their separate publication in a special volume.⁷ Moreover, he was satisfied with "Chanting the Square Deific," at least, both as to its content and its workmanship. After its first publication, the poem received no marked revision, such as many of his poems were subjected to. Compared with sixteen minor changes in "When Lilacs Last in the Door-Yard Bloom'd," a somewhat longer poem, and three changes in "O Captain! My Captain!" there is but a single alteration of "Chanting the Square Deific" as it first appeared. In 1870, Whitman added the single word *old* to modify *time* in line 5.

Perhaps some of his satisfaction with the content of the poem can be attributed to its subjectivity. As a poet, Whitman was compelled to make God in his own image.⁸ In 1855, he had boasted:

Magnifying and applying come I,
Outbidding at the start the old cautious hucksters,
The most they offer for mankind and eternity less
than a spirit of my own seminal wet,
Taking myself the exact dimensions of Jehovah and
laying them away,
Lithographing Kronos and Zeus his son, and Hercules his grandson,
Buying drafts of Osiris and Isis and Belus and
Brahma and Adonai,
In my portfolio placing Manito loose, and Allah on
a leaf, and the crucifix engraved,
With Odin, and the hideous-faced Mexitli, and all
idols and images;
Honestly taking them all for what they are worth,
and not a cent more,

⁷It is interesting to conjecture whether the plan for a separate volume of poems already begun may have been in Whitman's mind as early as the spring of 1863, when he wrote in a letter from Washington: "Mother, when you or Jeff writes again, tell me if my papers and MSS. are all right; I should be very sorry indeed if they got scattered, or used up or anything—especially the copy of 'Leaves of Grass' covered in blue paper, and the little MS. book 'Drum Taps,' and the MS. tied up in the square, spotted (stone-paper) loose covers—I want them all carefully kept" (*The Wound Dresser*, p. 61). If so, its publication was undoubtedly hastened by the death of Lincoln and the composition of the elegies upon him.

⁸"The Square is not Deity, because we can predicate nothing about God. It is Deific, or God-making, because we are compelled to make God in our image" (Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

Admitting they were alive and did the work of
 their days;
 Admitting they bore mites as for unfledged birds
 who have now to rise and fly and sing for them-
 selves;
 Accepting the rough deific sketches to fill out better
 in myself bestowing them freely on each
 man and woman I see ⁹

And now, ten years later, he identifies himself with each of the four sides of his quaternity in turn: "From this side Jehovah am I . . . With gentle hand extended, the mightier God am I, Foretold by prophets and poets . . . Defiant, I, Satan, still live . . . Life of the great round world, the sun and stars, and of man, I, the general soul"¹⁰ "Chanting the Square Deific," then, may be regarded as another "Song of Myself," because Whitman's God, like his religion, was mystical, and hence had to be conceived subjectively.

Many of the ideas and images in the poem appear to be revisions and adaptations of material from earlier poems and from the poet's notebooks.¹¹ Although not all the material has been definitely dated, the development of the ideas in the poem can be traced with some accuracy through the notebooks, published prose, and other poetic works. In addition to the sources for specific passages, which will be presented later, the following passages are of interest as general sources for the poem:

?Spinal idea of a "lesson." Founding of a new American religion (?No religion). That which is comprehensive enough to include all doctrines and sects and give them all places and chances, each after its kind.

Egyptian religion—existing in nascence or development through

⁹ *Leaves of Grass* (1855), p. 45; "Song of Myself," ll. 1026-1037. The text of passages from poems published before 1865-1866 is that of the edition in which they first appeared. For the reader's convenience, I have made double references: the first is to the page in the edition from which the text is quoted; the second is to the title and corresponding lines given in *Leaves of Grass*, "Modern Readers' Series," ed. John Valente (New York, 1928), which follows the text of the 1881 edition. I have had to reject Holloway's Inclusive Edition (Garden City, 1926) for this purpose because it lacks lineation. The use of four dots is Whitman's punctuation.

¹⁰ "Chanting the Square Deific," ll. 3, 14-15, 33, 43.

¹¹ In 1927, Emory Holloway observed that "Long before its publication in 1865-6, the unique theology of 'Chanting the Square Deific' was a subject of Whitman's poetic meditation" (*Pictures, An Unpublished Poem of Walt Whitman*, New York, 1927, p. 33).

many thousand years (five or ten or perhaps even twice ten thousand years.) The central idea seems to have been wonderfulness and divinity of life, the beetle, the bull, the snipe were divine in that they exemplified the inexplicable mystery of life. It was a profound and exquisite religion.

Greek—existing through several thousand years—certainly two, very likely several more. Central idea, a combination of Love, Intellect and Esthetic (the beautiful and harmonious)—Refined perceptions, the presence of perfect human bodies, the climate, the peculiar adhesiveness or friendship of the people all are in Greek mythology.

Hebrew—the most ethereal and elevated spiritually—this seems to be what subordinates all the rest—The Soul, the spirit rising in vagueness.¹²

Although the "spirit rising in vagueness" apparently does not emerge again until it becomes Santa Spirita, Whitman's idea of comprehensiveness and the Greek ideas of Love and Esthetic are recognizable, along with the Satan of the Square Deific, in the following passage in "Pictures," which Holloway believes to have been written in 1853,¹³ and to contain materials adapted in "Chanting the Square Deific":

And this black portrait—this head, huge, frowning, sorrowful,—
it is Lucifer's portrait—the denied God's portrait,
(But I do not deny him—though cast out and rebellious, he
is my God as much as any;)
And again the heads of three other Gods—the God Beauty,
the God Beneficence, and the God Universality, (they also
are mine) ¹⁴

Here, at least, are four deities accepted, some of whom are expanded in the later poem; but in his comment that these may have furnished the idea for the quaternary, Holloway overlooks the "portrait" of Christ in an earlier passage in the same poem, which is quoted later in this article in the discussion of the second stanza. The idea of Satanic rebellion compounded with those of classic virtue and the Consolator's love to make a new religion—Whit-

¹² Edward Maurice Bucke (ed.), *Notes and Fragments* (London, Canada, 1899), p. 78. A passage from this note is quoted under the heading *Religion, 1858* in American Art Association Anderson Galleries, Inc., *Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, First Editions and Portraits of Walt Whitman*, Sale Number 4251 (New York, 1936), p. 215.

¹³ Emory Holloway, *Whitman, An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York, 1926), opposite p. 116.

¹⁴ *Pictures*, p. 29.

man's religion—is developed in the following poem, which was written probably six or seven years later than “Pictures”:

Two antique records there are—two religious platforms,
 On the first stands the Greek sage, the classic masterpiece
 of virtue Eternal conscience is there—doubt is
 there—philosophy, questioning, reasoning is there.
 On the second stands the Jew, the Christ, the Consolator
 There is love,
 There is drenched purity there, subtle, is the unseen
 Soul, before which all the goods and greatnesses of the
 world, become insignificant:
 But now give a third religion I give I include the
 antique two I include the Divine Jew, and the
 Greek sage. More still—that which is not conscience,
 but against it—that which is not the Soul, I include
 These, and whatever exists, I include—I surround all, and
 dare not make a single exception.¹⁵

Again, Whitman jotted: “Religions—Gods. Supposed to be one thousand religions. Names of Gods, sects, and prophets . . .” and concluded with nearly a page and a half (in type) of names.¹⁶ Like Milton, he must have had a deep interest in comparative religion; but unlike Milton, who contented himself with ascribing to pagan deities a heavenly origin, he identified selected pagan gods with the Godhead. Of the twelve hierarchs named in “Chanting the Square Deific,” only four (and these not entirely “regular”) do not appear on this list: Time, Earth, Father, and Santa Spirita. What rare restraint he exhibited in refraining from making “Chanting the Square Deific” a catalogue of the whole page and a half of Gods, sects, and prophets named in his notes!

Whitman was well aware of the problem involved in compounding thus heterogeneous materials to form a religion or Godhead “comprehensive enough to include all doctrines and sects.” It is the problem confronting those who today would unite all the denominations of Protestantism; but it is amplified by the inclusion of all other sects and religions as well. Yet such compounding of materials from many centuries and from many lands was essential

¹⁵ MS Notebook VI (1860-1861?), in the collection of the Library of Congress; cf. Emory Holloway (ed.), *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, 1921), II, 91-92. The use of four dots is Whitman's punctuation.

¹⁶ *Notes and Fragments*, pp. 152-154.

to Whitman's philosophy of poetry. In 1857, viewing *Leaves of Grass* as a "New Bible," he wrote: "Leading characteristics. To unite all sects, parties, States . . ." ¹⁷ And in a passage headed "Philosophy of Leaves of Grass" which Bucke believed to be a note for a friendly reviewer, Whitman said:

Walt Whitman's philosophy—or perhaps metaphysics, to give it a more definite name—as evinced in his poems, and running through them, and sometimes quite palpable in his verses, but far oftener latent, and like the unseen roots or sap of trees—is not the least of his peculiarities—one must not say originalities, for Whitman himself disclaims originality—at least in the superficial sense. His notion explicitly is that there is nothing actually new only an accumulation or fruitage or carrying out those new occasions and requirements . . . ¹⁸

In old age Whitman recorded something of the method by which he had accumulated the fruitage for his requirements:

Later, at intervals, summers and falls, I used to go off, sometimes for a week at a stretch, down in the country, or to Long Island's seashores—there, in the presence of outdoor influences, I went over thoroughly the Old and New Testaments, and absorb'd (probably to better advantage for me than in any library or indoor room—it makes such a difference *where* you read,) Shakspeare, Ossian, the best translated versions I could get of Homer, Eschylus, Sophocles, the old German "Nibelungen," the ancient Hindoo poems, and one or two other masterpieces, Dante's among them. ¹⁹

Among the "other masterpieces" which contributed to "Chanting the Square Deific" were Bailey's *Festus*, Byron's *Manfred*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Goethe's *Faust*. ²⁰ In a highly favorable series of criticisms, dated January, 1856; 18 Feb., 1856; and 26 Feb. [undoubtedly the same year], Whitman recorded what was apparently a rather extensive reading of Goethe. ²¹ His solution of the philosophic problem raised in the poem also shows the influence of Hegel, whom he may have understood only imperfectly, but who

¹⁷ American Art Association, *op. cit.*, p. 27. This was one of the "great objectives before Whitman in 1857" (*ibid.*).

¹⁸ *Notes and Fragments*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁹ "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," *The Complete Works of Walt Whitman*, III, 55.

²⁰ See below, the discussion of sources for the third stanza.

²¹ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 105.

nevertheless affords a philosophic parallel for the theological idea here poetically expressed.²²

To approximate Hegel's Absolute Idea, Whitman synchronized and embodied in himself many creeds and theologies. In 1855, he had declared:

My faith is the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths,
 Enclosing all worship ancient and modern, and all between
 ancient and modern,
 Believing I shall come again upon the earth after five
 thousand years,
 Waiting responses from oracles honoring the gods
 saluting the sun,
 Making a fetish of the first rock or stump powow-
 ing with sticks in the circle of obis,
 Helping the lama or brahmin as he trims the lamps of
 the idols,
 Dancing yet through the streets in a phallic procession
 rapt and austere in the woods, a gymnosophist,
 Drinking mead from the skull-cup to shasta and
 vedas admirant minding the koran,
 Walking the teokallis, spotted with gore from stone and
 knife—beating the serpent-skin drum;
 Accepting the gospels, accepting him that was crucified,
 knowing assuredly that he is divine,
 To the mass kneeling—to the puritan's prayer rising—sitting
 patiently in a pew,

²² I agree with Boatright that "Whitman was in no technical sense a philosopher, but that he did look at life from one habitual point of view, and this point of view, in the main, is in accord with the Absolute Idealism of Hegel" (Mody C. Boatright, "Whitman and Hegel," *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 9, July 8, 1929, p. 134).

I do not feel, however, that Boatright's exposition of the Hegelianism in "Chanting the Square Deific" is adequate, especially with regard to Satan and the Santa Spirita. He says: "I think, however, that it does not require a great deal of fancy to see in the poem a reflection of Hegelian dialectic. Law, *i. e.*, necessity (described in the first stanza), is set against its antithesis, Mercy (described in the second stanza). The synthesis gives Good (not directly described in the poem), which is set against its antithesis, Evil; the new synthesis yielding God, the pervader and encloser of all life, and the correspondent of Hegel's Absolute Idea" (p. 143).

Whitman's debt to Hegel, as well as the function of the Santa Spirita, seems also to be suggested in the following passage: "He [Whitman] accepts Darwinism as an advance, but is unwilling to admit that it finally answers the question of origins or destinies. The most satisfactory answer thus far made, he thinks, is Hegel's theory of the cosmic consciousness advancing through conflict and contradiction towards some purposed objective; but Hegel, like Darwin, is cold and intellectual, whereas Whitman demands the warmth and exaltation of the ancient prophets" (Stovall, *op. cit.*, pp. xlviii-xlix). See also Stovall's note on "Eidolons" (*ibid.*, pp. 413-414).

Ranting and frothing in my insane crisis—waiting dead-like
till my spirit arouses me;
Looking forth on pavement and land, and outside of pavement
and land,
Belonging to the winders of the circuit of circuits.²³

By 1860, he felt that his apprenticeship to the past had been served, and that the experience had not fallen short of his expectations. Then he sang:

I conn'd old times,
I sat studying at the feet of the great masters;
Now, if eligible, O that the great masters might
return and study me!²⁴

and again:

I see that the old accounts, bibles, genealogies, are
true without exception.²⁵

He accepted the notion that religions rooted in widely divergent cultures have in them universal truths; therefore he framed his quaternity to include the qualities and names of foreign and pagan deities. He remained steadfast in this belief throughout his life. Writing on "Poetry of the Future," he said:

I see that this world of the West, as part of all, fuses inseparably with the East, and with all, as time does—the ever new, yet old, old human race—"the same subject continued," as the novels of our grandfathers had it for chapter-heads. If we are not to hospitably receive and complete the inaugurations of the old civilizations, and change their small scale to the largest, broadest scale, what on earth are we for?²⁶

Thus was "Chanting the Square Deific" compounded.

The choice of a title was likewise a matter requiring thought and special investigation. For so comprehensive a poem, no ordinary title would suffice. Hence, Whitman first turned to the Latin, probably because it is the conventional vehicle for Christian theology. On the back cover of a notebook containing some of the sources for this poem is the memorandum: "I want a Latin motto which conveys the following sense of the words 'Four in One.'"

²³ *Leaves* (1855), p. 48; "Song of Myself," ll. 1097-1110. The use of four dots is Whitman's punctuation.

²⁴ "Proto-Leaf," *Leaves* (1860), p. 8; "Starting from Paumanok," ll. 49-51.

²⁵ "With Antecedents," *ibid.*, p. 175; l. 30. Cf. "Kosmos."

²⁶ *North American Review*, CXXXII, 199 (Feb., 1881).

Below this is traced in a more painstaking hand, as though the writer were copying laboriously from a book:

Quatuor in Uno
or, better,
Quatuor juncta in Uno
Au courant
Quarto
*Quatuor*²⁷

Failing to find a sufficiently striking Latin motto, Whitman must have evolved the present title, with which, like the rest of the poem, he must have been satisfied, for he never changed it. The word *Song* he used frequently in titles; *Chanting*, with its ecclesiastical connotations, is peculiarly appropriate to the subject of this poem. The sense of *Deific* has already been touched upon. The *Square* seems to have been an especially happy image to represent the idea of "Four in One." Had Whitman only been familiar with the following prayer of the Pythagoreans, whose deity was also "divine four-foldness" representing the four elements—fire, water, air, and earth,—he might have satisfied his desire for a learned word with the Greek *tetraktys*:

Bless us, divine number, thou who generatest gods and men! O holy, holy *tetraktys*, thou that containest the root and source of the eternally flowing creation! For the divine number begins with the profound, pure unity until it comes to the holy four; then it begets the mother of all, the all-comprising, all abounding, the first-born, the never-swerving, the never-tiring holy ten, the key-holder of all.²⁸

As the reader knows, "Chanting the Square Deific" is composed of four stanzas, each of which describes one side of the quaternity and suggests its function. The organization of the poem is similar to that of both the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, in which each successive paragraph treats the qualities of one of the persons of the Trinity.

The first side of the Square Deific to emerge is law—relentless

²⁷ MS Notebook VI (1860-1861?), in Library of Congress, Whitman's method of experimenting with language is shown by the following words, jotted on successive lines of the first page of the same notebook: "Quatuor, Quatrana, Quadriene, Quatrana," and "Quaterniunc" at the bottom of the fifth page.

²⁸ Tobias Dantzig, *Number, the Language of Science* (New York, 1930), p. 41. Ten, of course, is the sum or union of 1, 2, 3, and 4.

and inexorable. It is primarily natural law, which governs gravity, the ebb and flow of tides, daybreak and evening, the succession of seasons—all the uncontrollable regularity in nature. To explore such forces in nature and to explain them as law was one of the earliest functions of primitive religions. Did not the medicine-man and witch-doctor sustain their positions largely through their knowledge and interpretation of natural law as deity? In more sophisticated times, natural and moral law were easily combined into a single "divine" code. Whitman had recognized this in 1855.

The law of the past cannot be eluded,
The law of the present and future cannot be eluded,
The law of the living cannot be eluded . . . it is eternal,
The law of promotion and transformation cannot be eluded,
The law of heroes and good-doers cannot be eluded,
The law of drunkards and informers and mean persons cannot
be eluded.²⁹

With this conception of God as law, Whitman associates seven names. The first, *Jehovah*, is readily recognized as the Old Testament Creator, Mosaic code-giver, and god of battle of the Hebrew tribes. The second, *Brahm*, appears in Whitman's list of gods under that name and also as "Brahma, to create."³⁰ *Brahm*, the first person in the Hindoo Trimurti, is commonly personified as *Brahma*, a masculine creator of the world. This world which he creates, however, is given but 2,160,000,000 years to endure; then it is ruthlessly destroyed, only to be re-created after a like period has elapsed. *Saturnius*, the third name in the stanza, is the Italic ruler of the Golden Age (with whom Whitman may have associated the Roman code), and also the god of agriculture—harvest and seed-time. He is usually identified with the Greek *Kronos*, the seventh name in the stanza. According to the myth, *Kronos* was a Titan, son of *Uranus* and *Gaea* (the Earth Mother), who drove his father from the throne and was himself later dethroned by his son *Zeus*. In later days his name became confused with "Chronos"; hence he has been erroneously regarded as a god of time. Whitman's list

²⁹ *Leaves* (1855), p. 68; "To Think of Time," ll. 81-86. The use of four dots is Whitman's punctuation.

³⁰ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 153. The list is that of "Gods, sects and prophets," discussed previously in this article.

of gods includes the following item: "Saturday—Saturn (?Kronos)."³¹

The inclusion of *Time* and the *Earth* among the hierarchs making up the first side of the Godhead is significant. In spite of the rejection of time and space by both Carlyle and Emerson, Whitman in this case accepted, and here deified them. "I know I have the best of time and space—and that I was never measured, and never will be measured," he had asserted.³² "Of all the plenty [in nature] there is, no plenty is comparable to the plenty of time and space.—Of these there is ample store,—there is no limit."³³ Time and space, then, become part of natural law, which operates in them and is of them. Confronted with the problem of finding names to designate these new gods, Whitman may have hoped for association alone to call up the image of Father Time with his beard and scythe in his reference to Time. For space there seems to be no traditional nor literary symbol. The following jotting may suggest a step in the process of choosing Earth as the symbol for space:

Space considered with reference to the earth, as all parts of the universe bear reference to each other, and all other things therefore bear down their influence more or less upon this earth The air the sea the land ³⁴

The sixth name in the stanza is *Father*, whom Whitman undoubtedly meant to be "God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," of the Christian creeds. The concept, less primitive than that of Jehovah, includes in the Creator the strong masculinity of Jehovah, combined perhaps with a greater degree of calm, like that of the Brahma. The seventh name, *Kronos*, has already been touched upon. Of these seven hierarchs, only Time and the Earth are not established masculine deities. All are themselves creators, or gods or agriculture and the procreation of life. All seven embody laws of nature.³⁵

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³² *Leaves* (1855), p. 51; "Song of Myself," l. 1201. Cf. "To Think of Time."

³³ MS Notebook VI (1860-1861?). The words in brackets are crossed out. Cf. *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 80.

³⁴ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 75. The use of four dots is Whitman's punctuation.

³⁵ Under the heading *The Great Laws* (1859-1864), Whitman wrote:

The Great Laws do not treasure chips, or stick for the odd cent;
I am of the same fashion—for I am their friend
(American Art Association, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

Whitman found only three names in his list of gods to include in the stanza describing the Consolator, the second person in the quaternity. These are *Christ*, *Hermes*, and *Hercules*. From the following note, however, it may be gathered that he considered a fourth, whose characteristics and functions he has divided among several sides of the quaternity:

Sybilline verses among the ancients always looking for ————
a great mediator, a judge, god, lover, legislator, friend of the poor and degraded, conqueror of powers. Krishna (?thence Christ.)³⁶

Whitman had not yet explicitly assigned the traits of the Consolator to Christ when he sketched the following images of Christ the teacher, and Christ the crucified in "Pictures":

And here the divine Christ expounds eternal truths—
expounds the soul,
And here he appears en-route to Calvary, bearing the
cross—See you, the blood and sweat streaming down
his face, his neck.³⁷

By 1860, however, in the lyrical "To Him That Was Crucified," the Consolator was clearly emerging. Then was Whitman able to identify his own spirit with that of Christ. Together they labor for a common cause; they include in themselves all continents, castes, and creeds; they are "compassionaters, perceivers, rapport of men"; and above all, they are brothers and lovers.³⁸ The second side of the Square Deific, then, expresses the Love which, as has already been shown, Whitman believed to have been at the heart of the Greek religion. Here is the God Beneficence, sketched in "Pictures"; here is brotherly affection for rich and poor alike, counter-acting and compensating the relentless forces of nature. Here, in a word, is the lover of the Calamus poems—the friend with hands outstretched to all. Here is Whitman himself, speaking the closing lines of his "Poem of the Road" in the strong, rich tones which brought assurance and sympathy to thousands of sick, wounded, and dying American boys in crowded army hospitals during the war between his beloved States:

Mon enfant! I give you my hand;
I give you my love, more precious than money,

³⁶ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 153.

³⁷ *Pictures*, p. 15.

³⁸ "To Him That was Crucified," *Leaves* (1860), p. 397; ll. 5-13.

I give you myself, before preaching or law;
 Will you give me yourself? Will you come travel with me?
 Shall we stick by each other as long as we live?³⁹

With Christ is named the Greek god *Hermes*, spoken of by Homer as "the ready helper" and "giver of good things." Like Christ, the Good Shepherd, Hermes is associated with the protection of cattle and sheep, and in Tanagra is given the title "ram-bearer." His functions as messenger between the gods and men, and as conductor of souls of the departed to the lower world suggest those of Christ, teaching in Galilee and interceding at the throne of judgment. But Whitman's chief reason for including Hermes in the "cheer-bringing God" is indicated in his comment on the name in his list of gods: "(Mercury) Hermes, the God of Science."⁴⁰ For Science, Whitman believed, was one of the sure roads to progress, Democracy, and perfection:

I say there must, for future and democratic purposes, appear poets . . . not only possess'd of the religious fire and abandon of Isaiah, luxuriant in the epic talent of Homer, or for proud characters as in Shakspeare, but consistent with the Hegelian formulas, and consistent with modern science. America needs, and the world needs, a class of bards who will, now and ever, so link and tally the rational physical being of man with the ensembles of time and space, and with this vast and multiform show, Nature, surrounding him, ever tantalizing him, equally a part, and yet not a part of him, as to essentially harmonize, satisfy, and put at rest. Faith, very old, now scared away by science, must be restored, brought back by the same power that caused her departure—restored with new sway, deeper, wider, higher than ever.⁴¹

The Consolator is also pictured coming with "Hercules' face, all sorrow, labor, suffering"⁴² The function of the second side of the Square Deific calls for all the youth and strength of the demi-god accomplishing the twelve labors recounted in the myth. The last two of his tasks involve visits to the other-world. Rose believes that "there is little doubt that they represent a forcible seizure of immortality."⁴³ A later myth also attributes to Hercules

³⁹ *Leaves* (1856), p. 239; "Song of the Open Road," ll. 220-224.

⁴⁰ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 153.

⁴¹ "Democratic Vistas," *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, V, 141-142.

⁴² "Chanting the Square Deific," ll. 16-17.

⁴³ Herbert Jennings Rose, "Hercules," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed.

the introduction into Italy of more humane rites in place of human sacrifice. So is Hercules, with Hermes and Christ, Consolator.

In the third stanza, opposing on the one hand the rigid patterns of natural law and conventional morality, and opposing on the other hand the universal affection of the "cheer-bringing God," comes the spirit of revolt—Satan. The inclusion of this person in the Godhead represents not a momentary whim, but years of serious pondering on the problems of sin and revolt, out of which Whitman had evolved a deep-seated conviction. In one of his early notebooks, he had written:

I am the poet of sin,
For I do not believe in sin
In the silence and darkness
Among murderers and cannibals and traders in slaves
Stepped my spirit with light feet, and pried away their
heads and made fissures to look through
And there saw folded foetuses of twins
Mute with bent necks waiting to be born—
And one was sympathy and one was truth.⁴⁴

In 1860 he had declared:

I am the credulous man of qualities, ages, races,
I advance from people en-masse in their own spirit;
Here is what sings unrestricted faith.
Omnes! omnes! let others ignore what they may,
I make the poem of evil also—I commemorate that
part also,
I am myself as much evil as good—And I say there is
in fact no evil,
Or if there is, I say it is just as important to you, to the
earth, or to me, as anything else.⁴⁵

And on the necessity for sin he had planned a poem: "Poem. There can be no greatest and sublimest character without having passed through sin."⁴⁶

But the Satan of the quaternity is not simply evil or the conventional Devil. "Wickedness," Whitman once wrote, "is most likely

⁴⁴ MS Notebook labeled "Earliest and Most Important Note Book of Walt Whitman," in Library of Congress; cf. *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 71.

⁴⁵ "Proto-Leaf," *Leaves* (1860), p. 11; "Starting from Paumanok," ll. 95-101.

⁴⁶ "Poetic Vision, 1858-1868," American Art Association, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

the absence of freedom and health in the soul—.”⁴⁷ On the other hand, rebellion and revolt are, in a sense, positive. The literary sources for his Satan are indicated in the following note: “Theories of Evil—Festus, Faust, Manfred, Paradise Lost, Book of Job.”⁴⁸ In his list of gods, Whitman named not only Satan, but also “Lucifer” and “Typhon, made up of all that opposes, hinders, obstructs, revolts,”⁴⁹ although the latter two are not mentioned in “Chanting the Square Deific.” These materials, and probably others, he compounded with his own thinking to carry out his direction to himself, recorded by Bucke among the jottings and plans for poems to be written: “Poem of the Devil—counteractive of the common idea of Satan.”⁵⁰

The text of the stanza was undoubtedly begun long before that of any other part of the poem. As he labored with the ideas of a “Devil—counteractive of the common idea of Satan,” Whitman included in several earlier poems germ passages for “Chanting the Square Deific.” What is probably his first effort on the subject remains a fragment:

I am a Curse:
 Sharper than the serpent's eyes or wind of the ice-fields!
 O topple down Curse!
 topple more heavy than death!
 I am lurid with rage!
 I invoke Revenge to assist me—
 I⁵¹

A passage on the deity of revolt, which Holloway believes may antedate the portrait of Lucifer in “Pictures” quoted earlier in this article, is likewise preserved as a fragment:

I am a hell-name and a curse:
 Black Lucifer was not dead;
 Or if he was I am his sorrowful, terrible heir;
 I am the God of revolt—deathless, sorrowful, vast;
 whoever opposes me
 I will either destroy him or he shall release me.⁵²

⁴⁷ “Earliest and Most Important Note Book”; cf. *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 65. For discussions of Whitman's treatment of the problem of evil, see Guthrie, *op. cit.*, 277-290, and James, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-87.

⁴⁸ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 126.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 171. This note is dated 1858-1868 in American Art Association, *op. cit.* p. 82.

⁵¹ “Earliest and Most Important Note Book”; cf. *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 73.

⁵² *Notes and Fragments*, p. 19.

A somewhat later version of this appeared in 1855:

Now Lucifer was not dead or if he was I am his
sorrowful terrible heir;
I have been wronged I am oppress'd I hate
him that oppresses me,
I will either destroy him or he shall release me.

Damn him! how he does defile me,
How he informs against my brother and sister and takes
pay for their blood,
How he laughs when I look down the bend after the steam-
boat that carries away my woman.⁵³

In this passage, Lucifer's heir, the God of revolt, seems to be a rebellious slave. To Whitman, as to many in the North before the Civil War, there was an essence of divinity in the negro bondsman rising against the injustice of his lot, even though he displayed, as in this passage, something of the vindictive wrath of the conventional Satan. The rebellious one in the Square Deific is like the Satan of the earlier books of *Paradise Lost* in craftiness, pride, and essence of divinity; he differs from Milton's Satan primarily in that "it was *thought* I was baffled and dispelled, and my wiles done, *but that will never be*."⁵⁴ He is also like both the incarnate Christ of orthodox belief and the Consolator of Whitman's quaternity in that he is "Comrade of criminals, brother of slaves";⁵⁵ but rather to plot with them new rebellion than to console them. This concept of the divine quality of rebellion is reminiscent of Milton's account of the heavenly origin of sin;⁵⁶ in effect, both tend to resolve the paradox of evil in a universe governed by an omnipotent and benevolent deity.⁵⁷

Although Whitman had very early recognized the worth of rebelliousness, the Civil War, the defeat of the Confederacy, and the arrogance of some of the spokesmen for the victorious States

⁵³ *Leaves* (1855), p. 74; "The Sleepers," ll. 128-133. Since this passage was rejected from the text followed by both the "Modern Readers' Series" and the Inclusive Edition, this line reference is to the edition edited and published by David McKay (Philadelphia, 1900). The use of four dots is Whitman's punctuation.

⁵⁴ "Chanting the Square Deific," l. 32. The italics are mine.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 27.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Paradise Lost*, II, 746-766.

⁵⁷ Jakob Böhme, Emerson, and other mystics had affirmed that evil as well as good is of divine origin; it was a belief held by many of Whitman's day and earlier. Noah Webster accounts for his supporting a like belief in a letter published by Harry R. Warfel in *Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America* (New York, 1936), p. 255.

combined to crystallize his thinking on the subject. Early in the 1850's he had been perturbed by the threatened "ossification of the spirit" of the nation: "Give us turbulence," he wrote, "give us excitement, give us the rage and disputes of hell—all this rather than this lethargy of death that spreads like a vapor of decay in corpses"⁵⁸ Irked by endless compromises which served only to delay the time when "these States" should face the issue inevitably before them, in 1860 he cried:

Let others praise eminent men and hold up peace—I hold
up agitation and conflict.⁵⁹

He was sure that

What will be will be well, for what is is well.⁶⁰

And so, even as the States were feverishly marshaling their forces for the struggle, Whitman's optimism led him to declare the necessity of revolt:

To The States, or any one of them, or any city of The States, *Resist much, obey little*,
Once unquestioning obedience, once fully enslaved,
Once fully enslaved, no nation, state, city of this earth ever
afterward resumes its liberty.⁶¹

Then came the conflict, and Whitman breathed the air of war's exhilaration and of war's horror as he walked between the rows of hospital beds or visited the front in his rôle as Consolator. Even in defeat, he saw the divine glow of the spirit of rebellion:

What Lucifer [felt] cursed when tumbling from Heaven
What the rebel felt gaily adjusting his neck to the rope
noose,
What the savage lashed to the stump, but yelling still his
laughter at every foe
What rage of hell urged the lips and hands of the victors.—
How fared the young captain pale and flat on his own
bloody deck

⁵⁸ MS Notebook (1850-1855?) in Library of Congress. Holloway gives only the earlier part of this passage (*Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 90).

⁵⁹ "Leaves of Grass, No. 10," *Leaves* (1860), p. 224; "Myself and Mine," l. 12.

⁶⁰ "Burial Poem," *Leaves* (1856), p. 337; "To Think of Time," l. 64. Cf. "Starting from Paumanok," ll. 96 ff.; "Song at Sunset," ll. 57-58; and also Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁶¹ "Walt Whitman's Caution," *Leaves* (1860), p. 401; "To the States."

The pangs of defeat sharper than the green-edged wounds
of his side,
What choked the throat of the general when he surrendered
his army
[What minutes of damnation]
What heightless dread falls in the click of a moment.⁶²

And after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, as the demands for punishment rang through the halls of the Union, Whitman deified the spirit of revolt as a token of his understanding and admiration for the Confederate States now striving toward reconstruction,

Lifted now and always against whoever scorning assumes
to rule me,
Morose, full of guile, full of reminiscences ⁶³

To Whitman, therefore, the War settled nothing unless untrammelled freedom was secured, not only for the slaves, but for every individual and every State. Although "my enemy is dead, a man divine as myself is dead,"⁶⁴ the rebellious spirit that led him to his death must be perpetuated.⁶⁵ Even in old age, Whitman did not admit any inconsistency between order and progress, and the rebellious pride exhibited by the Southern troops which had remained loyal to the Confederacy—the spirit embodied in the third person of the Square Deific:

Defiant of ostensible literary and other conventions, I avowedly chant "the great pride of man in himself," and I permit it to be more or less a *motif* of nearly all my verse. I think this pride indispensable to an American. I think it not inconsistent with obedience, humility, deference, and self-questioning.⁶⁶

The Satan of the Square Deific is not, therefore, simply a negative force opposing law and consolation in the universe. Rather, he is a positive stimulus to the self-respect, or in Whitman's lan-

⁶² MS Notebook IV, in Library of Congress. The bracketed words are crossed out. There is a correction for the word *foe* in l. 3, which is illegible. Cf. *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 82.

⁶³ "Chanting the Square Deific," ll. 30-31.

⁶⁴ "Reconciliation," l. 4.

⁶⁵ Cf. "As I Lay with My Head in Your Lap Camerado." It is important to remember that both this and "Reconciliation" appeared in the same volume with "Chanting the Square Deific."

⁶⁶ "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, III, 60. For a more complete discussion of Whitman's insistence on pride in human character, see Guthrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-269.

guage, to the identity of the individual. In the political state, this Satan leads not to anarchy, but to freedom from the tyranny of legalism. Even in religion, Satan would exert a constructive force, for no religion in which he is a person in the Godhead can degenerate into hollow dogma and priestly ritual. Thus is Whitman's religion secure against the decay which he had observed undermining the Church of his day:

Allons! From all formules!
From your formules, O bat-eyed and materialistic priests.
The stale cadaver blocks up the passage—burial waits no longer.⁶⁷

The Santa Spirita, with which the fourth stanza of "Chanting the Square Deific" is concerned, does not appear by name in Whitman's list of gods. The list does contain two names, however, which, although they do not occur in the stanza, suggest the nature and function of Santa Spirita: "Serapis or God of ensemble, I think,"⁶⁸ and more especially "Friday goddess Frixia—? Frigah, equal, coordinate feminine principle or divinity."⁶⁹

Had Whitman meant his Godhead to represent the Christian Trinity with Satan added, as Stovall asserts,⁷⁰ it seems likely that he would have named the remaining person *Holy Ghost* or *Holy Spirit*. His use of what would be the feminine form of the Italian *Santo Spirito* suggests that he may have conceived this side of the Square Deific as being different from the Holy Ghost in at least some respects. The feminine form of the name is significant.⁷¹

⁶⁷ "Poem of the Road," *Leaves* (1856), p. 232; "Song of the Open Road," ll. 129-131.

⁶⁸ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 153. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154. ⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁷¹ The name has stimulated considerable comment. For example, Kennedy says (*op. cit.*, p. 154), "'Santa Spirita' was another error, but it turned out fortunately, for scholars thought he [Whitman] might have intended to wrest the grammar. 'Santo Spirito' is good Italian. Whitman's error makes the Holy Ghost feminine, which is odd, but defensible, since that abstraction can't be said to have been thought of as possessing human sex, one way or the other."

Symonds thought (*op. cit.*, p. 26), somewhat more accurately it seems to me, that the feminine form of the name implies not femininity, but rather "a variation on the old theme of the Holy Ghost, introduced with sensitive aesthetic tact, but with more than an Emperor Sigismund's disregard for accident, in order to shadow forth a frail and fugitive, but eminently vital, conception. . . . He is engaged in trying once again to express what Bruno thought, what throbs in the heart of those of us who feel that Science marries Religion—namely, that there is a point beyond Law, Love and Hatred, where the harmony we dimly guess, on which our faith is founded, merges in eternal, concrete, spiritual energy."

Although some latitude of interpretation is possible in Williams's explanation (*op. cit.*, p. 113) of feminine traits in Whitman's poetry on the grounds that the poet had "a

Just as the other three sides of the Square Deific are essentially masculine, as has already been pointed out, so the concept represented by the fourth side is essentially feminine. Here, in a sense, is the progenitor of the gods—Gaea, the Earth Mother, the almost universal primitive symbol of the emergence of life. Whitman had acknowledged his own sensitiveness to the force in which life originates, but nowhere with greater beauty and emphasis than in the following lines, published in 1860:

How the clouds pass silently overhead!
How the earth darts on and on! and how the sun,
moon, stars, dart on and on!

woman's soul in a man's body," this peculiarity in the name of the fourth side of the quaternity cannot be used to bear out the alleged homosexuality of Whitman, which Mark Van Doren imputes with fine rhetoric, but with scanty evidence, in "Walt Whitman, Stranger," *American Mercury*, XXXV, 277-285 (July, 1935).

Trowbridge regarded the name as an inexcusable error. Recalling how he and O'Connor had pointed out to Whitman such faults as the inversion of the line

"No poem proud I, chanting, bring to thee,"

and the use of the Spanish *Libertad* for *Liberty*, Trowbridge says:

"I will say here that I do not believe Whitman ever changed a line or a word to please anybody. In answer to criticism, he would at times maintain his point; at others, he would answer, in his tolerant, candid way, 'I guess you are right,' or, 'I rather think it is so;' but even when apparently convinced, he would stand by his faults. His use of words and phrases from foreign languages, which he began in his 1856 edition, which became a positive offence in that of 1860, he continued in the face of all remonstrance, and would not even correct errors into which his ignorance of those languages had betrayed him. In one of his most ambitious poems, *Chanting the Square Deific*, he translates our good English 'Holy Spirit' into 'Santa Spirita,' meant for Italian; but in that language the word for 'spirit' is masculine, and the form should have been 'Spirito Santo,' with the adjective correspondingly masculine. William Rossetti, who edited a volume of selections from *Leaves of Grass* for the British public, pointed this out in a letter to Whitman, who, in talking of it with me, acknowledged the blunder; yet through some perversity he allowed it to pass on into subsequent editions.

"In these editions Whitman showed that he was not averse to making changes . . ." (John Townsend Trowbridge, *My Own Story*, Boston, 1903, pp. 393-394).

Thus did the Good Grey Poet tolerate the criticisms of his more "literary" friends. However, Rossetti, to whom Trowbridge appeals, shows in the following paragraph from a letter to Mrs. Gilchrist that he did not permit himself to be betrayed by his own knowledge of foreign languages and by too small an understanding of the American poet who used those languages for his own ends:

"I agree with you that Whitman's 'orotund' (I doubt indeed whether it is *exclusively* his) is expressive; but I don't regard it as *language*. He wd. *not*, I fancy, have been obliged to me had I set Santa Spirita right: my impression being that he has turned masculine into feminine with a view to expressing what is call 'the feminine element,' but without that instinct or respect for linguistic forms wh. tells other men that Latin words actually existing can't have their genders topsyturvied, however convenient. *Au reste* I agree with you that the whole question of diction is, in comparison with the real grounds and measure of Whitman's greatness, a small affair" (William Michael Rossetti to Mrs. Gilchrist, Aug. 21, 1870, Clarence Gohdes and Paul Franklin Baum, eds., *Letters of William Michael Rossetti*, Durham, 1934, p. 61).

How the water sports and sings! (Surely it is alive!)
 How the trees rise and stand up—with strong trunks—
 with branches and leaves!
 (Surely there is something more in each of the trees—
 some living Soul.)⁷²

In her universal pervasiveness, embracing all life, Santa Spirita seems to suggest the love of a mother for her children. Whitman and his own mother were more than usually devoted to each other. It may be that in this stanza he is following his suggestion to himself:

In Poems—bring in the idea of Mother—the idea of mother with numerous children—all, great and small, old and young, equal in her eyes—as the identity of America;⁷³

but on an even more elevated scale, for Santa Spirita becomes the “identity” of the Godhead. In a note written in 1860-1861 (?), Whitman elaborated this plan for an artistic representation of a spiritual force binding the universe together as a mother binds her family together:

Make a Picture of America as an IMMORTAL MOTHER, surrounded by all her children young and old—no one rejected—all fully accepted—no one preferred to another. Make her seated—she is beautiful beyond the beauty of virginity—she has the inimitable beauty of the mother of many children—she is neither youthful nor aged—around her are none of the emblems of the [feudal] classic goddess—nor any feudal emblems—she is serene and strong as the heavens.

Make her picture, painters! And you her statue, sculptors! Try age after age, till you achieve it! For as to many sons and daughters the perfect mother is the one where all meet, and binds them all together as long as she lives, so the Mother of These States binds them all together as long as she lives.⁷⁴

In the same way, Jehovah, Consolator, and Satan unite mystically in Santa Spirita, who likewise binds them together. Since Whit-

⁷² “Chants Democratic, No. 8,” *Leaves* (1860), p. 178; “Song at Sunset,” ll. 33-37. Guthrie (*op. cit.*, p. 287) interprets Santa Spirita as “Interior Energy.”

⁷³ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 59. The capitalization of *mother* may be significant: the first time it appears it is capitalized, possibly meaning Whitman's own mother; the second time, it is not capitalized, and clearly means mother in general.

⁷⁴ MS Notebook VI, in Library of Congress. The bracketed word is crossed out in the manuscript. Cf. Clifton Joseph Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 60. Whitman later attempted to make this picture in “Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood.”

man's god is, as has already been indicated in the discussion of the third stanza, "socio-morphic" as well as anthropomorphic, Santa Spirita may be termed the spirit of America as Whitman conceived America might be. Her inclusive sympathy replaces that of the Virgin Mary, as it was popularly understood during the Middle Ages. Such a love Whitman was certain exists universally—"it waits and has always been waiting, latent in all men."⁷⁵ It survives after death.⁷⁶ It is the pure, tender affection which engenders "the institution of the dear love of comrades" that he had promised to establish everywhere.⁷⁷

Santa Spirita represents not only the affection "including God, including Saviour and Satan, ethereal, pervading all":⁷⁸ she is the source of life—she is life:

Santa Spirita, breather, life,

.

Life of the great round world, the sun and stars, and
of man, I, the general soul,
Here the square finishing, the solid, I the most solid,
Breathe my breath also through these songs.⁷⁹

She animates not only nature, but also art. In this capacity, she is the "essence of forms,"⁸⁰ a philosophic idea with which Whitman grappled in the following fragment, which is more concrete in its statement than the Santa Spirita stanza:

As of Forms.

Their genesis, all genesis,

They lost, all lost—for they include all.

The earth and everything in it,

The wave, the snake, the babe, the landscape, the human head,

Things, faces, reminiscences, presences, conditions, thoughts—
tally and make definite a divine indistinct spiritual delight
in the soul.

Of the arts, as music, poems, architecture, outlines, and the
rest, they are in their way to provoke this delight out of
the soul,

⁷⁵ "To the East and to the West," l. 6.

⁷⁶ See "Fast Anchor'd Eternal O Love!"

⁷⁷ "I Hear It Was Charged Against Me," l. 7.

⁷⁸ "Chanting the Square Deific," ll. 40-41.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 36, 43-45.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, l. 42.

They are to seek it where it waits—for I see that it always
 patiently waits.
 Have you sought the inkling?
 Have you wandered after the meanings of the earth? You
 need not wander;
 Behold these forms.⁸¹

This, then, is Santa Spirita—projected though the four-sided deity, as in geometry a line is projected in a plane perpendicular to itself for the distance of its own length to generate a square—touching and including the other three sides; resolving, as Whitman thought, all contradictions; and thus becoming the symbol for the whole. She represents a more definite conception of the cosmic Concord, perhaps identified with "Goodness or Love," whom he had envisioned in an early version of paragraph 44 in "Song of Myself":

My spirit sped back to the times when the earth was burning mist,
 And peered aft and could see Concord beyond the aft, forming
 the mist,
 And brings the word that Dilation or Pride is a father of Causes,
 And a mother of Causes is Goodness or Love—
 And they are the Parents yet, and witness and register their
 amours eternally;
 And devise themselves to These States this hour.
 And my spirit travelled ahead and pierced the stern hem of life
 and went fearlessly through,
 And came back from the grave with serene face,
 And said, it is well, I am satisfied, I behold the causes yet.⁸²

In conclusion, "Chanting the Square Deific" is an intensely subjective statement of Whitman's theological tenets. It not only explains the Godhead of which he believed himself to be the major prophet, but it also harmonizes his refusal to conform to one creed with his eagerness to embrace all creeds. The result of extensive reading and reflection, it is the sum of painstaking effort and revision—so perfect in Whitman's eyes that after its publication he was moved to add but a single word. For theology, it marks the fulfillment of his function as a poet, first stated crudely in "Song of

⁸¹ *Notes and Fragments*, p. 26; also published among "Rejected Lines and Passages" in *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, III, 266. The passage is an early draft of "Germs," first published in 1860 (American Art Association, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

⁸² American Art Association, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Myself,"⁸³ and finally set forth with polish and emphasis in "Passage to India,"—to accomplish the "marriage of continents, climates, and oceans"; to unite all times; to fuse the parts left by explorers and scientists;⁸⁴ and thus to answer the question of the whole. Whitman compounds in his four-sided Godhead qualities universal enough to include hierarchs of many nations and ages, and at the same time, sufficiently specific to compose a single, fairly compact concept of deity. This deity embraces much of American idealism—the stern morality of the Puritan; the brotherly affection of the camp meeting and frontiersman; the pride and rebellion of the Southern gentleman—all harmonized and unified by Santa Spirita. The apparent conflicts among the first three sides—law, consolation, and revolt—develop a masculine hierarchy; the feminine Santa Spirita mystically resolves the eternal conflict with love, and gives direction and form to the divine energies released as the life-force.

⁸³ *Leaves* (1855), p. 48; "Song of Myself," ll. 1096-1110.

⁸⁴ "Passage to India," ll. 116 ff.

THE EFFECT OF THE NEW SCIENCE UPON THE THOUGHT OF JONATHAN EDWARDS

THEODORE HORNBERGER
The Henry E. Huntington Library

SOME YEARS ago, Mr. Clarence H. Faust reviewed in these pages the evidence of Jonathan Edwards's early interest in science, reaching the conclusion that from the first Edwards's powers were dedicated to theology rather than to science.¹ No quarrel with this judgment is intended in the present article, which seeks rather to present proof that Edwards's metaphysics, and hence his theology, were markedly influenced by the new science, however subordinate science may have been in the mind of the theologian. The suggestion of such influence is not new,² but heretofore, so far as is known to the present writer, no one has troubled to demonstrate it, even though it appears to be the thread that unravels much that is difficult to understand in Edwards's intellectual outlook.

The constant factor in Edwards's thinking is probably, as most commentators say, subjective idealism, whether derived from someone like Berkeley or arrived at independently. That philosophy was in the air when Edwards was a youth, and it was attractive to the theologically-minded because it appeared to be a great support to religion.³ Berkeley, we are told, developed his metaphysics for fear and hate of the materialistic tendencies of the followers of Locke and Newton; Edwards's famous essay "Of Being" concludes with the statement that "those who think material things the most substantial beings, and spirits more like a shadow" are making a "gross mistake." The same essay asserts without equivocation that "Space is God," and that the universe "exists no where, but in the Divine mind."⁴ These are concepts so similar to those of Malebranche, Norris, and Berkeley that it is fairly safe to conclude that

¹ "Jonathan Edwards as a Scientist," *American Literature*, I, 393-404 (Jan., 1930).

² See, for example, Mr. Faust's introduction to the Edwards volume in the "American Writers Series" (New York, 1935), p. lxxxi.

³ See an article by the present writer, "Samuel Johnson of Yale and King's College: A Note on the Relation of Science and Religion in Provincial America," *New England Quarterly*, VIII, 378-397 (Sept., 1935).

⁴ *The Works of President Edwards*, ed. S. E. Dwight (10 vols., New York, 1829-1830), I, 706-708. This edition is cited hereinafter as *Works*.

Edwards, like those philosophers, was primarily anxious to save God and spirit and religion from the scientific glorification of matter.

It is significant that the essay "Of Being" was a part of the manuscript "Notes on Natural Science," begun, together with the parallel notes on "The Mind," when Edwards was an undergraduate. These notebooks reveal much speculation that is scientific in spirit, from the rule: "Always, when I have occasion, to make use of mathematical proofs,"⁵ to the assertion that the principles laid down in the essay, "Of Being," do not "make void Natural Philosophy, or the science of the Causes or Reasons of corporeal changes; For to find out the reasons of things in Natural Philosophy, is only to find out the proportion of God's acting."⁶ There are many notes, moreover, called "things to be considered, or written fully about," which show Edwards's wide though somewhat uneven reading in the sciences. In optics and astronomy, particularly, he was much interested, and his comments indicate his awareness of important problems in these fields. In other subjects, such as physiology and geology, he was still using the dialect of the ancient and medieval philosophers. Some of the things he set down for consideration were these:

11. To show, from Sir Isaac Newton's principles of light and colours, why the sky is blue; . . . why the Sun is yellow, when rising and setting, and sometimes, in smoky weather, of a blood red; why the Clouds, and the Atmosphere, near the horizon, appear red and yellow, before sun-rising, and after sun-setting; why distant Mountains are blue, etc.

4. To know the shape of the Spheroid of the Universe, by observation of the Milky Way; and to know whereabouts our System is in it; 1st, with respect to the plane of the greatest circles, from observations of the ratio of the brightness of the opposite sides compounded with several other ratios.—2d. With respect to the latitude, or the axis of this Spheroid, by observing how much the Milky Way differs from a great circle. . . .

It is not probable that, when the parts of the body are touched, the Animal Spirits, that were in those parts of the nerves, go quite to the brain before the soul perceives, but that motion is continued to the brain, in the tubes that contain the animal spirits, as motion in a tube filled with water. If the water at one end moves never so little, the motion is continued quite to the other end; or as the motion, given to

⁵ *Works*, I, 703.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 669.

the blood in the Arteries, by the pulse of the heart, is communicated all over the body. . . .

45. To observe, it is somewhat difficult to know, how it comes to pass, that there are, in all Continents, however uneven and confused, hilly and jumbled, though they seem to have mountains and vallies, indifferently, and undesignedly, every where dispersed; yet, that there are such convenient Channels, whereby water may be conveyed from the middle of the Continents, and from all parts, into the Ocean. The reason is, when the world was first created, the water covering all the earth, the surface of the earth must needs be very soft, and loose, and easily worn or altered, by the motions of the water; and afterwards, the water, retiring in such a vast body, into one place, from off the continents, and some places of the (continents, being higher, and others lower, some were easily worn, others more difficult; in some places, the waters moving with more force, in others with less, some places would necessarily be worn deeper than others, from the middle of the continent to the ocean; and as the water decreased, as going off from the earth, all would retire into those channels: and, the water still decreasing, the remainder would run in the deeper places of these channels; and after they (the waters) were gone, they left channels everywhere; into which, the waters afterwards gushing out, in various parts of the continent, would naturally find their way. Thus, also, after the Deluge, when the surface of the earth was again loosened.⁷

Thus Edwards turned occasionally to scientific hypotheses, and even, more rarely, to direct observation and experiment.⁸ Even in these college notes, however, the dominant tone is the theological, and the more typical comments are such as these:

To show how Infinite Wisdom must be exercised, in order that *Gravity* and *Motion* may be perfectly harmonious; and that, although the jumble of the Epicureans be allowed, although it be, in fact, impossible. . . .

To bring in an observation, somewhere in the proper place, that—instead of Hobbes' notion, that God is matter, and that all substance is matter—that nothing, that is matter, can possibly be God; and that no matter is, in the most proper sense, matter, . . .

To observe that, if bodies have no substance of their own, so neither is solidity, strictly speaking, a property belonging to body, and to show how. And if solidity is not so, neither are the other properties of body,

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 716-726.

⁸ See, for example, the famous flying spider paper and his various speculations on light and color, *ibid.*, I, 23-28, 717.

which depend upon it, and are only modifications of it; so that there is neither real substance, nor property, belonging to bodies; but all that is real is immediately in the First Being. *Coroll.* 1. Hence see how God is said, still more properly, to be *Ens entium*, or, if there was nothing else in the world but bodies, the only *Real Thing*, so that it may be said, in a stricter sense than hitherto, 'Thou art, and there is none beside thee.' *Coroll.* 2. Hence see, that, instead of Matter being the only proper substance, and more substantial than any thing else, because it is hard and solid; yet, it is truly nothing at all, strictly and in itself considered. *Coroll.* 3. The nearer in nature beings are to God, so much the more properly are they *beings*, and more substantial. And that Spirits are much more properly beings, and more substantial, than bodies.⁹

Such statements leave no room for doubt of the centrality of subjective idealism in Edwards's thinking, nor of the share of the new science in pushing him to that position. His mention of the Epicureans and of Thomas Hobbes is enough to show his fear of the materialistic implications of seventeenth-century scientific thought.¹⁰ It is evident that Edwards, like the other idealists of his time, was deriving from science itself a new metaphysics, and a metaphysics which permitted more fully even than Newton's the retention of God in the world. By the time he had finished college in 1720, science would seem to have definitely affected Edwards's idea of God. It was not the only influence upon his thinking, to be sure; as one of his biographers says, he had reached a conclusion, "driven thereto by the threefold suggestions of physics—God is space; of philosophy—God is mind; and of religious experience—God is the source of our intuitions."¹¹ There is every reason to believe that Edwards had reached this conclusion before he left college, and that it persisted throughout the remainder of his life, coloring his utterances upon almost every subject that he touched.

Before turning to his writings, we should note that his reading list is added evidence of a mild but lifelong interest in science and

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 721, 725-726.

¹⁰ See, for suggestions of the importance of these implications, which have not yet been fully examined, J. M. Robertson, *A Short History of Freethought Ancient and Modern* (2d ed., London, 1906), II, 60-125; G. D. Hadzits, *Lucretius and His Influence* (New York, 1935), pp. 284-317; and L. I. Bredvold, "Dryden, Hobbes, and the Royal Society," *Modern Philology*, XXV, 417-438 (May, 1928).

¹¹ A. C. McGiffert, Jr., *Jonathan Edwards* (New York and London, 1932), p. 175.

particularly in the writings of Newton.¹² His reasons for that interest, and his own peculiar subordination of science to religion, may best be seen, however, in his printed books.

After leaving college, Edwards studied theology, preached for short periods in New York and Connecticut, and served for two years as a tutor at Yale. Not until 1727 was he ordained at Northampton; not until 1731 did he publish his first sermon, *God Glorified in the Work of Redemption, by the Greatness of Man's Dependence upon Him* (Boston, 1731). In this and in his second printed sermon, *A Divine and Supernatural Light Shown to Be Both a Scriptural and a Rational Doctrine* (Boston, 1734), may be seen the first expression of the new religious vigor which was Edwards's chief contribution to New England life.

He who reads these sermons today feels, as the average listener probably did in the 1730's, that there is no great break between Edwards and his predecessors. The Mathers, for instance, speak in the same dialect of the glory of God and the power of His will. On closer examination, however, a difference appears which may in part be accounted for by perceiving it as an extension of scientific and philosophical speculations. As A. V. G. Allen puts it, at a time "when the prevailing Deism represented God as if a passive agent, governing the world by general laws and second causes, as well as far removed from the scene of human activity, Edwards presented Deity as immanent and efficient will."¹³ In his earlier thinking Edwards had conceived of God as underlying all external phenomena. "It was God's immediate action on the mind, in accordance with His fixed and stable will, which gives to the mind the idea of an external world." He now, as Allen suggests, extends this conception to the world within. "In the invisible sphere of man's moral or intellectual existence, God was still the universal substance; it was he alone that existed and there is none else."¹⁴ Looking at it from this angle, it becomes reasonable to believe that much of Edwards's theological importance comes as a result of this extension to the moral sphere of his scientific and philosophical conceptions. He gave to the old Calvinism a new idea of God.

¹² See Thomas H. Johnson, "Jonathan Edwards' Background of Reading," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXVIII, 193-222 (Dec., 1931).

¹³ *Jonathan Edwards* (Boston and New York, 1889), p. 58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

This new synthesis of science, philosophy, and theology doubtless justified to Edwards his stirring and epoch-making preaching of the all-importance of God and the insignificance of humanity. It cannot be said, however, that his new concept of Deity shines clearly through his works, and it is probable that the majority of his hearers interpreted his words in terms of the old transcendent, anthropomorphic Deity of the Old Testament. Nor did Edwards shake himself entirely free of that conception, as may be seen in the famous Enfield sermon *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* (Boston, 1741), or in his posthumous *History of the Work of Redemption* (Edinburgh, 1774), in both of which God is anything but immanent will. Throughout his life, as Professor McGiffert says, Edwards's mind passed "back and forth with no apparent jolt or difficulty from a pantheistic to a personalistic interpretation of God It seems not to have dawned on him that there is a contradiction in speaking of God as at the same time a person and an expansive substance."¹⁵

Despite his idealistic world-view, therefore, Edwards did not hesitate to make use of the familiar analogies and dialectic of Calvinism; and the great part of his work appears to the average reader to be entirely theological, utterly untouched by any speculation outside of Scriptural exegesis. In his significant relation to the Great Awakening, for example, there is no noticeable evidence that clearly indicates anything but a transcendent and personal Deity. His many writings about the phenomena of conversion, so interesting to the student of the psychology of religion, show no particular effect of scientific thought. The same thing may be justly said of his many sermons, which are singularly free of allusions or arguments based either upon science or upon his philosophical speculations. For the evidence that he returned to science and philosophy, we must go to the great theological works of his last years, written in exile at Stockbridge.

The first of these, *A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of Freedom of the Will* (Boston, 1754), is concerned with an old theological problem reinvigorated by the Deistic controversy. As Paul Elmer More states it, Edwards's book represents the Calvinist angle of a triangular controversy with the Deists and the Arminians over the place of evil in the uni-

¹⁵ A. C. McGiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

verse.¹⁶ At first glance nothing would seem to be further from the realm of science. One needs, however, to follow only a little of the knotty argument of the *Freedom of the Will* to perceive that the book is saturated with the effects of science. Full quotation would require many pages, but it could reasonably support the argument that Edwards's definition of cause and his discussion of causation,¹⁷ as well as his vigorous defense of moral necessity,¹⁸ depend in great measure upon illustrations and reasoning drawn from the new science. One example must suffice. A stock Arminian argument against Calvinistic determinism had been that God could hardly be concerned with the innumerable minute differences visible in the world. "To which I answer," says Edwards, in a passage which exhibits both his science and his inexorable logic: it is impossible for us to determine, with any certainty or evidence, that because the difference is very small, and appears to us of no consideration, therefore there is absolutely no superior goodness, and no valuable end, which can be proposed by the Creator and Governor of the world, in ordering such a difference. The forementioned author mentions many instances. One is, there being one atom in the whole universe, more or less. . . . It is possible that the most minute effects of the Creator's power, the smallest assignable difference between the things which God has made, may be attended, in the whole series of events, and the whole compass and extent of their influence, with very great and important consequences. If the laws of motion and gravitation, laid down by Sir Isaac Newton, hold universally, there is not one atom, nor the least assignable part of an atom, but what has influence every moment throughout the whole material universe, to cause every part to be otherwise than it would be if it were not for that particular corporeal existence. And however the effect is insensible for the present, yet it may, in length of time, become great and important. To illustrate this, let us suppose two bodies moving the same way, in straight lines, perfectly parallel one to another; but to be diverted from this parallel course, and drawn one from another, as much as might be by the attraction of an atom, at the distance of one of the furthest of the fixed stars from the earth; these bodies being turned out of the lines of their parallel motion, will, by degrees, get further and further distant, one from the other; and though the distance may be imperceptible for a long time, yet at length it may become very great. So the revolution of a planet round the sun being retarded or accelerated, and the orbit of its revolution

¹⁶ *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 65-66 (New York, 1917).

¹⁷ *Works*, II, 50-55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 225-244.

made greater or less, and more or less elliptical, and so its periodical time longer or shorter, no more than may be by the influence of the least atom, might, in length of time, perform a whole revolution sooner or later than otherwise it would have done; which might make a vast alteration with regard to millions of important events. So the influence of the least particle may, for aught we know, have such effect on something in the constitution of some human body, as to cause another thought to arise in the mind at a certain time, than otherwise would have been; which, in length of time (yea, and that not very great) might occasion a vast alteration through the whole world of mankind. And so innumerable other ways might be mentioned, wherein the least assignable alteration may possibly be attended with great consequences.¹⁹

So frequent are such analogies and illustrations from science, and particularly from physics and astronomy, that one might almost argue from Edwards's writings that he believed in an uninterrupted order of nature. However, he concludes the *Freedom of the Will* with a view of providence which leaves room for divine interposition.²⁰

Equally impregnated with the effects of science is Edwards's *Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended* (Boston, 1758), a book not yet off the press when he died. One passage in it particularly exemplifies the close relation of his theological ideas regarding the intellectual and moral world to his scientific notions. He is writing about his belief that a tendency to evil exists in the very nature of mankind. In all colonial literature there is perhaps no more acute analysis of the scientific method:

The natural dictate of reason shews that where there is an effect there is a cause, and a cause sufficient for the effect; because if it were not sufficient, it would not be effectual; and that therefore, where there is a stated prevalence of the effect, there is a stated prevalence in the cause. A steady effect argues a steady cause. We obtain a notion of tendency, no other way than by observation: And we can observe nothing but events: And it is the commonness or constancy of events that gives us a notion of tendency in all cases. Thus we judge of tendencies in the natural world. Thus we judge of the tendencies or propensities of nature in minerals, vegetables, animals, rational and irrational creatures. A notion of a stated tendency or fixed propensity, is not obtained by observing only a single event. A stated preponderation in the cause or occasion, is argued only by a stated prevalence of the effect. If a die be

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 240-241.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 281-282.

once thrown and it falls on a particular side, we do not argue from hence, that *that* side is the heaviest; but if it be thrown without skill or care many thousands or millions of times, and it constantly falls on the same side, we have not the least doubt in our minds but that there is something of propensity in the case, by superior weight of that side, or in some other respect. How ridiculous would he make himself, who should earnestly dispute against any tendency in the state of things to cold in the winter or heat in the summer; or should stand to it, that although it often happened that water quenched fire, yet there was no tendency in it to such an effect?

That we are dealing with human nature does not alter the case, continues Edwards; "the evidence of tendency" remains the same. If there were a particular family

which, from generation to generation, and through every remove to innumerable different countries and places of abode, all died of a consumption, or all run distracted, or all murdered themselves, it would be as much an evidence of the *tendency* of something in the nature or constitution of that *race*, as it would be of the tendency of something in the nature or state of an individual, if some one person had lived all that time, and some remarkable event had often appeared in him, which he had been the agent or subject of from year to year and age to age, continually and without fail.²¹

In such comments as these there is abundant evidence that Edwards possessed in a degree uncommon to his age the scientific mind, which seeks always to relate particular events to general laws.

The work which sums up Edwards's cosmology, however, is his *Dissertation Concerning the End for Which God Created the World* (Boston, 1765).²² Competent scholars have regarded this as his most important work,²³ and there is reason to believe that it contains his most mature opinion of a subject which he regarded as of extreme importance.²⁴ We at once face the question, therefore, of the relation of science to this final statement of his theology.

Let it be said, first of all, that the thought in this dissertation on God's end in creation marks a return (or, as some think, a devel-

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 321-322.

²² Printed as *Two Dissertations*, with the essay on *The Nature of True Virtue*.

²³ See F. J. E. Woodbridge, in the *Philosophical Review*, XIII, 406-407 (July, 1904); McGiffert, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-185; and I. Woodbridge Riley, *American Philosophy: The Early Schools* (New York, 1907), pp. 178-185.

²⁴ A. C. McGiffert, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-172.

opment)²⁵ of Edwards's early idealism. He begins with God, the eternal and infinite Being, Who, he says, "is in effect, *Being in general*; and comprehends universal existence."²⁶ Although his terminology is difficult, and he is not always clear, he appears to most readers to vacillate between an anthropomorphic God the Creator, and a concept expressed by "emanation," which suggests the idea of God as universal substance.²⁷ Our question becomes, consequently, that of the relation of science to Edward's idealism.

Let us bring in for purposes of comparison another New England book, John Cotton's *Briefe Exposition upon Ecclesiastes* (London, 1654). Like Edwards's *Dissertation*, Cotton's book insists upon the glory of God and the insufficiency of the creature in the attainment of true happiness. Cotton's exegesis of the "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity" chapter demonstrates the unprofitableness of the study of nature as compared to the contemplation of God; Edwards states that "the whole system of created beings, in comparison of the Creator, would be found as the light dust of the balance, or even as nothing and vanity."²⁸ And yet, despite their agreement on this point, what a vast difference there is between these two books! The material world seemed to Cotton a neat mixture of the four elements, with the earth firmly occupying the central position in the universe, demonstrating to man the transitory quality of his own life and the permanence of the creation.²⁹ The material world seemed to Edwards to have real existence only in terms of mind or divine idea, although for practical purposes it could be conceived of as composed of innumerable dissimilar particles held together by the God-revealing law of universal attraction; the earth and the solar system were to him but one of the innumerable manifestations of the Deity, demonstrating chiefly the dominance of mind or spirit in the universe.³⁰ Cotton and Edwards, in other words, although both Calvinists, held quite distinct metaphysical beliefs, and differed widely in their concepts of Deity.

There is perhaps no way of direct proof that these differences

²⁵ I. W. Riley, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

²⁶ Works, III, 38.

²⁷ A. C. McGiffert, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181, and Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-334.

²⁸ Works, III, 15-16.

²⁹ John Cotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-14.

³⁰ This view of the material world is implied but not stated directly in the *Dissertation*. See, however, chap. ii, sec. v, ¶5, and H. N. Gardiner, "The Early Idealism of Jonathan Edwards," in *Jonathan Edwards: A Retrospect* (Boston, 1901), pp. 155-160. Cf., also, Pt. IV, sec. viii, of the *Freedom of the Will*.

were the effect of the advance of science, but the presumption that they were is almost irresistible. One need but note that Edwards's immanency permits a far more sophisticated idea of God, and leaves room for uninterrupted causation or, better yet, one need but try to conceive of Edwards's having reached the position he did without the work of Locke and Newton, to realize that there is some relation, and probably a rather close one, between science and this reinterpretation of Calvinist theology. Edwards, as much as Berkeley, is best understood as a theological product of reaction against the materialistic aspects of seventeenth-century science.

Philosophically speaking, there are inconsistencies in Edwards's position of which he seems not to have been aware. He postulates, for instance, an infinite and eternal Deity, Who is, in effect, Being in general, suggesting that all substance is in some degree emanation of the Deity. Yet he is anxious, in his early notes on natural science, to deny an infinite universe,⁸¹ and insists in one of his sermons that "there is a certain place, a particular part of the external creation, to which Christ is gone, and where he remains. And this place is that which we call the highest heaven, or the heaven of heavens; a place beyond all the visible heavens."⁸² Likewise, from a theological standpoint, his suggestion that the creation is an emanation of the infinite and eternal Deity is contradicted by his insistence on finite and temporal bounds to that creation.⁸³

These inconsistencies do not detract, however, from Edwards's achievement. His effect upon the religious life of the American people and upon the theological school which followed in his footsteps can hardly be exaggerated. Through all his works, Allen says, there runs the common purpose of bringing back the world again to God, and in that purpose he succeeded far beyond what might have been expected. Not only is he the key to the characteristic American confidence in revivalism, but in theology, we are told, he was "the chief human instrument in turning back the current for over a century in the larger part of New England to the theory of salvation and of man's dependence on God which marked the earlier types of Calvinism."⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Works*, I, 704, 721, and *passim*.

⁸² *True Saints When Absent From the Body Are Present With the Lord* (Boston, 1747), in *Works*, X, 457.

⁸³ A. V. G. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-336.

⁸⁴ Williston Walker, *Ten New England Leaders* (New York and Chicago, 1901), p. 232.

Edwards, in brief, accomplished what Samuel Johnson, Berkeley's disciple, failed to do. He succeeded in turning back for a large number of Americans and over a considerable length of time the tide of materialism to which the new science in some measure contributed. And Edwards accomplished this pious work not by attacking science, as Johnson and the Hutchinsonians tended to do, but by utilizing it, by implicit confidence that the study of natural things is "the discovery of the proportion of God's acting." From the new science, among other things, he developed a new foundation for his burning and mystical worship of God.

THEODORE DREISER: "THE PROPHET"

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I

OF THEODORE DREISER'S first twenty-three years we have ample records, in his *Dawn*¹ and *Newspaper Days*,² and concerning his deeds following the appearance of his first important work, *Sister Carrie*, in 1900, much has been written by others; but on the period between his twenty-third birthday in 1894 and the completion of the novel at the turn of the century little information has been published. His *Who's Who* entry shows that, following various newspaper connections in Chicago and St. Louis, he became editor of *Ev'ry Month* in 1895. So little does the name of this magazine mean today that I have been unable to find anyone who knows anything about it, and apparently none of Dreiser's various biographers, bibliographers, and critics has ever seen a copy. The quondam editor himself states that he has preserved none and knows of the existence of none.

The obscurity which has surrounded *Ev'ry Month* and the period in general Dreiser seems to be content to respect. The novelist's taciturn stand here is all the more confusing in view of the characteristic outspokenness witnessed in *Dawn*, which covers his first twenty years, and in *Newspaper Days*, an account of the succeeding three years. It is interesting to note that in the latter autobiography the author has promised another sequel, to give memoirs of ensuing days, the title being tentatively given as *Literary Experiences*. This has been announced in some editions of the author's novels and in various trade publications as being "in preparation" and "ready for the publisher"—but to date no such work has appeared, and it is doubtful whether it ever will, according to information I have about Dreiser's plans. In answer to my question, his secretary wrote in a letter dated February 26, 1936: "As to a book on his literary experiences, Mr. Dreiser is very very uncertain as to whether and when it will appear."

¹ New York, 1931.

² First published in New York, 1922, under the title *A Book About Myself*.

In a small measure a novelized biography of Dorothy Dudley called *Dreiser and the Land of the Free* in England and retailed as *Forgotten Frontiers*³ in this country, covers the period. It is nevertheless sadly deficient in data about Dreiser's editorial work in his early years, and attaches little importance to it as one of the decisive influences in his career.

Why is there this paucity of information about events and productions that are, after all, only forty years old? The scarcity of copies of *Ev'ry Month* has of course to be considered. If copies of the first edition of *Sister Carrie* are rare, and John T. Winterich in his *Primer of Book Collecting*⁴ asserts that the book is "already established as the scarcest novel of its generation," then those of *Ev'ry Month* are probably even more uncommon, since the toll on magazines, unless preserved by libraries, is greater by far than that on bound books, and the Library of Congress and the Oberlin College Library are the only institutions known to me which have saved Dreiser's periodicals.⁵

II

Theodore Dreiser, at the behest of his brother Paul (who used the surname Dresser), came to New York City in December, 1894. Paul was a successful ballad-writer, vaudeville singer, and farceur. He pointed Dreiser's desire to do something "big"—a yearning hardly to be satisfied by reporting for Western newspapers. Arthur Brisbane helped him find a place on Pulitzer's *World*, but after a slight quarrel with a co-worker on the *World* staff, the young writer determined to abandon work for the daily press. It is at this point that *Newspaper Days* concludes.

Paul Dresser was a partner in a newly organized publishing house, Howley, Haviland & Co., which printed his numerous ballads. The company was prosperous, producing profits beyond the fondest expectations of the three associates. Theodore Dreiser addressed himself to them in order to gain their support in starting a popular magazine and review "devoted to literature and popular music." Howley, Haviland, and Dresser wished to expand their productions, and fastened upon Dreiser's idea as one of the ways to bring their music to a widening circle of purchasers. The means

³ New York, 1932; London, 1933.

⁴ New York, 1927.

⁵ See *Ev'ry Month* in *Union List of Serials* (New York, 1927). No listings in 1931 and 1933 supplements.

of marketing new songs in the nineties were limited; the situation was rather the reverse of the present day, when the immediate attention of the world is drawn to a new song by the radio and the cinema. The company's new songs were to be published in Dreiser's suggested periodical, thus attracting attention to them. So *Ev'ry Month* was born, with Theodore Dreiser listed on the masthead as "The Editor and Arranger." The first issue appeared on October 1, 1895.

What sort of magazine was *Ev'ry Month*? In truth, other than an association value because of their editor's later work, copies deserve little attention. They are not particularly prepossessing in appearance, although for some they may have an interest as relics of a past era. In size the magazines resemble the current *Saturday Evening Post*, though scarcely in thickness, the total number of pages ranging from thirty-two to forty-eight. There is the lack of attractive presentation in typography and make-up which we today consider essential to popular periodicals. Usually four pieces of music were included in an issue—the only numbers of any interest now being those by Paul Dresser, who wrote "Just Tell Her That You Saw Me," "I Believe It For My Mother Told Me So," and, most famous of all, "On The Banks Of The Wabash, Far Away." There were short stories—Stephen Crane, Amelia Barr, and Bret Harte being among the tellers. "A Mystery of Heroism," later collected in Crane's *The Little Regiment*, and Harte's "A Night In the Divide" (included in *Three Partners and Other Tales* with the title changed to "A Night On the Divide") appeared in September, 1896,⁶ and February, 1897,⁷ respectively. Other features were poems, interviews, household hints, book reviews. Occasionally there was a special art piece, painted to order, usually by William L. Sonntag Jr., the *W. L. S.* of Dreiser's *Twelve Men*.⁸

The author of *Twelve Men* has paid his respects and acknowledged his debt in that book to his brother Paul;⁹ but he never has told of his extreme obligation to the ballads of the nineties, weak and sugary as they were. Without the songs, there would have been no *Ev'ry Month*. Through this magazine an important gap in his early life was filled. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that had he failed to make this connection he would have drifted into

⁶ *Ev'ry Month*, II, 6, 10-11.

⁸ (New York, 1919), pp. 344-360.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 5, 30-33.

⁹ In chapter "My Brother Paul," pp. 76-109.

some profession other than the newspaper journalism he had come to despise in 1895. Activity as an editor gave the young man in his middle twenties a balance and a certain sense of responsibility, as well as subsequent entrée into many studios and editorial offices. And his editing experience with Howley, Haviland & Co. led to his later editorial connections first with Street & Smith's, next with Hampton's *Broadway Magazine*, and finally with the Butterick publications in the years 1905-1910, during which time he determined to cast his lot forever with the profession of writing.

III

The pieces which Dreiser regularly composed for *Ev'ry Month* were extensive editorial comments, covering from two to seven printed pages, labeled "Reflections," and signed "The Prophet." Proof that the youthful editor was the source lies in the tables of contents of some of the magazines where the initials "Th. D." appear, as in the numbers for May and June, 1897. Even without this assurance, an examination of the context would show indisputably that he was the author of the work. For here are all the flaws of his style which have come to be so belabored by critics: the sentences oftentimes lurch along with the same ungainly gait that marks many passages in his novels; there is the same piling up of rhetorical questions, of exclamations—the repetition of key-words, as though English usage censored synonyms—scraps of bad grammar and the abuse of terminology.

But more important than these faults was the appearance, for the first time, of the philosophy of life, that pessimistic view of mankind, which was to distinguish his later writings. Occasionally in newspaper articles before this time he had inserted statements which indicated his disbelief that everything in the world about him was sweetness and light; but here he wrote as he wished of ideas that long ago or recently had taken his fancy. His unconventional attitude toward matters sexual was not ready for expression, but the groundwork for his free thought had been laid, and found outlet in compositions on political, sociological, dramatic, literary, and other subjects. As in his novels and autobiographical outpourings, there are in these "Reflections" the identical distrust of politicians, religious and recognized authority in general, and also the same strong sympathy for the downtrodden, the mis-

treated, and the exploited. He gave himself free rein in the choice of topics, which, among many others, embraced graft in New York City, atrocities in Armenia, possibility of life on Mars, mental telepathy, Queen Victoria, and Walter Pater.

That the handling of discussions was unusual, considering that the medium was a "family" sheet of the 1890's, may be suggested by the following passages:

Like a sinful Magdalen the city decks herself gayly, fascinating all by her garments of scarlet and silk, awing by her jewels and perfumes, when in truth there lies hid beneath these a torn and miserable heart, and a soiled and unhappy conscience that will not be still but is forever moaning and crying "for shame."

The artist of to-day seems to do a lot of painting, but all about nothing. Europe with its ignorance and its armies is but a laggard horde, sure to quarrel and fight within itself, and to shed blood until its burden of arms is removed, and its eyes are opened to the possibility of peace without bullets. There is little hope for another method, and therefore the sooner the great conflict begins and the slaughtering ends, the sooner will the new idea begin to make itself apparent.¹⁰

A vision of the World War, if you will, but not of its aftermath.

What is a national election every four years after all, compared to the every day affairs which require constant attention, and aggregate more during a similar period of time? Will the election of a president atone for the neglect which has seated a thief and blackmailer in some local office? Will it make up for the indifference that permits a county ring to come into the control of the interests of the people about you for their own benefit? Will it make up in the sight of God for the evil done to the inmates of the homes and the asylums whose affairs the local scalawags regulate? . . . Will it relieve the want of paupers robbed by officials who are paying a ring for their position and filling their own pockets at one and the same time?¹¹

In addition to the editorial dicta of his magazine, Theodore Dreiser concocted the "legends" for the cuts sprinkled through its pages. Here are a few selections:

The Sultan of Turkey: This is the gentleman whom Mr. Gladstone calls "an assassin enthroned" and whom the followers of Islam denominate as "His Serene Highness" and "The Sublime Porte." Between

¹⁰ *Ev'ry Month*, III, 1, 6 (Oct., 1896); II, 6, 4 (Sept., 1896); IV, 1, 20 (April, 1897).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 6, 2 (Sept., 1896).

these two are James Gordon Bennett, whose "Herald" makes excuses for him, and Clara Barton, of the "Red Cross" legion, who accepts his mark of distinction. All this about a sleepy murderer of a twilight kingdom.

The Czar [Nicholas]: Practically the arbiter of Europe and, as director of all the energies of the Russian horde, a menace to civilization, he is anything but a brilliant man. He confers and decides in affairs that may affect ages and peoples most remote, and yet, to such a pass has the iniquitous inheritance system arrived, the wildest, most crack-brained heirling can by birth inherit such power and estate. It is he who preserves Turkey from that extermination which she so richly deserves.

Miss Anna Held . . . is now at one of the most important New York theatres earning a pitiful salary of \$1,500 per week.

Robert Ingersoll: Christian Americans are so much interested in this loyal and kind-hearted sinner, that they have on two separate occasions offered up prayers to the Most High in the hope that enlightenment as to the error of his ways might be vouchsafed him. This is not only beautiful and touching, but marks the advance of civilization. Several hundred years ago he would have been unceremoniously trotted out to the stake and the festive bonfire, instead of being prayed for. As it is, he is an idol, if an erring one.¹²

Mention has been made of Dreiser's revulsion, in 1895, from the profession of journalism which had been meat and drink to him in the three previous years. That story is told in *Newspaper Days*, written twenty-five years afterwards. The first statement of his dislike for his earlier means of livelihood was given in the March, 1897, issue of *Ev'ry Month*:

Into what channel do you suppose such journalism as now prevails turns the minds of such innocents . . . ? How quickly must bright conceptions of undefiled progress fade in the light of the actual experiences which young men and women are compelled to encounter in order to build up the great papers of to-day? The stories published, the plots and crimes unravelled, the functions most largely described—how do these operate upon and affect the minds engaged in the work of gathering the details? Surely, it cannot be said that they work to the mind's advantage. It would be well if the whole truth of journalism could be brought home to the youthful aspirant before he makes a final choice of that profession.¹³

¹² *Ibid.*, III, 2, 2 (Nov., 1896); III, 3, 2 (Dec., 1896); III, 1, 5 (Oct., 1896); III, 5, 4 (Feb., 1897).

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 6, 4.

Is Theodore Dreiser here reviewing a state of mind molded by "actual experiences" in his newspaper endeavors, a point of view which had become habitual and by the same token distasteful because it forced his modes of thought into channels previously unsurveyed and as yet unaccustomed for him? Doubtless he is considering himself as one of the "innocents." And similarly he is finding fault with the work's effect upon his mind. Critics who have found Dreiser's writings poor and unsuccessful may find in these words a suggestion that his normal tendencies had been perverted.

However that may be, the following excerpt is his judgment of one of the forces that certainly did affect Dreiser's thinking permanently. Before giving it, it might be well to review his passage in *Newspaper Days*¹⁴ wherein an often-quoted self-inspection is expressed:

At this time I had the fortune to discover Huxley and Tyndall and Herbert Spencer, whose introductory volume to his *Synthetic Philosophy (First Principles)* quite blew me, intellectually, to bits. . . . And discovering that all I deemed substantial—man's place in nature, his importance in the universe, this too, too solid earth, man's very identity save as an infinitesimal speck of energy or a "suspended equation" drawn or blown here and there by larger forces in which he moved quite unconsciously as an atom—all questioned and dissolved into other and less understandable things, I was completely thrown down in my conceptions or non-conceptions of life.

This may be profitably compared with his paragraphs appearing in *Ev'ry Month* less than three years after the original impact. He [Herbert Spencer] is a great father of knowledge, and his word is to be spread before all; but at present many are too young to understand him, and many more too idle to heed. But the young and the truants will all gather about his teachings after a while, and then the world will be vastly better

Centuries ago, when the great Cyrus united Persia, it was years before all knew of the union, or before all observed and prospered under the laws. They did not know of Cyrus until his satraps arrived and, taking charge, promulgated his fame and power. Even so is it with the great Spencer and his system. He has bound the world of knowledge in one, and his student emissaries are going forth into the most dis-

¹⁴ Pp. 457-458.

tant provinces proclaiming his laws and his greatness. Years must elapse before all hear of him, more years before that which he has accomplished is understood; but time will elapse, and with each recurring year the meaning of life according to him will become more clear and more efficacious until the most lowly beings will be affected and benefited thereby, and all mankind will conform to the laws which he has written down, as they were given to him by the One whose work is creation, and whose all-covering generosity has given the world a mind so philosophic as that of Herbert Spencer.¹⁵

These reflections surely spouted from an uncompromising mind, from a youthful soul who had conceived naïve high ideals and who had seen them rudely shattered.

IV

Just what led Theodore Dreiser to assume the pen name "The Prophet," and in what spirit he adopted it—with gravity, humor, matter-of-factness, or simply haphazard groping for some title—we have no means of knowing, for he has never given a reason. But we do know that he attempted to analyze events and conditions, and to see what the future held in store for the human race, and that he wrote his thoughts in deadly earnestness.

On his arrival in New York his brother Paul had told him that the few were getting rich through the toil and at the expense of the many, who did not realize what was happening to them. "Some time you ought to write about these things, Thee," he had said.¹⁶ In his *Ev'ry Month* Theodore Dreiser did tell about the atrocious living and working conditions of those who were exploited in sweatshops. He pictured their wretchedness and pointed out the immense wealth lavished on the homes, offices, buildings, and everyday luxuries of the exploiters. He raged against the politician who fed at their troughs and who used his prerogatives for them at the expense of his constituents. As a sociological analyst "The Prophet" ranked high.

As a predictor of events he wrote a great mass of material that is not without interest today: for example, the following:

¹⁵ *Ev'ry Month*, III, 5, 3-4 (Feb., 1897).

¹⁶ *Newspaper Days*, p. 449. Paul, in the passage quoted, continues: "The people out West don't know yet what's going on, but the rich are getting control. They'll own the country pretty soon. A writer like you could make 'em see that. You ought to show up some of these things so they'd know."

Electricity has made all the earth responsive to his [man's] touch, has increased his speed to marvelous degree and opened the air to the flight of his mechanisms, with which, and by the aid of as yet unsubjected forces, he bids fair to explore the outer darkness and traverse the spaces which now seem so immeasurable.¹⁷

The Noble Experiment was considered in these words:

The liquor habit is fostered by the social instinct in man; and what have the opponents of intemperance done thus far to enlist this instinct in their own, rather than in the saloon's behalf. They perhaps recognize that the saloon is a resort of comfort, free to all, inviting in appearance, and calculated after its devious fashion to dispel the gloom of tedious hours such as come to every human, at some period of the monotonous day. They perhaps realize that although it is a degrading form of enjoyment, it is a real form, and it offers so much to the life of the average poor, that some great philanthropist has been led to remark that if it were a question between the saloon as a social resort and no poor man's resort at all, he would wish the saloon to stay. It means something beside [*sic*] mere drunkenness and debauchery, for although it fosters inebriacy, and by its very glamor induces that enthusiasm which induces over-indulgence, it is still a bright spot; still is warm, jovial and populous, and is so superior to the dingy home and the dreary side tenements that it can hardly seem remarkable that struggling humans, of the average low intelligence should choose it as preferably more elevating. . . .

It is all right to fight liquor with water, but it can produce nothing but dissension and the bleakest of results. Men are not going to give up physical, though degrading, pleasures for moral ones, which have no physical expression, other than a certain sentiment concerning right and wrong, to which many of them are utterly dull. They are not going to cast aside the slight comfort that is theirs for a small amount, and walk alone bathed in the delight of their own manliness. Some may do it, but most are apt to crudely perceive that it is easy to be abstemious when social pleasures are to be had in abstemious resorts; and in the absence of any pleasureable [*sic*] substitute they are not liable to break old companionship and walk alone. Some misguided enthusiasts may think that they are, but nature is not so easily set aside. Unless armed with an inviting substitute the cause of temperance is liable to miserably fail.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ev'ry Month*, II, 6, 7 (Sept., 1896).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 1, 4 (Oct., 1896).

Time and again he lashed at legislatures to appropriate adequate grants for schools,¹⁹ and he was, in July, 1897, able to write a glowing tribute to the New York State government for starting a program which was to be in the van of the national move for compulsory education of children until they are of age.²⁰

Theodore Dreiser has been extraordinarily quiet about his activities during his tenure as editor of *Ev'ry Month*. Whether he preferred to forget the period as something unimportant in his estimation or has remained silent for other reasons, we do not know. At any rate, after supplying Paul Dresser with the inspiration for his most loved song, "On The Banks Of The Wabash, Far Away,"²¹ he resigned as head of the magazine in the late fall of 1897. Evidently he departed with a deep-seated disgruntlement (he has declared that he was forced out of his post as the result of disagreement over the handling of the periodical),²² for he has never used the name of the magazine in his writings, and has avoided all direct reference in the few places where his editorial employment with *Ev'ry Month* was needed to sketch the background.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 2, 4 (Nov., 1896); IV, 2, 20 (May, 1897); IV, 3, 20 (June, 1897).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 20 (July, 1897).

²¹ *Twelve Men*, pp. 99-101.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

PARKMAN'S NOVEL

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I

IN 1856 Phillips, Sampson and Company, of Boston, published *Vassall Morton*, Francis Parkman's first and only novel. If the book had been many times reprinted and the first edition had become fabulously valuable, collectors would readily have distinguished this edition by the misprint of "tobic" for "topic" on page 140. But the book sold slowly; there was no second edition; and Parkman, apparently stung by the commercial failure of his novel, said little about it and never mentioned it among his works. Neglected by biographers and critics,¹ *Vassall Morton* has sunk into an oblivion which would seem to be little deserved by a book which represents its author's only significant venture into belles-lettres, which was regarded as one of the most promising first novels of its time, and which—as I hope to show in this essay—expresses the personal philosophy which its author rigidly excluded from his other published work.

The plot of *Vassall Morton* is the familiar triangular one in which an admirable hero finally overcomes a most despicable villain and gains the hand of a lovely lady.² It is a combination of the novel of action—represented by stirring events, challenging situations, physical crises—with the novel of character—represented most eloquently by the spiritual growth of the hero through suffer-

¹ Charles Haight Farnham, in *A Life of Francis Parkman* (Boston, 1900), makes more use of *Vassall Morton* (hereinafter abbreviated VM) than does any other writer on Parkman. See especially pp. 114, 305, 314, 336.

² Briefly, the plot is this: Vassall Morton and the villain have been classmates at Harvard. Soon after his graduation, Morton wins the lovely lady's love, but her father promises her hand only on condition that Morton spend a year in Europe in order to test the firmness of the attachment. The villain succeeds in having his rival shut up for a number of years in an Austrian political prison. When Morton finally escapes, he finds that, barely one month before he gained his freedom, the heroine had yielded to her father's dying wish and married the villain. Everyone thought Morton dead; the villain had even announced Morton's death. When Morton returns and sees the situation, he refrains from exposing the knavery because it might harm his former sweetheart. But the villain has his own troubles with the blackmailer who had helped him imprison Morton. The blackmailer finally publishes the facts of the case throughout Boston. The villain flees, but is swept off shipboard during a storm and drowned. Morton marries the lady.

ing. The hands of Scott and Cooper are heavy upon it.³ Parkman had learned some tricks of characterization from Scott, and he shared Scott's interest in faraway places, in rugged scenery, military descriptions, and displays of physical vigor and daring. He shared some of Cooper's gusto for nature and Cooper's respect for a man who could feel at home on a horse, in a forest, or behind a musket. But Parkman's interest in character development and his criticism of life were neither inherited from nor paralleled by Scott or Cooper. And, in fact, if one were to name the greatest single influence on the novel one would have to name the life of Francis Parkman himself, for Parkman followed the favorite custom of the young novelist and filled *Vassall Morton* with autobiography.

To indicate the autobiographical nature of the novel, a few passages from *Vassall Morton* and from Parkman's diary are here printed:

Vassall Morton

One rag of a topsail was set to steady the vessel; all the rest was bare poles and black dripping cordage, through which the gale yelled like a forest in a tornado (p. 395).⁴

On board were her captain, two mates, seven men, a black steward, a cabin boy, and Mr. John White, a passenger (p. 393).

Hansen, the second mate . . . (p. 396).

The old sailor seated himself at the table:—"I've lost all my ap-

Parkman's Diary

One small rag of a topsail set to keep her steady—all the rest was bare poles and black wet cordage . . . the wind was yelling and howling in the rigging in a fashion that reminded me of a storm in a Canada forest (November, 1843, p. 66).⁵

We have a singular company on board—the three officers, "the passenger", the steward, and six men (November 16, p. 63).

Mr. Hansen, second mate . . . (p. 64).

He is now seated at supper . . . "I've lost all my appetite,—

³ This fact is not surprising, because these were his favorite novelists in the years before he wrote *VM*. See Farnham, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 199, and Bliss Perry's illuminating account of Parkman's reading, "Some Personal Qualities of Parkman," *Yale Review*, XIII, 443-448 (April, 1923).

⁴ Page numbers in this column refer to pages in *VM*.

⁵ The portions of Parkman's diary here used are most readily accessible in Henry D. Sedgwick, *Francis Parkman* (Boston, 1904). Numbers in this column refer to pages in Mr. Sedgwick's reprinting of the diary.

petite, and got a horse's. Here, steward, you nigger, where be yer? Fetch along that beefsteak. What do you call this here? Well, never mind what you call it, here goes into it, any how."

A silent and destructive onslaught upon the dish before him followed. Then, laying down his knife and fork for a moment,—

"I've knowed the time when I could have ate up the doctor there,"—pointing to the steward,—"bones and all, and couldn't get a mouthful, no way you could fix it." Then, resuming his labors, "Tell you what, squire, this here agrees with me. Come out of that berth now, and sit down here along side o' me. Just walk into that beefsteak, like I do. This 'ere beats physicking all holler" (pp. 397-398).

leaning from the wind till her lee gunwale scooped the water . . . (p. 396).

They were becalmed off the Azores. The sea was like glass; the turtles came up to sleep at the top . . . the masts kept up their weary creaking from morning till night, and from night till morning (p. 264).

These parallels between the diary and the novel written more than ten years later might be continued. They might, furthermore, be carried over into other books. Consider, for example, the following campfire scene from *Vassal Morton*:

With his companion sleep was impossible. He lay watching the stars and the dull folds of soft smoke that half hid them, listening to the

and got a horse's. Here, steward, you nigger, where be yer—fetch along that beef-steak. What do you call this here? Well, never mind what it be; it goes down damned well, anyhow." Here he sat stuffing a minute or two in silence . . . At last pausing, and laying down his knife a moment:

"I've knowed the time when I could have ate a Blackfoot Indian, bones and all, and couldn't get a mouthful, noway you could fix it." Then, resuming his labors—"I tell you what, this here agrees with me. It's better than doctor stuff. Some folks are always running after the doctors, and getting sick. Eat! that's the way I do . . ." (p. 65).

leaning over so that her lee gunnel scooped up the water (p. 66).

A dead calm—a stupid flapping of sails and creaking of masts . . . A turtle came up at the ship's side to sleep on the quiet surface (p. 67).

wind and the mysterious sounds of the forest, and, as the night drew on, shivering with the damp and cold. His mind was a maze of confused emotions, suspense, and delight, hope, and fear, mingling in a dreamy chaos; till, at last fatigue prevailed, and he, too, fell asleep; a sleep haunted by hideous images, yet with its intervals of deep peace and repose.

He woke, shivering; and rising in the twilight, stirred the half-dead embers, and crouched over them for warmth.⁶

Does not that recall countless campfire scenes in *The Oregon Trail*?

The autobiographical nature of the novel is apparent also in certain larger matters. The scenery is that which Parkman knew. The time is his own. The characters (allowing for the usual fictionizing) are such people as he met every day; there is, in fact, an element in the portraiture of Vassall Morton's friends that leads one to think that they could be traced back, were it desirable to do so, to actual persons who lived in Boston and its vicinity during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The hero is a fictional representation of Parkman himself. What biographer has ever described the adolescent Parkman as well as he has described himself in the person of Vassall Morton?

. . . having an ardent temperament and a Quixotic imagination; being addicted, moreover, to Froissart and kindred writers; and, indeed, visited with a glimmering of that antique light which modern folly despises, he would have been ready, with the eye of a handsome woman upon him, for any rash and ridiculous exploit. This extravagance did him no manner of harm. On the contrary, it went far to keep him out of mischief; for in the breast of this youngster a chivalresque instinct battled against the urgency of vigorous blood, and taught his nervous energies to seek escape rather in ceaseless bodily exercises, rowing, riding, and the like, than in any less commendable recreations.⁷

And what truer characterization of Parkman could we seek than this one of Morton: ". . . he is one of those unfortunates who lie under a sentence of endless activity."⁸ Vassall Morton had Parkman's own Harvard background. He had Parkman's dislike of the professions, his love for the outdoors, his wish for a career in history. He had taken Parkman's trip through the West, and he had taken some of Parkman's vacation trips to the forests and mountains of New England. In hundreds of small details and in

many more fundamental points of view, as we shall see later, Vassall Morton resembled Parkman.

It is not surprising, then, that in a novel which has such a pronounced autobiographical cast we should look for expressions of opinion which would naturally be excluded from volumes of formal history.

II

Let us first glance briefly at the political opinions expressed in the book.

"My political faith," Parkman wrote to Abbé H. R. Casgrain in 1875,⁹ "lies between two vicious extremes, democracy and absolute authority, each of which I detest the more because it tends to reach into the other." He developed this point of view in two pamphlets published in 1887 and 1890,¹⁰ in three articles on woman suffrage contributed to the *North American Review*¹¹ about the same time, and by inferential statements throughout his later works. *Vassall Morton* shows that this point of view had already been developed by 1856.

On the one side of the plot of the novel lies Metternich's absolute despotism, "the Austrian Briareus," which "cheats an innocent man of years of his life" merely because of unfounded suspicion. On the other side lies a deep distrust of democratic power. Here, for instance, is a speech by Morton: ". . . when the people have turned out of office every man of virtue, honor, manliness, independence, and ability, then they will fling up their caps and brag that their day is come, and their triumph finished over the damned aristocracy."¹² And his companion admits that, ". . . if a man wants the people's votes, it's fifty to one that he's got to sink himself lower than the gutter before he gets them."¹³

Parkman opposed woman suffrage because it was a dangerous democratic extension of the ballot to people who were more capable of other service to the state. His most vigorous, and perhaps most unfortunate, later articles were in support of this point of view. Yet he felt the same way thirty years before he said so in the

⁹ For the whole letter, see Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275; this remark is quoted also in C. H. Farnham, *A Life of Francis Parkman* (Boston, 1900), p. 278.

¹⁰ *Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage* (1887); *Our Common Schools* (1890).

¹¹ "The Failure of Universal Suffrage," CXXVII, 1 ff.; "The Woman Question," CXXVII, 303 ff.; "The Woman Question Again," CXXX, 16 ff.

¹² *VM*, p. 157.

¹³ *Ibid.*

magazines. Said Morton: "And, for the other idea, the fundamental idea of chivalry, we are beginning to replace it with woman's rights, Heaven deliver us!"¹⁴ And a little later in the story, when Morton had fallen in love he described his sweetheart as a rational woman. His friend retorted:

My dear Morton, are you demented? A woman always rational, always sensible, always consistent; a logical woman; one who can distinguish the relations of cause and effect, one who marches straight to her purpose like a man,—who ever found such a woman; or, finding her, who could endure such a one?¹⁵

Thirty-one years later Parkman wrote into his pamphlet on suffrage:

This danger would be increased immeasurably if the most impulsive and excitable half of humanity had an equal share in the making of laws, and in the administration of them. . . . They require an experience, a careful attention, a deliberation and coolness of judgment, and a freedom from passion, so rare that at the best their political treatment is full of difficulty and danger. If these qualities are rare in men, they are still more so in women, and feminine instinct will not in the present case supply their place.¹⁶

The truth is, as these quotations indicate, that Parkman changed his fundamental views little or not at all from his thirtieth year to his seventieth.

III

Parkman published freely and openly his political theory, and *Vassall Morton* is valuable in this respect only because it shows that he held these beliefs many years before he stated them openly. He was by no means so open with his philosophy. He nowhere published an exposition of "what I believe" or any extended discussion of any philosophical system. If we rely upon his own words, we have his statement that he was "a reverent agnostic," and that the philosophy of Marcus Aurelius is "about as good a philosophy of life as you can get."¹⁷ From his own practice, more than from his statements, he has repeatedly been called a Spartan or a Stoic. We can carry the description a bit further by analyzing the character-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁶ *Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage* (Boston, 1887), pp. 4, 13.

¹⁷ C. A. Farnham, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

istics he singled out for admiration in his historical heroes. But in general his histories are singularly bare of any indication of his view of life. "Describe things just as they are, and let the reader philosophize as much as he likes," was his doctrine. In *Vassall Morton* we may expect a freer expression of what he believed.

And we shall find it. To his hero Parkman gives the characteristics he admired: frankness, openness, honesty, health, strength, love for the outdoors, firmness of purpose, modesty, dignity, sympathy, keenness. His villain, on the other hand, was introverted; he was covert, sly, shrewd, sickly; he disliked the outdoors, and lived for money and publicity. But let us glance more closely at the hero and his qualities.

Vassall Morton, like Parkman, cared little for religion. He made fun of people who attributed startling events to Providence,¹⁸ and preferred to find a human, rational road to happiness.¹⁹ One of the paths to that happiness lay in an appreciation of nature and a living in conformity with it. "Here in America," said Morton, "we ought to make the most of this feeling for nature; for we have very little else."²⁰ He regretted that advancing civilization was spoiling the landscapes, for "there is no sanctuary from American enterprise";²¹ and he was happy that "they cannot build railroads and factories in the clouds. Our New England sunsets will still remain to remind one that there is an ideal side of life."²² He drew no romantic antithesis, however, between the noble savage and the degenerate man of civilization:

Take a savage from his woods or his prairies, and, school him as you will, the ingrained savage will still declare itself. Take the most polished of mankind, turn him into the wilderness, and forthwith the dormant savage begins to appear. Hunt him with enemies, gnaw him with hunger, beat him with wind and rain, and observe the result; how the delicate tissues of civilization are blown away, how rude passions start into life, how his bodily cravings grow clamorous and importunate, how he grows reckless of his own blood and the blood of others. "Men are as the times." Young Lovelace of the hussars singing a duet at Lady Belgrave's *soirée*, would hardly know himself, hewing down Russian artillery-men at Balaklava.²³

The obvious need, then, is for some form of restraint. Morton tells his cousin that she is like a skyrocket without a stick; the

¹⁸ *VM*, p. 80.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

stick is intended to "give balance and aim to the rocket—make it, as the transcendentalists say, mount skyward. . . ." If the rocket has no stick, "it sparkles, and blazes, and hisses on the ground; flies up and down, this way and that, plays the deuse [*sic*] with every thing and every body, and at last blows itself up to no purpose."²⁴ And his cousin admits that he is right; she has no rational plan, no curb upon her impulses, no "rule of life."²⁵

When Parkman (or, to be more exact, Morton) declared that the rocket needed a guiding stick, he did not mean that the rocket does not need also a propelling force. The importance of action is again and again emphasized. "It is but a weak punishment to which Milton dooms his ruined angel," Morton cries from his prison cell.

Action,—enterprise,—achievement,—a hell like that is heaven to the cells of Ehrenberg. He should have chained him to a rock, and left him alone to the torture of his own thoughts . . . Action! the panacea of human ills; the sure resource of misery; the refuge of bad consciences; a maelstrom [*sic*], in whose giddy vortex saints and villains may whirl alike.²⁶

We are reminded of Parkman nearly ruining his health in the first year Harvard had a gymnasium, trying to build up the muscles he should have developed in the rest of his lifetime; using even his college vacations to gather material for his histories; paddling through rapids on the Bastican when he was nearly seventy; struggling against every physical disadvantage for forty years in order to complete his writing. Parkman, like Morton, was "one of those unfortunates who are sentenced to a life of endless activity"—to mental and literary activity when physical activity was no longer possible. He was one of those bulldog-like, persistent individuals who never give up a task once begun until it is finished. As Morton said, "When I was in college, I laid down my plan of life, and adopted one maxim . . . Never to abandon an enterprise once begun; to push on till the point is gained, in spite of pain, delay, danger, disappointment,—any thing."²⁷

But suppose that an apparently insurmountable obstacle stands

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁵ *Ibid.* For a complete discussion of right and wrong, which seems to be the next link in this chain, we shall have to look elsewhere than *Vassall Morton*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 208; see also pp. 209-210.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

in the way of that action; suppose that Morton is cast into solitary prison for life, or that Parkman is reduced to such a state of health that he can use his eyes for reading not more than five minutes a day, and that he is tormented with almost maddening cerebral disturbances—then what is to be a man's course? The novel answers by defining "manhood" as:

That unflinching quality which, strong in generous thought and high purpose, bears onward towards its goal, knowing no fear but the fear of God; wise, prudent, calm, yet daring and hoping all things; not dismayed by reverses, nor elated by success; never bending nor receding; wearying out ill-fortune by undespairing constancy; unconquered by pain or sorrow, or deferred hope; fiery in attack, steadfast in resistance, unshaken in the front of death; and when courage is vain, and hope seems folly, when crushing calamity presses it to the earth, and the exhausted body will no longer obey the still undaunted mind, then putting forth its hardest, saddest heroism, the unlaurelled heroism of endurance, patiently biding its time.²⁸

And Morton said, "I will nail my flag to the mast, and there it shall fly till all go down, or till flag, mast, and hulk rot together."²⁹ Marcus Aurelius the Stoic would have liked that, and Leonidas the Spartan; and so also would Parkman's heroes, Wolfe, Brebeuf, Champlain, and La Salle.

Neither Parkman nor Morton knew the meaning of passive surrender, but both knew how to make the best use of adversity. "Misery is the mind-maker; the revealer of truth," Morton says; "the spring of nobleness; the test, the purger, the strengthener of the spirit. Our natures are like grapes in the wine press; they must be pressed to the uttermost before they will give forth all their virtue."³⁰ And Morton's sweetheart said to him, "With a heart steeled by dangers, refined by sufferings, tempered in fires of anguish, what path need you fear to tread?"³¹ When Morton's cousin had passed through her ordeal of sorrow and misfortune, she asked Morton whether he found her scorched and withered. "I see," he said, "such traces as on gold that has passed through the furnace."³²

What, then, was the goal of this tempering process by which the soul was refined in the fires of misery and adversity? The

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

heroine of the novel said of Morton: "It was a bitter schooling; a long siege, and a dreary one; but you have triumphed, and you wear its trophy,—the heroic calm, the mind tranquil with consciousness of power. You have wrung a proud tribute out of sorrow."⁸³ The Stoic ideal—the heroic calm, the tranquil mind. It was not until Morton had passed through his ordeals and achieved this goal that he was able to gain the happiness which had been tantalizing him since the beginning of the book; it was not until then that Parkman thought his hero fit to marry the heroine.

Have we leaped too great a chasm in applying this thought to Parkman? We have seen the autobiographical nature of the book; we have seen how the hero resembled Parkman, how he was given all the qualities Parkman admired; we have seen how he was set just such a problem as faced Parkman—an apparently insurmountable obstacle in the way of unquenchable desire for action and accomplishment; and we have seen how he came through his test—his Spartan resistance, his ability to make the most of his misery, his tempering in fire and blood, and finally his attainment of the heroic calm, the mind tranquil with the sense of accomplishment. Parkman wrote this book after the first and perhaps most severe attack of his illness. He had already learned what it meant to forego the exercise he loved, to lie all day in a darkened room, to write painfully without looking at the paper, to be able to read only a few minutes a day when whole libraries beckoned to him. Long before, he had decided what his plan of life was to be. Long before, he had decided, like Morton, never to abandon an enterprise once begun. Ahead of him loomed years of blindness and ill-health—and at least a dozen volumes to write. Is it too much to believe that in the person of Vassall Morton he worked out his own destiny and set his own spiritual goal? The conclusion seems possible that this too long neglected novel is the place where Parkman stated most clearly and completely his philosophy of life.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

NOTES AND QUERIES

WASHINGTON IRVING, THE FOSTERS, AND SOME POETRY

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WASHINGTON IRVING died on November 28, 1859, and soon after this, his nephew Pierre M. Irving,¹ in accordance with his uncle's wishes,² began the preparation of the biography which was published from 1862 to 1864 as *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*.³ Before the final volume of the American edition had gone to press, the biographer was disturbed to learn that some extraneous matter had been inserted in the London edition, and he refers to this circumstance at the head of an appendix:

The two chapters which follow . . . were inserted by the London publisher in my unfinished work at the close of the third volume, without my knowledge or supervision; a proceeding, I imagine, without precedent in the annals of literature. As I have been obliged to allude to the circumstance in the text, and as some of the English periodicals have also drawn attention to this "double editing," I place the whole before the American reader, not as a matter of choice, but of necessity.⁴

Although P. M. Irving's displeasure is here expressed in measured terms, the pique is evident, and probably not unjustified. But he was especially angry in that this new material which had been furnished by two of Washington Irving's close friends of the Dresden period, the Foster sisters, threatened to puncture the romantic theory of Irving's steadfast devotion to Matilda Hoffman, the youthful sweetheart whose untimely death had determined her fiancé to remain a bachelor for the rest of his days. This was the picture that the nephew had carefully drawn, thereby preserving a legend which Irving himself had probably helped to promote—a legend which persisted for many years. In any case, it has long been suspected that the biographer was much angrier than he appeared to be in print. Just how angry is revealed in a recently

¹ 1802-1876, son of Washington Irving's eldest brother, William.

² See preface of *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*.

³ London: Richard Bentley, 1862-1864, and New York: G. P. Putnam, 1862-1864.

⁴ IV. 337, of the first American edition.

discovered letter addressed to an unknown correspondent who had apparently written in regard to some verses:

It is curious [wrote P. M. Irving after some unimportant introductory matter] that with your letter came a letter from Allibone, in which he says: "Halleck writes me, (Jan. 19) that he finds two errors in Vol. IV of *Life and Letters of W. Irving*—viz: pp. 273-4 Lord Dufferin is not the son of Mrs. Norton, but of her elder sister" (correct). "The Sonnet on page 405 [among the Fuller additions] & 406, apparently believed to be original with Mr. Irving, is, I think, by Sir Egerton Brydges—I knew them by heart, as his, forty years ago"—I shall correct those errors in a future edition. The Sonnet of Echo & Silence I find given as by Sir Egerton Brydges in *Cleveland's English Literature of the 19th Century*, p. 355. I was satisfied from the first that these lines were not original with Mr. Irving and said so to my wife as soon as I read them; but I did not know whose they were. I presumed he had copied them in her scrap book and that she, Mrs. Fuller, had fancied them to be original. It is by no means the only blunder that she & her sister have made. Mrs. Dawson in particular is remarkable for the careless inaccuracy of many of her statements. If you compare the two accounts you will see that she is at variance with her sister in the night adventure of Alexisbad—The two sisters must have rushed into print without comparing notes to be confronted with such a discrepancy. (Compare pp. 371-375—& 381, 382). I have dealt with the ladies as tenderly as possible, but I have nevertheless been exceedingly incensed at their most indelicate, unseemly & impertinent irruption into the English edition. Mr. Bentley writes me that he paid them for their contributions, and I am sometimes half inclined to suspect they were encouraged by their husbands, (clergymen of the Church of England) whose poverty may have consented to such a compromise of decency on the part of their wives.

Yours truly,
PIERRE M. IRVING⁵

Unless the Foster fortune had suffered great diminution, it is extremely doubtful that poverty had forced the two sisters to peddle their memoirs. This conjecture was probably engendered only by the writer's bitterness. As the whole Foster episode has been rather thoroughly discussed by recent biographers,⁶ further speculation may be profitably delayed, at least until after the publication of Emily Foster's diary.⁷ But regarding the sonnet of "Echo and

⁵ A.L.S. in the Boston Public Library, dated New York, Feb. 29, 1864.

⁶ See particularly, S. T. Williams, *Life of Washington Irving* (New York, 1935), chap. x.

⁷ Recently discovered by Professor Williams and now (Jan., 1937) being prepared for the press.

Silence," nothing has since been printed. In later editions of *Life and Letters*, Irving's nephew cut out the appendix of Foster material so that this error was never corrected. That it was an error there is no doubt, and that it has apparently never been challenged since Halleck's day is undoubtedly due to the neglect into which Brydges's works have fallen. Thus, in combing Irvingiana for his recent collection of Irving's poetry, it was only natural for Mr. William Langfeld to accept this specimen in good faith.⁸ But even were it impossible to check the authorship in Brydges's own work, corroboration may now be found in an unpublished notebook of Irving's.⁹ There we find the sonnet, headed "*Echo and Silence* by Sir Egerton Brydges Bart.," exactly as printed in *Life and Letters* except for slight variations in punctuation, and preceded and followed by other extracts from Brydges, with whom Irving was intimate in the spring of 1825 and whose works he was reading at that time.¹⁰

In eddyng course when leaves began to fly,
And autumn in her lap the stores to strew,
As mid wild scenes I chanc'd the muse to woo
Thro' glens untrod, & woods that frown'd on high,

Two sleeping nymphs, with wonder mute I spy:
And lo! she's gone—In robe of dark green hue
Twas Echo from her sister Silence flew:
For quick the hunters horn resounded to the sky.

In shade affrighted Silence melts away.
Not so her sister. Hark! For onward still
With far-heard step she takes her listening way,
Bounding from rock to rock & hill to hill:
Ah! mark the merry maid, in mockful play,
With thousand mimic tones the laughing forests fill!¹¹

This is the poem that Mrs. Emily Foster Fuller says, "Mr. Irving wrote in my scrap book when he was in London in 1832. He declared it was impossible for him to be less in a writing mood."¹²

⁸ See *The Poems of Washington Irving: Brought together from various sources by William R. Langfeld* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1931), p. 11.

⁹ Notebook containing entries made from late 1824 to early 1826 (New York Public Library).

¹⁰ See journal entries for March 14-19, in *Journals of Washington Irving*, ed. Trent and Hellman (Boston, 1919), pp. 102-104, and *passim*.

¹¹ From MS notebook, p. [67].

¹² *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, IV, 405.

P. M. Irving was right then in presuming that his uncle merely copied the poem in the scrapbook and, rather charitably, speaks only of a blunder on Mrs. Fuller's part. Certainly her inference is that the lines were original with Irving, and yet it is unthinkable that he should have given that impression since there is no dishonesty in his record. But neither is there any in hers, so far as we know; without further evidence therefore, the incident must continue to be considered the result merely of carelessness or misunderstanding.

In this same notebook of Irving's¹³ is found another poem which is undoubtedly original. Its biographical significance lies principally in the fact that it is a reworked version of some earlier verses. While visiting Thomas Hope¹⁴ at his country seat, Deepdene,¹⁵ in 1822, after the success of *The Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*, Irving paid poetic tribute with the following verses:

Thou record of the votive throng
That fondly seek this fairy shrine,
And pay the tribute of a song
Where worth and loveliness combine—

What boots that I, a vagrant wight
From clime to clime still wandering on,
Upon thy friendly page should write—
Who'll think of me when I am gone?

Go plough the wave, and sow the sand;
Throw seed to every wind that blows;
Along the highway strew thy hand
And fatten on the crop that grows.

For even thus the man that roams
On heedless hearts his feeling spends;
Strange tenant of a thousand homes,
And friendless, with ten thousand friends!

Yet here for once I'll leave a trace,
To ask in aftertimes a thought;
To say that here a resting-place
My wayworn heart has fondly sought.

¹³ See note 9.

¹⁴ 1770?-1831, the antiquarian, art patron, and author of *Anastasis*.

¹⁵ Near Dorking, Surrey.

So the poor pilgrim heedless strays,
 Unmoved, through many a region fair;
 But at some shrine his tribute pays,
 To tell that he has worshipped there.¹⁶

This has been many times copied and reprinted. Both explicitly and by inference, the expatriate's journals and letters testify to his frequent fits of dejection and loneliness during the years in Europe. In Paris, three years after writing the verses above, Irving shows some obsession with the theme of loneliness by working over the third and fourth stanzas. The hospitality of his sister's family in Birmingham then, of the Fosters in Dresden, and the Storrows in Paris had not been enough. Even the proximity of his beloved brother Peter could not keep him from brooding as he revised and improved poetically:

Go sow the sand & plow the main
 Scatter thy seed to every wind
 Along the highway strew thy grain
 And hope a generous crop to find.

E'en so the man who widely roams
 His best affections vainly spends
 A stranger in a thousand homes
 And friendless with ten thousand friends.¹⁷

BYRONISM IN POE'S "TO ONE IN PARADISE"

ROY P. BASLER

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POE'S careful study of the Chaworth episode in Byron's early life has suggested to the writer that there may possibly be a background of Byronic reading for the poem "To One in Paradise" and the tale of which it was a part as first published. Poe's analysis of the effect of this episode on Byron is given in the Griswold arrangement of the "Marginalia," CXC. In it he shows an intimate knowledge of Byron's numerous poems to Mary Chaworth and

¹⁶ Written in the Deepdene Album and dated June 24, 1822. It can be found most conveniently in *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, II, 85-86, or in *The Poems of Washington Irving*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷ MS notebook, p. [19 b].

indicates that he has checked these against the facts given in biographies and in Byron's letters. His theme is that "the boyish poet-love is indisputably that one of the human sentiments which most nearly realizes our dreams of the chastened voluptuousness of heaven." Of this there are "hundreds of evidences scattered not only through his own poems and letters but in the memoirs of his relatives and contemporaries in general In every allusion . . . to his passion for Mary Chaworth, there runs a vein of almost spiritual tenderness." She was, he concludes, "the incarnation of the ideal that haunted the fancy of the poet," and "the Egeria of his dreams—the Venus Aphrodite that sprang, in full and supernal loveliness, from the bright foam upon the storm tormented ocean of his thoughts."

If Poe made before 1834 such a study of this episode, then it may not be improbable that his treatment of just such a theme in "The Visionary" and in the poem "To One in Paradise" owes something to Byron.¹

In the following particulars Poe's "The Visionary" suggests Byron's story. The central character, whom we know only as "The Stranger," has been from time long past in love with the beautiful English girl who appears in the story as the Marchesa Aphrodite. She has wedded another, leaving him only the memory of a "dream too bright to last." His life has as a result been overcast with melancholy, and he has become a visionary, living in a world less real than his dreams.² He has written a poem on the interleaf of a book which, apparently, had belonged to her.

For further checking of the parallel "visionary" theme in the Chaworth episode the reader may consult Byron's "The Dream."

¹ If the "Marginalia" are what Poe claimed they were, it is possible that item CXC was jotted down in the form of notes between 1830 and 1834. Moore's *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron* (1830) and Galt's *The Life of Lord Byron* (1831) seem from Poe's general analysis to be included in the memoirs of contemporaries to which he refers. It is not necessary, however, to assume that Poe actually wrote the piece before 1834. His period of Byronic enthusiasm and imitation antedates 1830, and with his general admiration for Byron he could hardly have failed to read the *Letters and Journals* before 1834. Poe himself published the material as a "plate article" to accompany an illustration, Byron and Miss Chaworth, in the *Columbian Magazine* (Dec., 1844).

² Typical of Moore's comments upon the Chaworth episode and its effect upon Byron is the following: "From the moment of this initiation into the wonders of his own mind, a distaste for the realities of life began to grow upon him. Not even that intense craving after affection, which nature had implanted in him, could keep his ardour still alive in a pursuit whose results fell so short of his imaginings . . . (of all except the one that lived unquenched through all)" (Moore, *op cit.*, I, 593-594).

The incident of his writing a poem in a volume belonging to Mary is given by Moore as follows:

It was before this interview [the last before Mary's marriage] that he wrote, with a pencil, in a volume of Madame de Maintenon's letters belonging to her, the following verses, which have never, I believe, before been published:

Oh memory, torture me no more,
The present's all o'ercast;
My hopes of future bliss are o'er,
In mercy veil the past.³

The second and third stanzas of Poe's poem are as follows:

But the dream—it could not last;
Young hope! thou did'st arise
But to be overcast!
A voice from out the Future cries
"Onward!"—while o'er the Past,
Dim gulf!—my spirit hovering lies,
Mute—motionless—aghast!
For alas!—alas!—with me
Ambition—all—is o'er;
"No more—no more—no more"—
(Such language holds the breaking sea
To the sands upon the shore,)
Shall bloom the thunder-blasted tree,
Or the stricken eagle soar!⁴

³ Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 57. Moore notes in his second edition that the lines were not original with Byron, but were "the production of Lady Tuile." Other poems to Mary have, however, a similar theme with numerous uses of the words *no more*, *o'ercast*, *past*, and *hope*. For example, the poem "Remembrance," first published by Moore in 1832:

'Tis done!—I saw it in my dreams:
No more with Hope the future beams;
My days of happiness are few:
Chilled by Misfortune's wintry blast,
My dawn of life is overcast;
Love, Hope, and Joy, alike adieu!

Whether or not Poe got his later fondness for *nevermore* from Byron, his use of *no more* in the poem in question seems suggestive of the numerous uses in the Chaworth poems and the "No more—no more—Oh! nevermore" of *Don Juan*, I, ccxiv-ccxv. See Professor Forsythe's article in *American Literature*, VII, 439-452 (Jan., 1936).

⁴ The text is that of *Godey's Lady's Book* (Jan., 1834). The punctuation, as well as the rhetoric, has its Byronic hint. In his later defense of the dash ("Marginalia," XV), Poe complains that "the total or nearly total disuse of the latter point, has been brought about by the revulsion consequent upon its excessive employment about twenty years ago. The Byronic poets were *all* dash."

Poe's choice of metaphors in the last two lines is interesting in possible Byronic implications. The "thunder-blasted tree" as a symbol of the love-blighted stranger is paralleled by a passage in *Childe Harold* which Galt quotes in connection with a discussion of Byron's idealistic treatment of love. It is, Galt concludes, a description of Byron's "own peculiar passion":⁵

His love was Passion's essence—as a tree
On fire by lightning; with etherial flame
Kindled he was and blasted; for to be
Thus and enamoured, were in him the same.
But his was not the love of living dame,
Nor of the dead who rise upon our dreams,
But of ideal Beauty, which became
In him existence ⁶

The "stricken eagle" has less distinctive Byronic connections, but although he has no monopoly on the figure he uses it so many times to describe his various heroes that it may have been associated in Poe's mind with the thunder-blasted tree as a peculiarly Byronic symbol.⁷

Two other metaphors occur in the first stanza of the poem, and each of them may have a hint of Byronism:

A green isle in the sea, love—
A fountain and a shrine
All wreathed round with wild flowers

The green isle may, as Professor Killis Campbell has pointed out,⁸ have been suggested by Shelley's "Many a green isle needs must be," but since Byron, in both *The Island* and *Don Juan*, made the green isle a place almost synonymous with youthful love and romance, Poe's use of it here as a symbol of ideal love may suggest a

⁵ Galt, *op. cit.*, p. 215. The passage actually refers to Rousseau, but Galt concludes, apparently, that it fits Byron better. Byron specifically uses the blasted tree to describe himself in his "Swiss Journal" (Moore, *op. cit.*, II, 20). Similar uses occur in *Manfred* (I, ii, 65-71) and the notes to *Childe Harold* (II, lxii), either of which Poe might have seen.

⁶ *Childe Harold*, III, lxxviii.

⁷ See, for example, *Don Juan*, X, xlv; *Childe Harold*, III, xv; and *English Bards*, ll. 838-841. For what it is worth, it may be noted that Poe may have been acquainted with the fact that both Moore and Galt as well as Shelley (in "Julian and Maddalo") and Lamartine (in "L'Homme A Lord Byron") used the eagle to symbolize Byron's pride and towering genius.

⁸ *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1917).

Byronic connection.⁹ The fountain and shrine with its flowers, however, is an image so closely associated by Byron, not only with ideal love in general but with his own in particular, that it could scarcely have failed to catch the imagination of one who made a detailed study of "every allusion" as Poe did. Byron's apostrophe to the nymph Egeria, the ensuing description of the Egerian fountain and shrine with its "ferns, flowers, and ivy," and the lament for his own illusion, which grows out of them, may even have given Poe his theme for the analysis in the "Marginalia."¹⁰

How often Byron recurs to these various symbols in his passages dealing with ideal love, Poe must have known.¹¹ In short, it is the repetition of the theme and the symbols in both the biographies and the poetry of Byron that, I think, impressed them upon Poe's mind as inseparable. Although it cannot be claimed that Poe must have had this matter for his source, still, with his known early affinity for Byron and his specific study of "every allusion," we may conclude that the poem "To One in Paradise" contains something more than an accidental parallel.

⁹ Poe's familiarity with *The Island* is indicated by his "Stanzas," which are prefaced by lines quoted from it. That the green isle was to Byron, and perhaps to his contemporaries in general, a conventional symbol of the ideal is suggested by his rather glib uses of it in his letters and journals. For example, he writes to Moore, Dec. 24, 1816, that Venice "has always been (next to the East) the greenest island of my imagination." There is evidence in "The Visionary" that Poe was familiar with Byron's letters written from Venice, and he may have noted this as well as other uses.

¹⁰ See *Childe Harold*, IV, cxv-cxxv. Poe's reference to Mary as "the Egeria of his dreams" has already been noted. Byron follows, not too closely, throughout the passage the image of the fountain as a symbol of ideal love which "haunts the unquenched soul," whose waters "run to waste or water but the desert," and leave "unslaked the thirst."

¹¹ One other quotation will serve to illustrate the many. Galt quotes, on the same page with the passage from *Childe Harold* given above, as an illustration of his opinion that "Lord Byron's extraordinary pretensions to the influence of love was but a metaphysical conception of the passion," from this passage in "The Lament of Tasso":

Dwelling deep in my shut and silent heart,
As dwells the gathered lightning in its cloud,
Encompassed with its dark and rolling shroud
Till struck,—forth flies the all-etherial dart

.....
Thou wert to me a crystal-girded shrine
Worshipped at holy distance

.....
My soul was drunk with Love,—which did pervade
And mingle with whate'er I saw on earth.
Of objects all inanimate I made
Idols, and out of wild and lonely flowers,
And rocks, whereby they grew, a Paradise,
("The Lament of Tasso," ll. 113-116, 129-130, 150-154).

THE SOURCE OF POE'S "MORELLA"

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Glenbrook, Connecticut

NO POE student seems to be aware that some fifty years ago Professor John Nichol in effect pointed to the origin of "Morella" when he casually remarked that Poe apparently drew ideas from two tales by Henry Glassford Bell.¹ Nichol neglected to name which of Poe's tales he had in mind, but "Morella" and Bell's "The Dead Daughter" are so evidently related that submission of the latter as the source of "Morella" is in the nature of an amplification of Nichol.

"The Dead Daughter" first appeared in Bell's *Edinburgh Literary Journal* on January 1, 1831.² In brief the story is this. Paulina is the daughter of gloomy, unsocial parents. She is a strange child, mirthless, of pale beauty and fragile health. The relationship between daughter and father is strained; their natures conflict violently, yet there is about the girl something that fascinates him. At the age of thirteen Paulina dies. A year later a second daughter is born and named for the first. The second daughter grows to resemble her dead sister in every detail. The father gradually becomes convinced that the second Paulina "is the same Paulina as her whom he had laid in the grave," and the thought haunts him. To confirm his suspicion he opens the grave of his first-born, but finds no vestige of her body. In her thirteenth year the second daughter also dies. Her body disappears miraculously from the death chamber, presumably to return to the vacated grave. As the soul leaves the chamber, the family dog on guard at the threshold is stricken dead.

Thus the theme of "The Dead Daughter" is the soul's rebirth; and in "Morella" the same theme is consummately worked by Poe, whose second Morella drew in her mother's soul with her first breath.

In addition to theme, however, the minor similarities in the

¹ In discussing Bell's *My Old Portfolio* Nichol writes of "The Dead Daughter" and "The Living Mummy" from which Edgar Poe seems to have taken the hint for two of his most famous fantasies" (*D. N. B.*, IV, 160).

² V, 4-6. The tale appeared again in *My Old Portfolio* (London, 1832), pp. 53-67. Both dates are thus very close to that at which Poe students consider "Morella" to have been written.

two stories serve to strengthen the significance of "The Dead Daughter" as the source of "Morella." (1) Paulina and Morella both shun society. (2) Both have cold hands. (3) Paulina's mysterious manner causes her father to be "oppressed with wild and fearful fancies"; Morella's mysterious manner "oppressed me as a spell." (4) Blue veins are noted by both authors in describing their heroines. (5) Both archetypes die on autumn evenings,

It was an autumn evening—sunny, but not beautiful—silent, but not serene ("The Dead Daughter").

But one autumnal evening, when the winds lay still in heaven, Morella called me to her bedside. There was a dim mist over all the earth, and a warm glow upon the waters . . . ("Morella").

(6) The second Paulina and the second Morella both grow strangely, and both become perfect resemblances to, and bear the same names as, their archetypes. (7) The main characters in both stories die early because of ill health. (8) The opened grave of the first Paulina yields no vestige of her body; and there are no traces of the first in the charnel where the second Morella is laid. (9) The identity in both stories is developed by a process of gradual perception.

Artistically, Bell's tale is quite inferior to "Morella," and it will be valuable to the student of Poe's art to point to two most important improvements in plot construction exhibited by "Morella." The outstanding weakness of Bell's tale is the lack of a definite motive for Paulina's desire to return to haunt her father. There is an indicated discord between father and daughter, but it is not explained. Poe eliminated this weakness by developing in the husband a definite hatred for Morella and in her a definite desire for retribution. The other great weakness in "The Dead Daughter" is the matter of the rebirth itself. It is conceivable that the soul of the first sister might have passed into the second sister through the mother. Yet the mother has absolutely no connection with the strained daughter-father relationship, and this line of reasoning on the part of the reader becomes involved. In "Morella" the improvement of the situation is noteworthy. The combination of dark pages of philosophy, particularly the Identity theory, as the mother's intellectual background and the change from sister and sister to mother and daughter serves to lend plausibility to the

transfer of Morella's soul at the moment she dies and her daughter draws her first breath. At one stroke Poe made sure of that "willing suspension of disbelief" so necessary to the full enjoyment of such a theme.³

WHITMAN IN 1840: A DISCOVERY

JOSEPH JAY RUBIN
Yale University

THE *Long Island Farmer*, a weekly newspaper published in Jamaica, printed this letter on October 6, 1840:

For the *Long Island Farmer*

A Loco Foco Defeat—There was a political discussion in this place a few evenings since, in which Mr. John Gunn, a young gentleman of much talent, sustained the whig side, and W. Whitman, a well known loco foco of the town upheld the administration. Mr. Gunn's remarks were redolent with eloquence and argument, and he fully and completely substantiated the truth of his charges against the Van Burenites. The audience were entirely satisfied of this. The champion of the Democracy on the occasion, to whom we believe the charges will apply as much as to any one, was completely stumped. He was totally without any real proof, and to make it up he dealt in the most false and scurrilous assertions. Finding that the monstrous doctrines of true locofocoism were laid bare, as they were by Mr. Charles King on a former occasion, this i*****l orator went into a most indecent and ungentlemanly attack on the character of the Editor of the American. He called Mr. C. King a "liar and a blackguard." We warn this man how he again indulges in public attacks of this kind; personal slanders are not to be allowed in this manner. We say to *him beware*. The friends of the gentleman alluded to, will not allow such things. The writer of this is authorized in saying, and *he says it with emphasis*, that *another* such provocation, *another* such encroachment on the decencies of life, and this loco foco, or any other, may meet with severe and deserved chastisement.

Buckeye

³ Poe's interest in contemporary British and American periodical literature is so well known that it is hardly necessary to point out that the likelihood of his familiarity with the work of Bell is very great. I hope soon to be able to submit the results of an investigation of the second of Bell's tales suggested by Nichol as a Poe source; namely, "The Living Mummy." A discussion of the origin of the name Morella and of the esoteric learning Poe assigned her, has appeared in T. O. Mabbott's article, "The Source of the Title of Poe's 'Morella,'" *Notes & Queries*, CLXXII, 26-27 (Jan. 9, 1937). This does not conflict with my theory of the source of the plot.

The same day, the *Long Island Democrat*, the rival Jamaica weekly, printed this reply to the *Farmer* letter:

We have just had handed to us by the writer, the following card, which we cheerfully insert, with the single remark that we cannot but think the public will be glad to be convinced, in so spirited a manner, that threats and bravado are not to be allowed to stop freedom of speech:

A Card

In the *Long Island Farmer* of this morning appears an article, apparently emanating from some of the King family or persons closely in their confidence, in which I am spoken of, with assertions which, if they had come from any other source than the foul mouthed and slimy blackguard who edits the *Farmer* I might feel aggrieved at. The article alluded to asserts that I charged eminent whigs with falsehood, and proceeds thus: "The writer of this is authorised in saying, *he says it with emphasis*, "that if I or any other loco-foco, offer "another such provocation" it will be met with severe and deserved chastisement."

From my very soul, I look with sorrow on the pitiable and black-souled malice which actuates such men as this young Gunn, who has lately been uttering the most reckless falsehoods, and endeavouring to stain, by mean and ungentlemanly misstatements, the standing of our most reputable citizens. And what American blood does not tingle at witnessing this wretched maligner, who publishes the whig organ here, endeavouring to spit his venom on individual reputation, and sending forth, week after week, the basest lies, upon the character of our country and our countrymen? The faction that has these creatures in it must be strong indeed, if it is carried to success, with all the weight of their vileness and mendacity to draw it back.

I am sorry that I cannot take the step which I now think proper to take, without making the whole affair a matter of publicity; this is a thing which, though I do not fear, I certainly do not court it. But if this slanderous and contemptible scoundrel who conducts the *Farmer*, or the lying braggadocio from whom the article emanates, or any other vulgar bully who may be retained by the whigs to threaten and menace, wishes to exercise his hectoring spirit with advantage, he must select a fitter man than the signer of this card. I publicly reaffirm the truth of all that I said at the discussion alluded to. I openly and without qualification assert that Charles King, at the late Webster meeting, in saying that Mr. Van Buren and the democrattick party uphold the doctrine of a "community of goods, wives, and children," uttered a *lie*, and acted as *no gentleman* would act.

Walter Whitman

Tuesday Morning, October 6th.

These quoted items need little annotating. Ex-editor at twenty, his Huntington *Long Islander* having folded in the spring of 1839,¹ Whitman found work on the Jamaica *Long Island Democrat*. Jamaica miniaturized then, the national duel between Democrat and Whig, between Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison. The conflict, localized, was smaller in scale, only; closeness clarified party lines and intensified party feeling. Unmistakably and bitterly partisan, therefore, were the two weekly newspapers published in Jamaica: the *Long Island Democrat* and the *Long Island Farmer*.

James J. Brenton, Whitman's boss, quoted in every issue of his *Democrat*, as a motto, from Andrew Jackson: "The blessings of Government, like the dews of Heaven should be dispensed alike on the Rich and the Poor." Brenton also headed editorial comment with the complete platform of the Democratic party. Editorial comment consisted of praise for Democracy and its exemplar, President Van Buren; and abuse for the Whigs and the local mouthpiece of the Whigs, the *Farmer*. The editor² of the *Farmer* was especially vulnerable; he was an apothecary, publishing and selling the *Farmer* at The New Drug Store. Brenton constantly directed the attention of the public to "the Pill and Plaster popgun"³ peddling quack panaceas and Whig principles with equal sincerity. The *Farmer* called the *Democrat* "Dogg [*sic*] and smut machine."⁴ The vituperative tone of the "Letter" and the "Card" blends perfectly with these party quarrels.

The highlight of the local campaign was September 24, 1840. That day, the magnificent Daniel Webster, on a stumping tour, came to Jamaica with his party. Two thousand gathered on the Jamaica green and listened to the future secretary of state. The *Democrat*, refusing to be dazzled, reported the speech with devastating bias as "a complete failure The man was sick, his cause was bad, and moreover his stomach was out of order."⁵

After Webster, Charles King spoke. King, son of Rufus King, editor of the *New York American*, and future president of Columbia College, was anatomized by the *Democrat*:

¹ *Long Island Star*, July 17, 1839.

² I. F. Jones, who sold the *Farmer* to C. S. Watrous, Feb. 5, 1840. The retirement of the druggist-journalist was caused, ironically, by illness.

³ *Long Island Democrat*, Aug. 28, 1839.

⁴ *Long Island Farmer*, Jan. 1, 1840.

⁵ *Long Island Democrat*, Sept. 29, 1840.

"And Satan came also," in the shape of a pursy gentleman with a husky voice This man must have a strong stomach. He *lied* up hill and down. He asserted that Mr. Van Buren was "in favor of having all things in common—property, wife and children." The man was evidently in bad odor.⁶

Whitman's part in the political aftermath of this visit is now obvious. In further refuting King's accusations during the next fortnight, Whitman aroused Buckeye⁷ to written indignation. The *Farmer* "Letter" resulted, begetting in turn Whitman's doubly indignant "Card." There was no answer to the "Card."

In the November election the Whigs won nationally, but locally "Mr. Daniel Webster, combined with all the tact and electioneering talent of the Whigs, failed to swerve the Democracy of this town."⁸ The temptation is to call the boy of twenty-one, Walt Whitman, a better campaigner than Webster whose audiences were measured by the acre. Unsound but tempting!

Important for their biographical-political content, these petty polemics have even greater bibliographical significance. Of the prose items attributed to Whitman and dated before October 6, 1840, the paragraph from the *Long Islander*,⁹ and three *Sun-Down Papers*,¹⁰ not one is signed. I believe, and my belief is based upon intensive Whitman research in this period, that the *Card* is the earliest signed Whitman prose yet discovered. I believe also that the *Farmer Letter* is the earliest published critical commentary upon Whitman.

A NOTE ON WALT WHITMAN

COLIN C. ALEXANDER
Baker University

THE contribution of Mr. Rollo G. Silver, "Thirty-one Letters of Walt Whitman," which appeared in the January issue of *American Literature*,¹ was of great interest to students of Walt

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ William Henry Harrison was from Ohio, the Buckeye state.

⁸ *Long Island Democrat*, Nov. 17, 1840.

⁹ *Long Island Democrat*, Aug. 8, 1838. Printed in E. Holloway, *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), I, 32.

¹⁰ Nos. 5, 6, 7 (April 28, 1840; Aug. 11, 1840; Sept. 29, 1840). These papers, all published in the *Long Island Democrat*, are reprinted in Holloway, *op. cit.*, I, 32-39.

¹ VIII, 417-438 (Jan., 1937).

Whitman. Since reading these letters I have met with an item not hitherto published. This is a postal card directed to Mr. John P. Usher, Jr., of Lawrence, Kansas. It will be seen that it fits into the gap between the letter of January 31, 1879, and the postal card of August 1, 1880, in Mr. Silver's collection.

431 Stevens Street

Camden, New Jersey Jan 14 '80

After I left you I went to Colorado, & there & in Missouri have spent the time since—came back here about a week ago—I sent you a little Volume—also two little pictures—You take the one you prefer & give the other to Linton—Send me word if they come safe.—I am all right in health.

WALT WHITMAN.

The volume referred to by Whitman is his *Memoranda of the War Written on the Spot in 1863-'65* (Author's Publication; Camden, New Jersey, 1875-'76).

For the opportunity of examining this card and the autographed copy of the book I am indebted to Miss Margaret Usher, a student in my American literature class at Baker University. The card is addressed to her uncle. The "Linton" referred to is her father, Mr. Linton Usher, in whose home at Lawrence, Kansas, Whitman was for some time a guest.

THE SCHOOLMASTER IN SNOW-BOUND

HELEN L. DREW
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THE decision of a careful editor in favor of Joshua Coffin as the schoolmaster in Whittier's *Snow-Bound*¹ makes it pertinent to review the evidence for Coffin and that in favor of Dr. George Haskell. There may be added to the evidence a fact not hitherto noticed in connection with it, and whatever weight lies in a tradition existing in Rockford, Illinois, the community to which Haskell migrated, that *he* was the schoolmaster.

For the Riverside Edition of his poems in 1888, Whittier in his note to the poem "To My Old Schoolmaster" named Joshua Coffin

¹Tremaine McDowell, *The Romantic Triumph* (New York, 1933), note to "Snow-Bound," p. 732.

as the man there celebrated, while in his note to *Snow-Bound* he left the schoolmaster of that story unnamed. The two poems do not refer to the same year of Whittier's life. Joshua Coffin is spoken of in "To My Old Schoolmaster" as having taught Whittier his A B C's; the district schoolmaster in *Snow-Bound*, if we can trust the poem to be true to fact, was his teacher when he was old enough to share in the work of shovelling the path to the barn. The statement in S. T. Pickard's biography: "Some years afterward, in 1821, Coffin was again a teacher in that district, and he spent many of his evenings at the Whittier homestead, a most welcome guest,"² would seem to make it possible that Coffin could have been the prototype for both portraits. But it seems probable that if he had been, Whittier would have said so in his note to *Snow-Bound*, especially when he maintained connection with Coffin through their work for the antislavery cause. In his note for "To My Old Schoolmaster" he calls Coffin "my worthy friend" and in the poem says:

As remembering thee, I blend
Olden teacher, present friend.

We have also the testimony of Pickard, a biographer who knew Whittier, that the poet later remembered the name of the schoolmaster he had portrayed in *Snow-Bound* to have been Haskell. He says:

Until near the end of Mr. Whittier's life, he could not recall the name of this teacher whose portrait is so carefully sketched, but he was sure he came from Maine. At length, he remembered that his name was Haskell, and from this clue it has been ascertained that he was George Haskell, and that he came from Waterford, Maine.³

The fact that has not been brought to bear upon the matter is that S. T. Pickard was a nephew of Joshua Coffin's.⁴ Certainly he would not be establishing the claim of George Haskell if he were not sure that the honor did not belong to his uncle.

² *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston, 1894), I, 42.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 34.

⁴ S. T. Pickard, *Whittier-Land* (Boston, 1904). Pickard accompanied Whittier on his last visit to his birthplace in late Oct., 1882. ". . . as I happened to be a nephew of Coffin, he told me stories of his first school" (p. 30).

THE SHIP OF PEARL

BAYARD H. CHRISTY
Sewickley, Pennsylvania

IN January, 1858, the *Atlantic* carried the fourth instalment of "The Autocrat" and with it "a few lines"—"The Chambered Nautilus." A few years before, in May, 1851, the following poem had appeared in the *Family Visitor*,¹ published in Cleveland, Ohio:

THE NAUTILUS AND THE AMMONITE

By G. F. Richardson

The nautilus and the ammonite
Were launched in friendly strife;
Each sent to float, in its tiny boat,
On the wide wild sea of life.

For each would swim on the ocean's brim,
And when wearied its sail could furl;
And sink to sleep in the great sea-deep,
In its palace all of pearl!

And theirs was bliss more fair than this,
Which we taste in our colder clime;
For they were rife in a tropic life,
A brighter and better clime!

They swam 'mid the isles whose summer smiles
Were dimmed by no alloy;
Whose groves were palm, whose air was balm,
And life—one only joy!

They sailed all day, through creek and bay,
And traversed the ocean deep;
And at night they sank on a coral bank,
In its fairy bowers to sleep!

And the monsters vast, of ages past,
They beheld in their ocean-caves;
They saw them ride in their power and pride,
And sink in their deep sea-graves.

And hand in hand, from strand to strand,
They sailed in mirth and glee;
These fairy shells, with their crystal cells,
Twin sisters of the sea!

¹II, 419 (May 15, 1851).

And they came, at last, to a sea long past,
But as they reached its shore,
The Almighty's breath spoke out in death,
And the ammonite lived no more!

So the nautilus now, in its shelly prow,
As over the deep it strays;
Still seems to seek, in bay and creek,
Its companion of other days.

And alike do we, on life's stormy sea,
As we roam from shore to shore,
Thus, tempest-tost, seek the lov'd, the lost,
But find them on earth no more!

Yet the hope how sweet, again to meet,
As we look to a distant strand,
Where heart meets heart, and no more they part
Who meet in that better land.

Recently I was running through a file of the *Family Visitor*, and came on this poem. It is quite thin; to call it a poem is to use the word loosely. Nevertheless, it carried just enough of suggestion to set me to wondering. "The ship of pearl that, poets feign, sails the unshadowed main"—here it was. The metaphor, to be sure, was obvious, scarcely to be escaped—implicit in the very name *nautilus*. But successive phrases—"its sail could furl," "palace all of pearl," "Isles whose summer smiles," "coral bank," and "crystal cells"—these seemed to be bits of dross that had been transmuted to more familiar golden felicity. And, in addition, there was the theme: the transitions from mollusk to man, from "ocean's brim" to "life's stormy sea," and at the end the outlook "to a distant strand"—the items severally insignificant, but unitedly acquiring some suggestion of significance.

The editor of the *Family Visitor*, Jared P. Kirtland, was a friend and correspondent of Agassiz's; and Agassiz in turn was a friend of Dr. Holmes's. Looking further, I was interested to discover that Agassiz was a subscriber to the *Family Visitor*, and that he quite certainly had read the very number in which "The Nautilus and the Ammonite" had appeared. In July, 1851 (two months after the appearance of that number), he wrote the editor: "Do

you also collect insects? That you observe and study them I see from the *Family Visitor*.”² It becomes, therefore, a likely supposition that this scientific poem, noted by Agassiz, passed from him to Dr. Holmes; and that, falling thus in good ground, it became the germ from which Holmes’s greater poem sprang.

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS

April 7, 1937.

The Editors of *American Literature*,
Duke University,
Durham, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

It is a pleasure to thank the reviewer of *The Lonely Wayfaring Man*, my recent book on Emerson and some Englishmen, for his generally favorable conclusions. Perhaps I am ungracious to take some exception to one of his statements, where he says the reader “. . . may be annoyed . . . by occasional assertions of the author, like the statement that Carlyle was ‘the least judicial of men,’” yet I must point out that here the reviewer’s quarrel is not with me, but with William Allingham. I derived the remark from page 209 of *William Allingham, a Diary* (London, 1907), where Allingham is writing of Carlyle’s prejudices. In Allingham’s text, it stands as follows: “His is the least judicial of minds.” I used it in that section of my book which deals with the relationship of Allingham and Carlyle—a section preparatory to the account of Emerson and Carlyle’s final meeting. I had supposed that the general context would make it clear that I was giving Allingham’s reaction to Carlyle, not my own.

Sincerely yours,

TOWNSEND SCUDDER.

² *Proceedings of the Cleveland Academy of Natural Science, 1845 to 1859* (Cleveland, 1874), p. 180.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Life and Works of Mary Hunter Austin. Dudley Wynn (New York).

The Influence of Wilkie Collins in England and America. Henry J. W. Milley (Yale).

Margaret Deland. T. P. Hanson (Virginia).

Horace Greeley's Reforms, in the *New York Tribune*, 1840-1850, in Relation to the New England Transcendentalists. Archibald G. Delmarsh, Jr. (Cornell).

A Biography of Thomas Morton, with an Edition of His *New English Canaan*. Donald F. Connors (Columbia).

Structural Unity in Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Mattie Swayne (Texas).

The Mind and Art of John Lothrop Motley. Bradford T. Schantz (Wisconsin). To be published as the introduction to *Motley* in the "American Writers Series," American Book Company.

(Paul Carter's "Social Theories of Mark Twain" is being written at the University of Cincinnati, not at Western Reserve, as reported.)

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

A Study of the American Proletarian Novel. John S. Bowman (Pennsylvania State).

Naturalism in the American Novel. Charles C. Walcutt (Michigan).

A Historical Dictionary of Baseball Terminology. E. J. Nichols (Pennsylvania State).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

Hawthorne's Contemporary Reputation: A Study of Literary Opinion in England and America, 1828-1864. Bertha Faust (Pennsylvania). 1936.

Our Rude Forefathers: American Political Verse, 1783-1788. Louie Miner (Columbia). 1936. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Ia.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer*.

*Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Farrand, Max. "Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs." *Huntington Library Bull.*, No. 10, pp. 49-78 (Oct., 1936).

A detailed account of the manuscripts and early editions of the *Autobiography*, with some indication of the nature of the projected Huntington Library edition.

- [GODFREY, THOMAS] Carlson, C. Lennart. "A Further Note on Thomas Godfrey in England." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 73-76 (March, 1937).

Ralph Griffiths republished four poems by Godfrey in the *Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence* for March, 1759.

- [PAINE, THOMAS] Enson, R. C. K. "Tom Paine's Bicentenary." *London Spectator*, No. 5,666, pp. 163-164 (Jan. 29, 1937).

A discussion of Paine's bicentenary tributes, including Hesketh Pearson's *Tom Paine: A Biography*.

- Nicholson, Marjorie. "Thomas Paine, Edward Nares, and Mrs. Piozzi's Marginalia." *Huntington Library Bull.*, No. 10, pp. 103-133 (Oct., 1936).

Mrs. Piozzi's marginal comments on one of the many replies to *The Age of Reason*. Miss Nicholson contends that Paine's biographers have missed the point of the controversy, which concerned chiefly the difficulty of reconciling "belief in the Scriptures with belief in the new cosmos that astronomy had exhibited to man."

- [MISCELLANEOUS] Ericson, Eston E. "Ward or the Devil!" *Am. Lit.*, IX, 76-77 (March, 1937).

"The Reverend Mr. Ward"—a "puritan, settled on the Connecticut"—was given the benefit of a witticism which is properly ascribed to Sir Thomas More.

- Hornberger, Theodore. "Science and the New World." *Catalogue of Huntington Library*, pp. 3-18 (1937).

A running account of early scientific works in Spanish, French, and English, with special emphasis upon New England writers like the Mathers and the Winthrops. Prepared to accompany an exhibition at the Huntington Library.

- Kraus, Michael. "Eighteenth Century Humanitarianism: Collaboration between Europe and America." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LX, 270-286 (July, 1936).

Morison, Samuel Eliot. "American Colonial Colleges." *Rice Inst. Pamphlet*, XXIII, 246-282 (Oct., 1936).

The institutions discussed are Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, New Jersey (Princeton), Philadelphia (The University of Pennsylvania), King's (Columbia), Rhode Island (Brown), Queen's (Rutgers), and Dartmouth.

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] McDowell, Tremaine. "Edgar Allan Poe and William Cullen Bryant." *Philol. Quart.*, XVI, 83-84 (Jan., 1937).

Bryant had little sympathy for Poe, but Poe frequently read Bryant's poems.

[DANA, R. H., JR.] Hart, James D. "Melville and Dana." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 49-55 (March, 1937).

An account of the "slight personal relationship" between the two men. A new letter of Melville's, dated March 20, 1861, appears as well as a couple of epistles by Lemuel Shaw and Dana (1848-1861).

[FULLER, MARGARET] Jones, Louis C. "A Margaret Fuller Letter to Elizabeth Barrett Browning." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 70-71 (March, 1937).

The date is 1849.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Hawthorne, Manning. "Hawthorne and 'The Man of God'." *Colophon*, II, 262-282 (Winter, 1937).

Recollections of Hawthorne by Horace L. Conolly, including a new version of the story concerning the source of Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Zirkle, Mary. "Meeting in the West." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 14 (March 20, 1937).

The story of Washington Irving's westward trip during 1832, and his mysterious meeting with Sam Houston in Arkansas.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Coad, O. S. "The Bride of the Sea." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 71-73 (March, 1937).

Whittier, before Longfellow, employed a figure of speech in connection with ship-building.

See item under *Hawthorne, Nathaniel*.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Almy, Robert F. "J. N. Reynolds: A Brief Biography with Particular Reference to Poe and Symmes." *Colophon*, II, 227-245 (Winter, 1937).

On the author of *Mocha Dick* and nautical literature.

Anderson, Charles R. "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 1-25 (March, 1937).

"Of all Melville's books *Typee* struck the most congenial note."

Forsythe, Robert S. "Herman Melville's Father Murphy." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 254-258 (April 10, 1937).

A biographical sketch of Columba Murphy, whom Melville met during his imprisonment at Tahiti, and whom he subsequently mentioned in *Omoo*.

Jaffé, David. "Some Sources of Melville's *Mardi*." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 56-61 (March, 1937).

The sources pointed out are: William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*; Tyerman and Bennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels*; Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*; and F. D. Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage*

Mansfield, Luther S. "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 26-48 (March, 1937).

Some unpublished letters of Evert A. Duyckinck to his wife mentioning Melville and his activities.

See item under *Dana, R. H., Jr.*

[POE, E. A.] Meyer, E. "Consultation d'Edgar Poe sur un crime. Edgar Poe à M. le Directeur de 'La Grande Revue.' Du pays de la soif éternelle." *La Grande Rev.*, CXLIV, 114-118 (March, 1934).

Imaginative letter from Poe discussing the technique of his detective stories.

Whitty, J. H. "Poe's Writing Influenced by Richmond Gardens." *Richmond News Leader*, Sat., April 24, 1937.

See item under *Bryant, W. C.*, and first item under *Melville, Herman*.

[VERY, JONES] Bartlett, W. I. "Early Years of Jones Very—Emerson's 'Brave Saint'." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXIII, 1-23 (Jan., 1937).

An account of Very's career up to the date of his matriculation at Harvard in Feb., 1834.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Silver, Rollo G. "For the Bright Particular Star." *Colophon*, II, 197-216 (Winter, 1937).

Notes and letters by Whitman to various correspondents, particularly Mary Costelloe, written 1884-1890.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Currier, T. Franklin. "Alexander Pushkin by John Greenleaf Whittier." *Friends Intelligencer*, XCIV, 159 (March, 1937).

A reprint from the *National Era* of Feb. 11, 1847.

See first item under *Longfellow, H. W.*

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anonymous. "The Songstress of Brook Farm." *More Books: Bull. of B. P. L.*, XII, 119-120 (March, 1937).

Some information concerning Frances Ostinelli, who as a child spent several months at Brook Farm.

Haraszti, Zoltán. "Brook Farm Letters." *More Books: Bull. of B. P. L.*, XII, 49-68 and 93-114 (Feb. and March, 1937).

A valuable history of Brook Farm containing much new material in the form of hitherto unpublished correspondence addressed to John Sullivan Dwight, one of the leaders of the community.

Clark, Robert T., Jr. "The German Liberals in New Orleans (1840-1860)." *La. Hist. Quart.*, XX, 137-151 (Jan., 1937).

Includes comments on German-American literature and journalism in New Orleans.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Blunt, Hugh F. "The Mal-Education of Henry Adams." *Catholic World*, CXLV, 46-52 (April, 1937).

A study of *Mont-Saint-Michel* from the Catholic point of view. ". . . the Virgin Adams loved was not the Virgin of the Catholic Church. It was the synthetic Virgin of the anti-Catholic prejudice, such a Virgin as was never in Catholic devotion."

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Ferguson, DeLancey. "'The Petrified Truth'." *Colophon*, II, 189-196 (Winter, 1937).

"The alleged facts of the current forms of the Comstock tales are demonstrably fiction." A story by Clemens and one by Dan De Quille are used as examples.

Flanagan, John T. "Mark Twain on the Upper Mississippi." *Minnesota History*, XVII, 369-384 (Dec., 1936).

Swain, Louis H. "Mark Twain as a Music Critic: A Case Study in Esthetic Growth." *Furman Bulletin* [Furman Univ., S. C.], XIX, 48-53 (April, 1937).

A running account of Clemens's interest in music.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Wyck, W. V. "Emily Dickinson's Songs Out of Sorrow." *Personalist*, XVIII, 183-189 (April, 1937).

"When America was roaring its approval of Lowell, Longfellow, Poe, Whittier and Company, this whimsical little person was . . . a volcano erupting in a colossal block of ice."

[PORTER, W. S.] Anonymous. "Old O. Henrys." *Lit. Digest*, CXXIII, 25 (April 10, 1937).

A graduate student at the University of Texas, Mary Harrell, rediscovered in the files of the *Houston Post* a number of O. Henry stories, several of which have appeared in the *Red Book* (beginning with the Jan., 1937, issue).

[TABB, JOHN B.] Tabb, John B. "Some Notes of My Life: Written at St. Charles College 1896." *Borromean* [St. Charles' College, Catonsville, Md.], X, 25-27 (Dec., 1936).

IV. 1900-1937

- [ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Anonymous. "The Critics' Award." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 14 (March 31, 1937).

The subject of this discussion is Maxwell Anderson's play *High Tor* and its unsuccessful competition for the New York Critics' Award.

- [AUSTIN, MARY] Wynn, Dudley. "Mary Austin, Woman Alone." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, XIII, 243-256 (Spring, 1937).

- [BABBITT, IRVING] Cappon, A. P. "Irving Babbitt and His Fundamental Thinking." *New Humanist*, VI, 9-13 (Sept.-Oct., 1933).

- [DREISER, THEODORE] Ford, F. M. "Theodore Dreiser." *Am. Mercury*, XL, 488-496 (April, 1937).

A chapter from Ford Madox Ford's *Portraits from Life*.

- [ELIOT, T. S.] Brown, W. C. "T. S. Eliot and the Demon of the Ego." *New Humanist*, VIII, 81-85 (June-July-Aug., 1935).

- [FROST, ROBERT] Newdick, Robert S. "Foreign Responses to Robert Frost." *Colophon*, II, 289-290 (Winter, 1937).

A list of some foreign translations of, and articles on, Robert Frost.

- [LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Lewis, Sinclair. "Breaking into Print." *Colophon*, II, 217-221 (Winter, 1937).

- Wharton, Don. "Dorothy Thompson." *Scribner's Mag.*, CI, 9-14 (May, 1937).

A discussion of "the first lady of American journalism": her career abroad, her background, her output and popularity, and her influence on Sinclair Lewis.

- [LEWISOHN, LUDWIG] Goldberg, Isaac. "Ludwig Backstream Lewisohn." *Am. Spectator*, pp. 13-14 (Oct., 1936).

"Ludwig Lewisohn is one of the wrecks of the American cultural life."

- [MARKHAM, EDWIN] Anonymous. "Edwin Markham." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 14 (Feb. 16, 1937).

A discussion of the paradox that "Edwin Markham lost and won his case in Brooklyn court the other day."

- [MENCKEN, H. L.] Clark, J. A. "H. L. Mencken: An Obituary." *Am. Spectator*, pp. 11-12 (Dec., 1936-Jan., 1937).

Critical appraisal of "the intellectually late" Henry Louis Mencken.

- [O'NEILL, EUGENE] Lundkvist, Artur. "Eugene O'Neill." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, V, 784-786 (Dec., 1936).

"If he were Swedish he would probably be classed among the proletarians and be censured for primitivism. . . . closer to novelist

than to the lyricist . . . a romancer who uses dramatic form . . . not primarily a writer for the theatre . . . [but] the theatre of his own fancy . . . [the] inner theatre . . ."

Stevens, T. W. "How Good is Eugene O'Neill?" *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 179-186 (March, 1937).

"Not so good as Mr. Puff says—not so bad as Mr. Sneer says. But good enough to dominate our theater, and to stand with credit on foreign stages."

[PARRINGTON, V. L.] Cappon, A. P. "Parrington: A Liberal of the Northwest." *New Humanist*, V, 1-9 (Jan.-Feb., 1932).

An appraisal of his work.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Mason, D. G. "Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson to Daniel Gregory Mason." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, XIII, 223-240 (Spring, 1937).

The second instalment of E. A.'s letters to Daniel Gregory Mason.

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] ANONYMOUS. "Reprints and New Editions." *N. Y. Herald Tribune Books*, XVIII, no. 28, p. 16 (March 21, 1937).

On George Santayana's prefaces.

Smith, Dane Farnsworth. "George Santayana and the Last Puritan." *New Mexico Quart.*, VII, 39-45 (Feb., 1937).

A brief critical study of *The Last Puritan*.

[STEFFENS, LINCOLN] Steffens, Lincoln. "The Influence of My Father on My Son." *Atlantic Month.*, CLIX, 525-530 (May, 1937).

[TATE, ALLEN] Brooks, Cleanth and Van Doren, Mark. "Modern Poetry: A Symposium." *Am. Rev.*, VIII, 427-456 (Feb., 1937).

Three papers read at the M. L. A. meeting, Richmond, Dec., 1936.

[WARREN, R. P.] See item immediately above under *Tate, Allen*.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Clark, J. A. "The Middle West—There It Lies." *Southern Rev.*, II, 462-473 (Winter, 1937).

The Middle Western writer "must forget about its ruggedness, its genius for material pioneering . . . and begin striving for more perspective, more detached understanding of problems and issues in their broader frames of reference."

Glicksberg, C. I. "Proletarian Fiction in the United States." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XVII, 22-32 (April, 1937).

A brief survey of the contemporary Marxist novel in America, and of the problems confronting the writers of such fiction.

Lundkvist, Artur. "Amerikansk Prosa." *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, VI, 197-204 (March, 1937).

Critical essay on contemporary American prose, with special reference to Faulkner, Dos Passos, Rockwell Kent, and Prokosch.

Michaud, Régis. "Le mouvement littéraire et social de gauche aux États-Unis." *La Grande Rev.*, CL, 461-482 (May, 1936).

II. Le roman social et prolétarien. Continued from Feb., 1936.

———"Le mouvement littéraire et social de gauche aux États-Unis." *La Grande Rev.*, CL, 628-648 (June, 1936).

III. La poésie et le théâtre. Continued from May, 1936.

Oppenheim, J. H. "Autopsy on Chicago." *Am. Mercury*, XL, 454-461 (April, 1937).

The decline of Chicago as a "literary center."

Whipple, T. K. "Literature in the Doldrums." *New Republic*, LXXXX, 311-314 (April 21, 1937).

Whitman was the end, not the beginning, of a poetic age; the "renaissance" of the 1920's was the end of another age; at present all hope depends upon Marxists and the "blood-thinking" of Hemingway, Faulkner, Jeffers—and the latter anticipate fascism.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Burke, W. J. "The Literature of Slang." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XLI, 19-28, 113-124, 313-320 (Jan., Feb., and April, 1937).

A bibliography of miscellanies, mainly English and American, in which slang appears.

Edgar, Marjorie. "Finnish Charms and Folk Songs in Minnesota." *Minnesota History*, XVII, 406-410 (Dec., 1936).

Malone, Kemp. "Phonemes and Phonemic Correlations in Current English." *English Studs.* [Amsterdam], XVIII, 159-164 (Aug., 1936).

Underhill, Ruth Murray. "War Poems of the Papago Indians." *New Mexico Quart.*, VII, 16-22 (Feb., 1937).

Includes translations of some of the war songs of the Papago Indians in southern Arizona.

Whorf, B. L. "The Punctual and Segmentative Aspects of Verbs in Hopi." *Language*, XII, 127-131 (April-June, 1936).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Andersen, Annette. "Ibsen in America." *Scandinavian Studs. and Notes*, XIV, 65-109 (Feb., 1937).

First part of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Iowa, consisting mainly of a bibliography of Ibsen material in American periodicals.

Anonymous. "A List of Articles Published in 'More Books' 1926-1935." *More Books: Bull. of B. P. L.*, X, 391-395 (Dec., 1935).

Americana, George Washington, John Adams, and other items.

McCain, Rea. "Merry Mount: An American Folk Tale." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 205-214 (March, 1937).

Compares the versions of Bradford, Morton, Hawthorne, Motley, Stokes.

McCutcheon, Roger P. "Libraries in New Orleans, 1771-1833." *La. Hist. Quart.*, XX, 1-9 (Jan., 1937).

Morris, R. B. "The Federal Archives of New York City." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 256-272 (Jan., 1937).

A survey of the scope of material for historical research in the Federal Archives of New York City.

Orians, G. Harrison. "Censure of Fiction in American Romances and Magazines 1789-1810." *PMLA*, LII, 195-214 (March, 1937).

Novels were anathema to a large audience, and "the atmosphere . . . was a little frigid for the ambitious novelist."

Thornton, Mary Lindsay. "North Carolina Bibliography, 1935-1936." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 188-195 (April, 1937).

"Books dealing with North Carolina or by North Carolinians published during the period from September 1, 1935, to August 31, 1936, inclusive."

BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN LITERARY ANNUALS & GIFT BOOKS: 1825-1865. By Ralph Thompson. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1936. 183 pp. \$2.25.

We have long needed a competent study of the gift annuals, and this Mr. Thompson has now given us. Over a thousand of these books were published, chiefly, as Mr. Thompson's chart shows, between 1828 and 1855. Their importance lies in three fields—the business of publishing, literature in prose and verse, and the art of engraving. Quality fell so low in many cases that students have often been contemptuous of the whole lot, failing to recognize that the best of the annuals possess a genuine importance in all three of the fields named.

Certainly it was no mean service to American literature to provide the young Hawthorne (as *The Token* did) with an outlet for his early stories, even at a low price. Bryant, Poe, Longfellow, Emerson, Lowell—"nearly every American writer of reputation," says Mr. Thompson—are represented in the gift annuals.

The author of the present study surveys "The Gift Book Vogue" in his first chapter, then considers successively the publishing angle, the literary content, and the "embellishments." He then takes up five of the most important annuals in as many chapters, and six "minor" but interesting series in a final chapter. An excellent "catalogue," superseding the pioneer Faxon list, forms an appendix; and there are also a note on "Foreign Gift Books" and an index. The bibliography specifies reissues with great care, frequently lists contributors in annotations, and specifies at least one library in which the volume may be found (except for a few entries not examined by the compiler but borrowed from Faxon). Ascriptions of authorship to anonymous pieces have been made cautiously and skilfully.

Mr. Thompson has been industrious in his consultation of original sources. He has found interesting MS letters in half a dozen libraries. Most notable of his sources are the MS records of Carey & Hart, publishers of *The Gift*, in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and a similar collection of Carey & Lea material relating to *The Atlantic Souvenir*, now in the possession of Lea & Febiger, of Philadelphia. Such records enable him to make an unusually well-rounded economic-literary-artistic study rich in detail.

University of Iowa.

FRANK LUTHER MOTT.

THE LETTERS OF MRS. HENRY ADAMS, 1865-1883. Edited by Ward Thoron. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. xix, 587 pp. \$5.00.

Much of the mystery attached to the life and character of Mrs. Henry Adams is dispelled by this volume of letters, chiefly to her father, written from Europe and Washington between July, 1872, and May, 1883. Some of those years of activity (1872-1892) which her husband omitted from his autobiography as being no part of "education" are now accounted for. In a week-to-week record, much more detailed than that of Adams's own letters, we are shown the efforts of two thoroughly charming people "to fill in the social gaps of a class which, as yet, showed but thin ranks and little cohesion." They accomplished it during Marian Adams's lifetime (which ended in 1885) because, as she tells us, "though we give few real feasts, we generally have the latch up from 5 o'clock till bed time and we learn more out of books than in."

This was the period of his life when Henry Adams was most nearly true to his family's tradition of participation in the great affairs of the world, and Clover Hooper made an admirable team-mate in the effort. He was applying his education "for practical uses, like his neighbors." The scholar and philosopher was most truly alive before 1872 and after 1892. Of him, Clover knew little, as she saw her husband disappear into the archives of Spain or Washington and emerge with a *John Randolph* or a sheaf of notes for his *History*. Henry was faithful to his books and dogs, Clover to her horses and her comfortable dinner or tea table, frequented by the neighboring Beales, lone bachelors like Henry James, Aristarchi Bey, and occasionally Clarence King, Bostonians on their way to Florida, members of the official and diplomatic families who read the *Nation*, and visiting relatives.

It was both wise and kind of the Hooper family to withdraw the veil, even though the revelation is the contrary of startling and is not complete. Few facts are added to our knowledge of Henry Adams and his wife, but our feelings cannot help being influenced by knowing Clover Hooper as a living person rather than as a shadow. Furthermore, the possibilities for conjecture on the part of future imaginative biographers are definitely curtailed. Those Washington years were obviously happy, filled with people and activity from day to day. They contain no elements of dramatic intensity which would explain their tragic end. Unfortunately that part of the mystery is still unresolved, but present evidence would point more to a growing sense of futility than to any more positive cause. Further than that the student need not probe, as a cosmic futility is the key to the symbolic structure of Adams's later work. Clover apparently was caught, in Carlyle's phrase, at the

"center of indifference" while her husband struggled on. But we have no letters from those last two years.

Editorially, Mr. Thoron has done an excellent piece of work, even though his canons are somewhat liberal. People to whom Mrs. Adams refers in uncomplimentary terms are sometimes left as mere initials (with a few notable exceptions in the cases of Blaine, Arthur, and "Hoss-car" Wilde). There is no indication of omissions which we may fairly assume were made in the text. But the notes, particularly those which identify persons, are many and full; and appendices, chiefly concerning the political issues discussed in the letters, are helpful. Through the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, many unpublished photographs from the family albums are reproduced as illustrations.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

TOM PAINE: *Friend of Mankind*. By Hesketh Pearson. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. 293 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Pearson's biography of Tom Paine is published in the year which marks the two-hundredth anniversary of Paine's birth. Capitalizing the current popular interest in the topic, Mr. Pearson presents a swift and spirited story of the larger outlines in Paine's revolutionary career.

The purpose of this new biography is obviously not to increase the sum of knowledge but to shape old materials into a new form. Mr. Pearson declares that no one today can add much information to the "exhaustive (and exhausting)" standard two-volume work by Moncure Conway. A student may differ with Mr. Pearson and find Conway perhaps exhausting but certainly not exhaustive on many important phases of his subject—for instance, Paine's connection with the Pennsylvania class war in 1779, with incipient Federalism after the American Revolution, with the reform movement in England, with the Jacobin-Girondin conflict and the Directory in France, with international anticlericalism, with Jeffersonian Democracy. There is plenty of original investigating still to be done in the relations of Tom Paine to his age. Mr. Pearson, however, cannot properly be reproached for leaving the gaps unfilled in a book which is intended primarily for the lay reader. All that can be asked is that the much-abused lay reader shall be given not only an entertaining but a reasonably true narrative. And from this viewpoint it must at least be said that Mr. Pearson has not uniformly met his obligation.

Mr. Pearson is not content with serving up a mere adaptation of Conway. He aims to do Paine justice without falling into the Conway

hero-worship, to avoid both idolatry and idol-breaking. But the way to avoid extremes is to avoid them, not to careen from one to the other. Mr. Pearson frequently out-Conways Conway, especially in dealing with Paine's first American period, as in suggesting that the magazine articles before *Common Sense* "provided powder and shot for all the world-reformers and all the progressive parties of the following century" and that *Common Sense* "caused a revolution and united a nation." This is hero-interpretation of history with a vengeance. On the other hand, Mr. Pearson does not shrink from accepting some of the most derogatory legends about Paine's personal life. It was Paine's bad luck, so far as his posthumous reputation is concerned, that his early English years were most fully described in the *Life* by George Chalmers and his last American years in the *Life* by James Cheetham. Chalmers was an official in the Pitt regime which Paine frightened almost out of its wits by *The Rights of Man*, and Cheetham was a notorious libeler who was during Paine's lifetime a personal enemy. Mr. Pearson, though friendly to Paine, swallows whole the Chalmers-Cheetham stories about marital difficulties, drunkenness, and filth which the Paine detractors have retailed for more than a century. The total result is indeed a new Paine, half-Christ, half-Caliban.

In searching for picturesque and sensational details to throw into his hopper, Mr. Pearson has not been troubled by many scruples as to accuracy. No modern biographer of Paine has been so free in handling his sources and in going beyond them. The book abounds in downright errors and questionable assertions. Mr. Pearson, following Conway, attributes to Paine an essay on the rights of women and a patriotic American poem which recent studies have shown to be by other hands (see *American Literature* for May and for November, 1930). He says that in January, 1777, Paine coined the phrase "The United States of America" (which had already occurred in the Declaration of Independence), and that Paine's pamphlet on the bank question in 1786 "gained him the formidable animosity of certain large financial interests" (though the frontiersmen in the Pennsylvania Assembly denounced him for it as a renegade); and he gives paragraph after paragraph of table-talk as by Paine, most of it drawn from *Tom Paine's Jest*s, a chap-book which Paine specifically disclaimed. We are also informed that Paine was a hack writer in London before coming to America, that Franklin regarded Paine's political views in 1774 as impressive, that Paine and Jefferson were "hand-in-glove" in drafting the Declaration of Independence, that Paine met Louis XVI at Versailles in 1781, that crowds in the street shouted *vive* when Napoleon called on the author

of *The Rights of Man*, and so on and so on—all interesting, all possibly true, but none of it as yet proved.

The most important feature of Mr. Pearson's book is the portrayal of Paine's essential personality. Mr. Pearson sees the great agitator clearly and touches off his "inexorably generous and implacably benevolent" nature in some very apt phrases. But by studying Paine almost in a vacuum, apart from the social and intellectual environment which made him what he was, Mr. Pearson deprecates where a more historic-minded observer might be inclined to praise. From 1776 to 1815 the western world was in an almost continuous state of revolutionary excitement caused by the warfare between the new democratic forces and the decadent aristocratic despotisms. Marching men wanted simple catchwords, blunt assurances, visions of an immediate Utopia, and Paine gave them what they asked for and needed. He was precisely the man for the moment. Even in writing *The Age of Reason* he was riding the waves of a great anticlerical movement which, as no less a scholar than Professor Aulard has concluded, almost swept Christianity out of France forever. Had Paine been a more profound and less sympathetic thinker, he would now belong in the obscure shadows with relatively minor figures like John Dickinson, Major Cartwright, and the Abbé Morellet—balanced, reflective men who were silenced by the social storm. Mr. Pearson repeatedly scolds Paine for being "assertive and dogmatic," subject to "paranoiac" moods of "cerebral excitement"—in other words, for being a supremely normal and serviceable revolutionist in the age of democratic revolution.

Though Mr. Pearson has been cavalier with his materials, he has succeeded in compressing into two or three hours' reading the most dramatic episodes in Paine's life and the more memorable passages from his principal pamphlets. For the general public Mr. Pearson's book may serve as an urbane though erratic guide to the personality of a consummate agitator and to political and religious radicalisms which remain after two hundred years vital and challenging. But for the student this book obscures old questions and leads to no fresh horizon.

The George Washington University.

FRANK SMITH.

UNFAMILIAR LAFCADIO HEARN. By Kenneth P. Kirkwood. Tokyo, Japan: The Hokuseido Press. 1936. xiii, 97 pp. \$1.00.

LETTERS FROM BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN TO LAFCADIO HEARN. Compiled by Kazuo Koizumi. Tokyo, Japan: The Hokuseido Press. 1936. v, 158 pp. \$2.80.

Inspired by the beauty of his prose and the exotic quality of his life, the flow of books "touching and appertaining to" Lafcadio Hearn has

continued unabated ever since his death in 1904. If the tide slackens in this country, it increases in Japan; and one of the most recent Nipponese items is *Unfamiliar Lafcadio Hearn* by Kenneth P. Kirkwood. This is a collection of three short essays—one describing Hearn's adjustment to life in Japan, one dealing with his love of animals, and one discussing him as poet and craftsman. While they are charming, sincere and sympathetic, the author's statement that they throw new light on an "unfamiliar" Hearn claims far too much for them. He has made no original researches, nor unearthed any new and significant facts. He very scrupulously gives credit in footnotes to the sources of his information, and proves how heavily he has leaned upon Hearn's published letters and the work of his biographers.

To anyone conversant with Hearniana only two of Mr. Kirkwood's statements will prove novel. Heretofore it has been the accepted theory that when Hearn became a Japanese citizen, his salary was cut to the meager sum paid to native teachers; therefore it is interesting to learn, if true, that for six years after Hearn's change in nationality the Imperial University continued to pay him a stipend greater than that of most of the foreign professors. The other statement that has elements of "originality" is Mr. Kirkwood's twice repeated declaration that Hearn's *Chita* is a novel of the West Indies. This sounds peculiarly "unfamiliar," as the book is, in reality, the tragic story of a great tidal wave that engulfed Last Island—one of a group at the *mouth of the Mississippi River*.

Even his harshest critics will admit that Hearn at his best wrote lyrical prose that has seldom been surpassed, but it is difficult to follow Mr. Kirkwood in his assertion that Hearn was "a genuine though minor poet in metrical forms." None of Hearn's poetry that Kirkwood quotes will sustain his thesis, and some of the doggerel that has been included is bad enough to damn the reputation of even a lyrist of the first class. The second half of the last essay, however, devoted to Hearn as a craftsman, is by far the most interesting, for the author has collected from among Hearn's letters many descriptions of his methods of working. They show his meticulous care, his superhuman industry, his cult for perfection, and contain vital advice for all those who would attempt creative writing.

* * *

One of the first things Lafcadio Hearn did when he went to Japan in 1890 was to present a letter of introduction to Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain, an Englishman who was teaching at the Imperial University at Tokyo, asking his assistance in procuring some kind of work.

Professor Chamberlain, a grandson of the Captain Basil Hall who

wrote *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828*, went to Japan in 1873 and became one of the foremost authorities on things Japanese. A philologist of parts, he knew many European languages and was a great student of Japanese and of the dialects of the Formosan coast. Like Hearn he loved the manners and traditions of the Samurai, their courage and their picturesqueness—the “Old Japan” to which Admiral Perry dealt the death blow. With this common bond it was not surprising that they became intimate friends, and that Chamberlain should help him in every possible way. He obtained for Hearn a post as teacher at Matsue, in the part of Japan least spoiled by foreign influence. From there Hearn wrote to Chamberlain letters that are among his finest, full of the excitement of his discoveries and his enthusiasm about the country. These fascinating epistles of one of the greatest letter writers of the nineteenth century were published in *Lafcadio Hearn's Japanese Letters*, edited by Elizabeth Bisland in 1910; but Chamberlain's answers have never appeared before. Hearn's son, Kazuo Koizumi, has taken them from among his father's papers and published them with a short preface. They are letters from a man of great cultivation and learning, but when compared with Hearn's epistles, glowing with his passionate interest in literature and in Japan, they seem cold and academic. Indeed, they indicate plainly the great difference that lay between the two men—Hearn romantic, exotic and Latin; Chamberlain puristic, classical and Anglo-Saxon—a difference even better shown in their reactions to French literature. Chamberlain wrote to Hearn that “Theophile Gautier's ‘Contes’ choke me . . . the Asiatic-luxuriance style always does. It goes against my innate love of moderation and restraint.” He disliked the “moribund literature” of Loti—even more “the rotting decay” of Zola, and he said, “I do not see what good effect can be produced by the prostitution of talent to filthiness.” On the other hand, Hearn, when he was in Cincinnati, made gemlike translations of Gautier, in New Orleans devoted column after column in the *Times-Democrat* to panegyrics on Loti and the French Romantics, and although his sense of beauty was outraged by Zola's squalid, sickening realism, he said he was “beyond all question one of the greatest novelists who ever lived.”

Given Hearn's peculiarity of disposition and such drastic differences of opinion, it was inevitable that the friendship should go on the rocks; that it lasted five years was remarkable. Hearn suddenly stopped all communication with Chamberlain and met all efforts at reconciliation with rigid politeness and later with complete silence. Chamberlain never knew what particular word or action gave offense, but he probably came close to the real reason when he wrote in later years that:

The rigid character of his [Hearn's] philosophical opinions made him perforce despise as intellectual weaklings all those who did not share them, or shared them in a lukewarm manner, and his disillusionment with a series of friends in whom he had once thought to find intellectual sympathy is seen to have been inevitable.

Chamberlain's letters will interest the Hearn collector and the student of Japan, but will mean little to those who do not share these concerns: while *Unfamiliar Lafcadio Hearn* will mean little to the Hearn aficionado, for it provides nothing that is new. It will have charm, however, and profit for those who are not familiar with that picturesque and exotic person and who do not have time in this hectic world to read his full-length biographies.

New York City.

EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER.

THE QUIET LODGER OF IRVING PLACE. By William Wash Williams. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1936. 251 pp. \$2.50.

This sketch of the writer's friendship with O. Henry is an agreeable though not especially important contribution to his hero's biography. As a cub reporter on the *Sunday World*, Williams was sent by its editor, Nelson Hersh, to discover the identity and the whereabouts of the short story writer using the pseudonym O. Henry. His discovery led indirectly to O. Henry's contract to turn out a weekly story for the *World* and to a friendship between the two men, lasting from the autumn of 1902 to O. Henry's second marriage in 1907. The writer's attitude toward his hero and the journalistic half-world of the period is frankly idyllic, and the book is an urban period-piece as well as a biographical portrait. Union Square, Gramercy Park, Tony Pastor's, Scheffel Hall, and Huber's Museum just after the turn of the century are re-created with a Currier and Ives effectiveness.

Williams was in an excellent position to observe and study his subject. Unfortunately, his naïveté and his romanticism prevented his utilizing his opportunity to the greatest possible advantage. Despite an excessive reticence concerning the past, O. Henry did upon occasion reveal the facts that he had worked in a drugstore, lived on a ranch in Texas, and been "a regular newspaper man." Williams's observations on O. Henry's character have a significance of which he is perhaps not fully conscious. "Repression, repression and more repression was the keynote of O. Henry's make-up. Some of it was intrinsic and natural as rain; much of it was assumed and developed" (p. 104). "He wouldn't tolerate a story that wasn't clean or lend an ear for a minute to any stag discussion of women" (p. 106). "His attitude toward the feminine

element was something more than indifference; he seemed to regard women with a rather deep-seated distrust. . . . He was always courteous, kind, considerate, even gallant with women but, at the same time, ever aloof and reserved" (p. 209). A chapter is devoted to the problem of how O. Henry spent his money and why he was always in financial straits. It cannot be said that the problem is finally disposed of.

The most valuable section of the book is that which gives an eye-witness' account of O. Henry's dilatory methods of composition. Sent by the *World* for copy already several days late, Williams would frequently wait in O. Henry's room while the story of the week was turned out. "The first three or four sheets would be dispatched by messenger by ten or ten-thirty, the next batch around twelve, and by nine o'clock the next morning the gem would be in type ready to go into the page" (p. 189). "O. Henry's copy, however, was as legible as type-written matter. . . . He rarely erased a word or sentence and did very little interlining. . . . And I cannot recall ever seeing him reread a story after finishing it" (p. 183).

The value of Williams's book is impaired by the diffuse and muddy style in which it is written. Certain sentences almost defy interpretation. "There is a tang often in the experience of going from the sublime to the ridiculous which holds to the emotional hand and also accompanies the step from the atmosphere of the sedate and good to the tainted air of garish iniquity, albeit a flash of smug, aloof interest, which furnishes both incentive and alibi, covers the incident and leads us on" (p. 52). It is rather distressing to find a veteran newspaperman so careless a proof-reader. C. Alphonso Smith is twice designated Alphonse (p. 124, p. 191), and "whomever" (p. 108), "Sampsonian" (p. 128), and "a principle of a High School" (p. 181) need a little editorial attention.

The University of Chicago.

FRED B. MILLETT.

THEODORE PARKER. By Henry Steele Commager. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. ix, 339 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Commager has accomplished a remarkable feat in this book. Within three hundred pages he has encompassed the whole area of the New England reform ferment of a century ago and given his readers a biographical account of one of the chief reformers. Such a program, as he suggests in his preface, involved a danger which he has not always escaped and required the steering of a straight course which he has sometimes kept at a sacrifice. The danger is that his inclusion of the entire area of reform will lay him open to the objection which he himself raises to Parker's paragraph on the Anglo-Saxons, "There it all was, no

qualifications, no subtle refinements." The straight course he has steered has been to present a myriad of events bare of comment or interpretation. Only thus could he include so full a life and so varied an era within so brief a space. His theory of biography forced him to stake everything on the cumulative effect of the accurate recording of actions, events, and facts. He has won the hazard, for one leaves the book feeling that he knows Theodore Parker.

But one feels that he should like to have an author with such evident sympathy for the man of whom he writes and such rich knowledge of the milieu in which that man lived synthesize and interpret as well as spread out prodigal information. One believes, also, that the author was moved by some of the urges of conscience which Theodore Parker felt when, enamored of the flattery of national recognition as a lecturer, he forced himself to return every Sunday to his Boston Music Hall congregation; thus Mr. Commager left the inviting ways of transcendentalism or Boston life of the 1850's to return to Parker and move his biography forward to its early conclusion. Parker is described as forcing himself to work and study late at night because there were so many books to read and so many still to be written, as traveling in discomfort in order to fill lecture engagements "next week three days in the 'East Counties' and the next four days in Central New York." Mr. Commager also seems to feel the press of time and a multitude of commitments.

Still, it is easy to overemphasize this staccato quality of a book which well exhibits two of the finest qualities of a biography: a good sense of proportion toward the life of the subject and a splendid ability to place the man in his environment. Beyond this is a genuine sympathy toward the man being written about. Mr. Commager has said of the book, "I have written it for my own satisfaction more than for the edification of others." When so informed and alert a mind satisfies itself by writing a book, others are inevitably edified.

How alert Mr. Commager is can best be judged perhaps by an examination of the bibliography at the close of the book. Within twenty pages he has appraised the literature about the multifarious life of New England from 1810 to 1860 in a manner that proves, had he not felt restricted to a three-hundred-page limit, how fully and richly he might have colored the picture he has so skilfully and accurately drawn.

The University of North Carolina.

RAYMOND ADAMS.

MEN OF CONCORD AND SOME OTHERS AS PORTRAYED IN THE JOURNAL OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU. Edited by Francis H. Allen. With Illustrations by N. C. Wyeth. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1936. xi, 255 pp. \$4.50.

One wonders what use the student of American literature may make of Mr. Allen's compilation of these most gossiping passages from Thoreau's writing about his neighbors of Concord. And yet, even the student may profit by having his attention focused for a time on the neighborliness of Thoreau, who was America's most parochial writer after all, interpreting universal experience in terms of Concord. The student may be reminded that *Walden* was a letter of 357 pages addressed very definitely to Concord in order "to wake my neighbors up." Some of those neighbors seem from these estimates by Thoreau to have been pretty wide-awake already, for the shrewd Yankee strain in Thoreau has recognized the Yankee virtues of his neighbors as well as their crotchets and delightful whimsicalities. The scholar could profit by knowing this human side of Thoreau. Whatever the value of the book to scholars, a good many general readers are apt to be introduced to Thoreau through this collection with its most attractive format; and if this book leads readers down a pleasant path to a reading of more serious writing by Thoreau, it will have done a real service.

One cannot omit mention of Mr. Wyeth's colored illustrations. They represent real research as well as a sympathetic understanding of the Concord scene. The frontispiece has in it all the simple strength of a *Snow-Bound*, and the view of Alcott copying epitaphs in the Granary Burying Ground is worth a whole volume about that transcendental seer. The illustrator can be a research man as well: it was so with Ruzicka and the Lakeside Press *Walden* of 1930; it is so again with Wyeth and the present *Men of Concord*.

The University of North Carolina.

RAYMOND ADAMS.

NORWEGIAN EMIGRANT SONGS AND BALLADS. Edited and Translated by Theodore C. Blegen and Martin B. Ruud. Songs Harmonized by Gunnar J. Malmin. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. [1936.] 350 pp. \$3.00.

Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads, collected and edited by a professor of history and translated into English by a professor of English, both of the University of Minnesota, is more significant for the student of Scandinavian-American sociological and cultural history than for the folklorist or folksong specialist. For the general reader, not interested in specialties, it is an unsentimental but a deeply sympathetic

record of a heroic episode in the epic that is American history. From a hundred quarters and levels of Norwegian emigrant experience it brings home to him the authentic minutiae out of which sprang such a novel as *Giants in the Earth*. To Southern readers the Texas aspect of the migration will be of especial interest.

Most of the fifty songs and ballads, eleven with musical accompaniments, were recovered from Norwegian newspapers published in Europe or in America. Their subject matter is the diverse aspects of the folk migration beginning in 1825—the pros and cons of leaving the Old Country for America, the rascalities of emigration agents, the perils and tragedies of the Atlantic crossing, the bewilderment of the immigrants in the New World, the hardships of pioneer life, freedom and opportunity of the New World, nostalgia for the homeland. Though the majority of the songs follow folksong forms and modes, they are popular only in the imitative, not the traditional, sense. Of only two or three, the rollicking “Oleana,” for example, is there any evidence of oral dissemination or survival. To one unacquainted with the original language and having to rely upon the prose translations, the level of poetic expression seems no higher than that of contemporaneous American newspaper verse. Only now and then do they achieve poignancy, as in “The Returned Emigrant from America,” where Kari, the fey wife, brings the Christmas party to its close with this request and prophecy: “Soon you will bury me in the ground; and when you do, you must lay this spoon with me.” Indeed, nostalgia—longing for the birch groves, the green pastures, the elves dancing on the green, the midnight sun, the pastoral mountains, the deep fiord, the old folkways—is the deepest, almost the only true, poetic note in the songs and ballads. The rest is argument, economic and sociological exposition, moralizing, democratic rhetoric, with now and then a light touch of folk humor, as in the Land of Cockaigne stanzas of “Oleana.” Most of the attempts at humor goose-step to some didactic or satiric purpose, or labor under the curse of heaviness that, to an American at least, seems to beset the Germanic effort. Part of this impression, no doubt, may be due to disassociation, through translation, of substance and form. Even a halting knowledge of Norwegian, walking on the crutches of translation, sometimes enables the reader to hop with the measure.

The historical, critical, and biographical introductions and links are admirably done. The translations are doubtless accurate and as close as possible to the literal, with now and then felicitous colloquial or slang equivalents. But, even partially realizing the difficulty of verse translation, the reader regrets that the songs and ballads were not rendered into something like folksong equivalents. The forms and modes of Scandi-

navian folksong bear enough resemblances to those of English folksong to make such an undertaking not impossible.

The University of North Carolina.

A. P. HUDSON.

TALES OF THE NORTHWEST. By William Joseph Snelling. With an Introduction by John T. Flanagan. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1936. xxix, 254 pp. \$3.50.

Snelling's Indian tales should be heartily welcomed by the outdoor reader, little addicted to belletristic work, and by the student of life on the Minnesota frontier. To the American scholar, too, it is a matter of gratulation that this volume is now available, for Joseph Snelling's has been one of those names that have hovered uncertainly in the mind because of the inaccessibility of his works. But a revival of interest has come about, signalized by the enthusiastic comment of Pattee, the sympathetic treatment by Dorothy Dondore, and a descriptive article by Allen E. Woodall in the *Minnesota Journal of History*.

The tales reprinted in this limited edition indicate the genius of Snelling and the variety of his interests, for in range his tales were not matched even by James Hall in his *Legends of the West*. Of the recorded writers of Indian tales before 1830 (Neal, Bryant, Dumont, Child, Mellen, Hall, Flint), Snelling was the only one to produce so excellent a volume, and his Indian fiction was equalled in richness and experience only by the forgotten work of James Athearn Jones which may have stood as a model, *Tales of an Indian Camp* (1829).

Snelling consciously avoided certain themes of the day in his treatment of the Indian: the noble red man, the last of the tribe motif, and the Indian orator—current in literature from the time of Jefferson's printing of Logan's famous speech. On the other hand, he did not eschew such definitely romantic ingredients as the fawn's leap, the Death-Song, the Indian hater, nor agree with those who pronounced the Indian a "dirty varmint." His narratives are distinctive for the faithfulness and accuracy which he tried to secure, though unlike Jones he did not supply bibliographical aids. Snelling regarded the Indian of the wilderness or the border as the proper subject of fiction; and, though thinking of the frontier as no sphere for purely romantic matter, he found it abundantly rich in fresh materials.

In architectonics, the stories are products of their times, for they are not free from anecdotal organization, from the envelope framework in which the story is an illustration of a theme, from the inclosure of tale within tale, from profusion of irrelevant incident, and from the oversimplicity of purely traditional material. They have weak structure,

in the criticism of which one may concur with Fullerton and Flanagan. Snelling was working with purely legendary material, but, unwilling to advance before the public as a mere recorder of Indian myths in a *Sketch Book* manner, he sought, though sometimes unsuccessfully, to give his stories definite tale characteristics. J. A. Jones, his predecessor in Indian legends, had, in contrast, reconciled himself to purely legendary structure and changed the title of the second edition of his *Tales to Traditions of the North American Indians* (1830).

But even if these defects keep Snelling from ranking with the best short story writers of the late thirties in technique and power, they do not prevent us from admiring his directness of approach, and his simplicity in sentence structure, a simplicity he probably mastered in preparation for his "Peter Parley" redaction of Lewis and Clark.

This edition is equipped with a brief sketch of the author's life and a critical survey of his works, for the most part sound. The claim of special neglect of Snelling, advanced by the editor, can probably not be sustained. His contemporaries in the short story, Irving excepted, cannot be said to have thrived, whether we think of Paulding, Dana, Stone, or Leggett; and his co-laborers in the fictional representation of the frontier and Indian life—James Hall, Timothy Flint, J. A. Jones—have suffered neglect. Silence has, however, been more profound concerning his work than that of the others, and the little volume before us is all the more welcome on that account.

University of Toledo.

G. H. ORIANS.

PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN: *Journal, 1775-1776*. Edited by Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Leonidas Dodson. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1934. xviii, 279 pp. \$3.50.

"The unique value of this journal," observe the editors in their Introduction, "lies in its intimate, objective picture of American back-country society in the opening months of the Revolution. Fithian, three years out of Princeton, travelled in Western Virginia and Pennsylvania as a sort of Presbyterian circuit rider . . . He took a lively interest in the men and women whom he met, and his descriptive powers and his sense of humor have saved us details of their mode of life which might otherwise have passed into oblivion."

There is little which a reviewer can add to this succinct statement of the value of the journal. Fithian was not, even potentially, a person of consequence, nor was he in touch with those who were. Hence, he tells little of the moving forces in the society of his day—he was never behind the scenes in any of the contemporary drama. But he does re-

port informally and at times rather vividly upon all that passed across the stage in the backcountry and (in the latter part of the *Journal*) among the patriot forces defending New York City in 1776. Hence he "provides valuable source material, and apt quotations for the social, economic, military, religious, and local historians. . . ."

The editors have not in any way inflated the reputation of their author, and anticipate most of the criticisms which may be made of him. Fithian was clearly something of a snob, "and with that quality went conceit." Possessed of the typical characteristics of the Presbyterian parson, he frequently takes refuge in "pious moralizing." He protests constantly against the discomforts of frontier travel, he recoils in fear from harmless Indians, and at New York he is apparently careful never to be caught under fire. As a missionary to the frontier, Fithian would have made a sorry comparison with even a mediocre Jesuit or Franciscan. In one respect, even his chief virtue—"his wide range of curiosity"—deserted him, for he omits all description of the German settlers who thronged much of the country visited. I am inclined to view this lapse more seriously than do the editors; since it appears that a more careful study of these "Pennsylvania Dutch"—still treated by contemporary historians in an incidental or condescending manner—may suggest new perspectives in the history of American agriculture and society.

Professors Albion and Dodson have done an excellent piece of editorial work in the preparation of the *Journal*. Identifications and other notes have been carefully prepared, but do not overburden the pages. The Introduction explains the relationship of this volume to earlier published sections of Fithian's diaries and affords the reader just the necessary preparation for reading the present selections. A map and comprehensive index are added.

Duke University.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

A NEW AMERICAN HISTORY. By W. E. Woodward. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1936. x, 900 pp. \$4.00.

The title of this book may fairly be interpreted both as an indictment and a promise: an indictment of books that add nothing new to those already in print, and a promise that the present book will not commit this sin of omission. Lacking suggestions from author and publishers, except that this history is unconventional and that it was prepared for the man in the street, the reader is left to discover for himself what freshness of factual matter, originality of interpretation, or superior skill of presentation has fulfilled the promise implied in the title.

The present reviewer has found nothing of importance either as to facts or as to their interpretation that has not already been published—much of it many times. Although such incidents as Oglethorpe's quarrel with a German prince, the career of Captain Kidd, and devices used in old Salem for detecting witches are seldom given so much space in one-volume histories of the United States, their inclusion necessarily crowds out adequate treatment of more important material. By including much that is bizarre and that has no apparent relationship to anything in the main current of American history, Mr. Woodward has used a principle of selection that has seldom been employed by writers of history. In this respect this history is somewhat unusual.

Interrupted by such sensational episodes, the narrative moves on about as in other histories except for the large number of errors and an unusual style. There is not space for a catalogue of outright mistakes, but among them are statements that "the most important feature of the battle of Shiloh is that it was fought in the state of Mississippi" (p. 537), and that only 30,000 families in the entire South owned any slaves at all (p. 494). Never before, in all probability, has so erroneous an account of the Dred Scott case been published (pp. 482-488). In addition to plain errors of fact, much distortion is accomplished by unqualified and hyperbolic statements.

This history is further distinguished by its unconventional style which at times is pungent and forceful but at other times lapses into transgressions against good taste as well as historical accuracy. One can hardly imagine Andrew Jackson as being so childish in his anger against Calhoun as to write "that he was sick and tired of him—or words to that effect—and desired to have nothing more to do with him" (p. 385). Nor does it ring quite true to say that "Mr. Yancey came home to Alabama, went to bed and died in the year 1863. Sensitive men may die of crushed illusions as indubitably as men die of cancer. Mr. Yancey was a sensitive man" (p. 528). Preston Brooks also was made to anticipate death by going to bed. Shortly after his attack on Sumner, so we are told, Brooks "took to his bed and lay there, in a state of abject melancholy . . . 'I shall go down in history as a bully,' he sighed wearily. Then he turned his face to the wall and died" (p. 480).

Mr. Woodward seems to believe that the man in the street prefers to have his history hotly seasoned with sensational episodes and unconventional language rather than to have it accurate. If this be true then *A New American History* is warmly recommended to the man in the street—but to no other.

Duke University.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

SHINE, PERISHING REPUBLIC: *Robinson Jeffers and the Tragic Sense in Modern Poetry*. By Rudolph Gilbert. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. [1936.] 197 pp. \$2.50.

Except for a few pamphlets and rather journalistic book reviews, there has been little or nothing available in the way of critical commentary upon the work of Robinson Jeffers. Certainly there is nothing to compare with the almost definitive treatment that his contemporary, T. S. Eliot, has received. This neglect of Jeffers, who is a far more ambitious and massive poet than Eliot, suggests how far American criticism of American poetry may be influenced by the distances, intellectual and spatial, between London and New York, and between New York and a tower at Carmel.

Mr. Gilbert's interesting study is an earnest, and probably, as far as it goes, a sound attempt to repair this neglect. But the current tradition of criticism, which is good enough for the small magnitudes of "minor" poetry, is hardly adequate for the larger magnitudes of a Jeffers. In an unphilosophical age, how is one to deal with a philosophical poet who writes an epical variety of poetry? Mr. Gilbert, struggling with the difficulty as best he may, organizes his study around Jeffers's saying that "humanity is the mold to break away from." Apparently this means that Jeffers is not anti-human so much as he is anti-humanistic. He thinks that modern civilization has brought us to a morbid and destructive species of introversion. In his metropolitan, scientific, and overcivilized aspect man has become infantile in his egoism. More specifically, his long attempt to exploit nature endlessly has led to his decline and defeat. The remedy is a new kind of extroversion. Man must become an unselfconscious thing of nature again, and in so doing will actually reaffirm the only enduring kind of humanity. Jeffers's "tragic sense" is thus a sense of the collapse of "modern values," or of the failure of man in his futile conflict with nature. But the brooding upon this theme which brought Wordsworth to tenderness and a sense of harmony carries Jeffers into a deep primordial darkness, out of which he comes to us with a system of ancient, primitive symbols—the hawk, the stallion, the stone, incest, and death—and a procession of horrors through which he tells us that suffering is purification, or that, as in "Solstices," mother nature will slay her children rather than surrender them to defilement.

This thesis Mr. Gilbert supports at length, with interesting interpretations of Jeffers's mysticism and symbolism, and with a good deal of comment (not always well organized) upon the poems themselves. He performs a considerable service in emphasizing and illuminating certain key-passages in Jeffers's poetry and in suggesting, for the timid,

the artistic justification of the parade of horrors. But Mr. Gilbert has hardly done more than open up and define the field of critical speculation; he has not as yet possessed it and surveyed it.

Vanderbilt University.

DONALD DAVIDSON.

PITTSBURGH'S POST-GAZETTE: "*The First Newspaper West of the Alleghenies.*" By J. Cutler Andrews. Boston: Chapman and Grimes. [1936.] vii, 324 pp. \$2.00.

Dr. Andrews has made a valuable addition to the short list of scholarly histories of American newspapers. Instead of merely treating the paper as a transmitter of news, he has aimed "to portray the contribution that the *Pittsburgh Gazette* under its various names has made to the history of the Pittsburgh district and of the country at large." Beginning with an account of the founding of the *Gazette* in 1786 in the log-cabin village around Fort Pitt, Dr. Andrews shows step by step how the paper voiced its editors' conceptions of the needs of the community in the course of its development from frontier village to industrial metropolis. During the first half century of its existence the paper properly stressed the need for better means of communication—at first, roads to the East and the right of navigating the Mississippi to New Orleans, and, later, canals and railroads. Politically, it supported the new Federal Constitution in 1787 and 1788 in a region which was hostile to the document, and remained staunchly Federalist even when its sponsor and chief contributor, H. H. Brackenridge, went over to Jeffersonian Republicanism and established an opposition paper. After the passing of the Federalists, it was in turn Whig, Antimasonic, and then Whig again. After having been moderately opposed to slavery for years, it became one of the early supporters of the new Republican party and of Abraham Lincoln. During the Civil War it was unswerving in its loyalty to the Union cause. After the war it consistently voiced the political and economic attitudes of the big-business and Republican combination.

Although Dr. Andrews properly concentrates on the attitude of the *Gazette* toward economic and political issues, he gives valuable information on many other topics. Students of American literature will be particularly interested in the information about three early Western writers—H. H. Brackenridge, Morgan Neville, and James Hall—and in the considerable amount of material concerning dramatic criticism in the *Gazette*. They will regret, however, that the author did not utilize the advertising of books in the early years in order to show something about the diffusion of literature in the early West. Except for this omission there is little to criticize in this authoritative and well-written book.

Michigan State College.

CLAUDE M. NEWLIN.

BRIEF MENTION

MOVEMENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By George H. Mead. Edited by Merritt H. Moore. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [1936.] xxxix, 519 pp. \$5.00.

It was not fair to put into cold print the lectures of the late George H. Mead, a stimulating teacher of undergraduates at the University of Chicago. In print they must be judged as print, and they do not stand the test. According to the editor of the volume, "Mr. Mead had a very effective teaching habit of advancing cyclically through his subject matter. The result was a good deal of repetition." As a teaching habit in a course based on movements and chronology, going round and round has its dangers; as a method of exposition in a book, it is fatally confusing and irritating. With each step forward, one slips back half a step, often without knowing it. Nor is this all. These stenographic reports are in general exceedingly wordy, commonplace, and, save for scattered passages, hopelessly dull. It is difficult to understand how John Dewey, his master, could have denominated Mead's "a seminal mind of the very first order." Certainly this book is not an expression of such a mind.

Under the circumstances, it seems gratuitous to mention the total absence of discussion of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, John Henry Newman and the Oxford Movement. America is represented almost solely by James and Dewey. A good one-volume book on nineteenth-century thought is still needed.

N. F.

HORACE GREELEY AND THE *Tribune* IN THE CIVIL WAR. By Ralph Ray Fahrney, Ph.D. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1936. 229 pp. \$2.50.

This slender volume proposes in its Introduction to show that during the Civil War Greeley followed "a fairly consistent policy cleverly bent and altered at intervals," and to suggest that as editor of the *Tribune* he was able at times to "mold public sentiment more effectively than even the President." The author hardly succeeds in convincing the reader of these avowed opinions. On the contrary, his accurate account convinces one that Greeley's chief consistency as a critic of national affairs, aside from hysterical pessimism, was his clumsy uncertainty, and that his power in molding public opinion steadily waned after 1860. As a history of a newspaper's shifts and turns under the editorship of a

journalist "half-insane" after Manassas and erratic throughout the Civil War, the book contains interesting and valuable material.

Teachers College, Florence, Alabama.

ROY P. BASLER.

BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA: *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America from Its Discovery to the Present Time.* Part CLXXII, Zubly to Zwey. Begun by Joseph Sabin, Continued by Wilberforce Eames, and Completed by R. W. G. Vail for the Bibliographical Society of America. New York: 476 Fifth Avenue. 1936. pp. 293-305, i-xxi.

The final instalment of Sabin's bibliography, with its thousands of entries for American literature, has now appeared—eighty years after the project began. The present portion includes various appendices dealing with the history and method of the famous enterprise, as well as a series of notes and lists of various items important for the study of the bibliography of the Western world (pp. xiii-xxi). Up to Volume XXI (1929) the general policy of the work was that of Sabin, who undertook to include "everything dealing with the political, governmental, military, economic, social, and religious history of the Western Hemisphere from the discovery of the New World" to the date of publication.

With Volume XXI the titles were restricted, "for the most part, to entries published not later than 1876," early newspapers being omitted as well as broadsides printed after 1800. In 1932 a further restriction in scope was found to be necessary; and after part 130 "practically all titles published after 1860 were omitted," along with minor sermons printed after 1800, government publications, unimportant town, county, and state material, publications of commercial companies other than railroads, after 1830, and *general poetry, drama, and fiction after 1800*. By 1933 still further restrictions were esteemed to be necessary; and with part 141, with a few exceptions, no titles were included after the year 1840.

Despite the limitation of the scope of Sabin the labors of the continuators have been heart-breaking and their financial support insufficient. The many researchers in the field of American literature who have already profited by their efforts will acknowledge with gratitude the devotion which has made possible the completion of such a huge task.

C. G.

THE IDYLL OF BROOK FARM: *As Revealed by Unpublished Letters in the Boston Public Library.* By Zoltán Haraszti. Boston: Trustees of the Public Library. [1937.] 46 pp. \$.25.

This pamphlet is a reprint of Mr. Haraszti's article included in the February and March (1937) issues of *More Books*. The unpublished

letters, written to John S. Dwight, supply much new material on the life and activities of the Roxbury association. It is now apparent that at the outset many of the transcendentalists who had no direct connections with the Farm sought to learn the particulars of life there by applying to Dwight for information. Additions are made also to the knowledge which we possess of the troubles of the institution during its later days—the so-called Fourerite period.

C. G.

THE TIME OF YEATS: *English Poetry of To-Day against an American Background*. By Cornelius Weygandt. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company. [1937]. xiii, 460 pp. \$2.75.

The American connections come in chiefly in the first chapter, in which the author briefly describes "the American Invasion." Whitman, he asserts, "had much to do with breaking the mold of Victorian poetry."

C. G.

MYTHOLOGY AND THE ROMANTIC TRADITION IN ENGLISH POETRY. ("Harvard Studies in English," Vol. XVIII.) By Douglas Bush. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1937. xvi, 647 pp. \$5.00.

This book, which is complete in itself, is a sequel to Professor Bush's *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry* (1932). That volume stopped at 1680; the new one covers the period from 1680 to 1935. Of the fifteen chapters, one deals with the eighteenth century, two with "From the Nineties to the Present," one with "American Poets" (pp. 481-525), and the rest with the Romantic and Victorian poets. The Appendix includes a "Register of Mythological Poems," of which pp. 577-592 deal with the United States. Professor Bush has dealt briefly but significantly with a neglected aspect of American literature. Too many young scholars who know Anglo-Saxon and Middle English but not Greek and Latin will eventually find their equipment for research in our field inadequate. Professor Bush considers American mythological poetry decidedly inferior to the English. "While in England, all through the century, a number of poets, great and less great, gave romantic Hellenism a series of fresh starts, in the United States a swarm of small versifiers went on decade after decade playing the same tunes, that is, the tunes of the last or the next to the last generation of English writers" (pp. 482-483). "Of the American poets of his time Emerson is the only one who seems to have an authentic spark of the mythological imagination, the only one who really heard the gods talk in the breath of the woods and the shaken pine" (pp. 486-487).

The explanation of the English superiority Professor Bush finds in the fact that in England the classical tradition has never been the exclusive property of scholars and so writers have always felt the living presence of ancient literature, whereas in the United States, as Clarence Day has put it, only

Professors in New England guard
The glory that was Greece.

Of the stock argument "that American culture and art need nothing but native resources," Professor Bush remarks, ". . . one can only wonder what would have become of western Europe if it had taken that attitude toward its Graeco-Roman heritage" (p. 483). He gives considerable space to the modern poets, especially H. D., T. S. Eliot, and Robinson Jeffers. "H. D.," he says, "has disciplined her technique more than her poetic character." A "somewhat monotonous and turbid romantic emotionalism" throws doubt upon the authenticity of her Hellenism. Euripides is too tame for her. She translates his "the waters of far-famed Arethusa near the sea":

Arethusa twists among the boulders
Increases—cuts into the surf (p. 499).

He suggests that Irving Babbitt would have needed to go no farther than Robinson Jeffers "for an example *par excellence* of the nihilistic death-spasms of the romantic tradition." "Most Greeks," he concludes, "would have considered him an unbalanced barbarian" (p. 525).

BOOKS AND BATTLES: *American Literature, 1920-1930*. By Irene and Allen Cleaton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. xviii, 282 pp. \$3.00.

"The nineteen-twenties," say the authors of this entertaining book, "were the most exciting decade in American literature" (p. xiii). "If the literature of the 'twenties can be described in a phrase, that phrase is revolt against Puritanism and Victorianism" (p. 3). An exciting decade of revolt the twenties undoubtedly were, as most of us well remember; and the decade is now coming into something like proper historical perspective. The Cleatons, trying "to strike a mean between the entertaining and the important," have given a vivid picture of the twenties, mainly as seen in New York, Boston, and Chicago. They emphasize the fact that "this book is not a 'complete' history of the 'twenties.'" In fact, very little is said about poetry and the drama. There is, however, a great deal about the novelists—particularly Sinclair Lewis, James Branch Cabell, and F. Scott Fitzgerald—the magazines, including those published in Europe; John S. Sumner and the Boston

Watch and Ward Society; writers' parties; literary journalists; Greenwich Village; and sex literature. A concluding chapter entitled "Sobering Up" closes the picture with the coming of the depression and with the younger writers going over to the Left-wing faction. As a literary history, the book has serious shortcomings; as a picture of what might be called literary society, it is admirable.

SOUTHERN TREASURY OF LIFE AND LITERATURE. Selected by Stark Young. New York, etc.: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1937.] xx, 748 pp. \$1.48.

Within its limits this is an excellent anthology. Something less than two hundred pages are given to the period before the Civil War, but a number of the selections from the later writers deal with the ante-bellum period. There are one or two selections from European travel books, which might have supplied much more material. The selections are chosen with admirable literary taste. I do not know where one could find a better group of selections from the recent literature of the South. The notes are in the main excellent. Occasionally Mr. Young has not indicated the particular book from which his selection is taken. There are a few errors which ought to be corrected in future editions. P. 34, it is not accurate to say that "Kennedy wrote the fourth chapter of Volume II" of Thackeray's *The Virginians*. P. 189, Chivers, according to S. Foster Damon, was born in 1809 and not in 1807. P. 531, the date of E. A. Alderman's death should be given. Pp. xviii, 691, "Paul Elliot Green" should be "Paul Eliot Green." P. 127, Simms's Revolutionary Romances, six in number, do not constitute a "trilogy."

ROBERT FROST: *A Bibliography*. By W. B. Shubrick Clymer and Charles R. Green. Foreword by David Lambuth. Amherst, Mass.: The Jones Library, Inc. 1937. 159 pp.

This excellent bibliography, upon which its compilers have worked for something like six years, is of great value not only to collectors but to scholars. Besides detailed descriptions of Mr. Frost's separate books, it includes material under the following heads: "First Appearance of Poems in Periodicals," "First Appearance of Poems in Books" other than Mr. Frost's, "Readings of Poetry on Victrola Records," "Separate Printings," "Prose," "Translations and Appreciations in Foreign Languages," "Parodies," "Books Dedicated to Robert Frost," selected lists of essays and reviews in books and periodicals, and a "Chronology" of Mr. Frost's life and chief publications. There is also an "Index to Poems," which makes it easy to follow the history of each published poem.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY. By Karl Yost. With an Essay in Appreciation by Harold Lewis Cook. Introductions and Three Poems by Edna St. Vincent Millay. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1937. vii, 248 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Yost's excellent bibliography, which is indexed, is constructed upon much the same plan as the Frost bibliography. He includes, however, not merely first but all appearances of poems in periodicals. Pp. 154-155 list the poems which have been given musical settings. Mr. Cook's essay (pp. 7-55) gives a better account of Miss Millay's poetic development than is perhaps to be found elsewhere, but he seems to me claiming too much—even for one of the best of contemporary poets—when he closes his essay with the following sentence: "Criticism, weighing the variety of theme, the plane of the emotion and its truth, the nobility of expression in Miss Millay's finest work, must find that work unmatched by that of any woman poet in the history of any literature" (p. 55). In an Appendix (pp. 59-61) to Mr. Cook's essay are given a few of Miss Millay's juvenile poems.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS AND CRITICISMS OF EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. By Lillian Lippincott. Boston: The F. W. Faxon Company. 1937. 86 pp. \$1.50.

The nature of this excellent bibliography is indicated in the compiler's Preface: "To the student of Edwin Arlington Robinson, this bibliography gives references to the photographs of the poet, his prose, the criticism of his poetry, and the history of his poems. The references to his photographs include portraits, caricatures, drawings, camera studies, and a woodcut. His prose consists of letters, forewords, introductions to books, a definition of poetry, an explanation of the difficulties of his first seven years in the writing of poetry, and an appreciation of the aims of the MacDowell Colony. The references to criticism include articles in books and magazines as well as unpublished theses. The history of Robinson's poems shows where the poem was first published, and whether Robinson considered it of sufficient merit to include in the Collected Edition."

COLLECTED POEMS OF EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. xii, 1498 pp. \$3.00.

The new edition of Robinson's *Collected Poems* includes nearly five hundred pages of poems not included in the 1929 edition. It includes the contents of *The Glory of the Nightingales* (1930), *Matthias at the Door* (1931), *Nicodemus* (1932), *Taliſer* (1933), *Amaranth* (1934), and *King Jasper* (1935).

NEXT DOOR TO A POET. By Rollo Walter Brown. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1937. 98 pp. \$1.50.

The poet of this book is Edwin Arlington Robinson, with whom Mr. Brown became acquainted at the MacDowell Colony in 1923. Mr. Brown has succeeded admirably in giving one a vivid impression of the shy and silent poet; and he quotes some significant observations of the poet upon his own work and that of other poets. For example, "Emerson wrote some of the purest poetry we have in America—though not a great deal of it" (p. 37). Of Elinor Wylie: "I can't say that I cared so much for some of her first work. It impressed me as being brittle. But somewhere along the way toward the end she struck fire" (p. 38). Of another contemporary (Edna St. Vincent Millay?) he remarked: "Yes, she's a poet. But I wish she would write about something besides love and rain" (p. 37).

SELECTED POEMS. By Witter Bynner. Edited by Robert Hunt. With a Critical Preface by Paul Horgan. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1936. lxxvi, 259, vii pp. \$2.50.

As a precedent for what he has done Mr. Hunt refers to "Matthew Arnold's belief that the poetry of Wordsworth and Byron gained stature, beyond bulk, by being sympathetically edited." The novelty in such a procedure of course is that it is applied to the work of a living poet. Mr. Hunt has made his selections with admirable judgment and taste. His Editor's Foreword is an excellent account of Mr. Bynner's poetic development. Mr. Horgan's Critical Preface contains an illuminating analysis of the title poem in Mr. Bynner's *Eden Tree* (1931). Many contemporary poets would gain from having their work reduced to such a volume as this by so able an editor as Mr. Hunt.

THE POETRY OF EZRA POUND. ("Radcliffe Honors Theses in English," No. 5.) By Alice Steiner Admur. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1936. 106 pp.

The conclusions reached by Miss Admur in her excellent essay are suggested in her Preface: "I see the development of Ezra Pound as the story of a man with an extraordinary flair for language and music who, after achieving mastery in a certain type of lyric and translation, deserted the field of pure art to campaign for a variety of other causes, and has buried his poetry beneath an ever growing mass of propaganda" (p. 5).

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE. Compiled and Edited by Sir Paul Harvey. Second Edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. viii, 912 pp. \$5.00.

"In this edition a general revision has been made and new entries have been added where these were felt to be necessary. Appendices are included, consisting of articles on the Censorship of the press and drama and on Copyright, and of a Perpetual Calendar, which it is hoped may be of value to students" (Preface to Second Edition). The American material in this useful book of reference (first published in 1932) needs considerable revision. The latest book of Robert Frost to be mentioned is *West-Running Brook* (1928). This reviewer is still wondering, as he wondered when he reviewed the earlier edition, why Percival Lowell is included but not Amy Lowell.

A DICTIONARY OF SLANG AND UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH: *Slang—Including the Language of the Underworld, Colloquialisms and Catch-Phrases, Solecisms and Catachreses, Nicknames, Vulgarisms, and Such Americanisms as Have Been Naturalized*. By Eric Partridge. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. xvi, 999 pp. \$12.50.

"This dictionary, at which I have worked harder than (I hope, but would not swear) I shall ever work again and which incorporates the results of a close observation of colloquial speech for many years, is designed to form a humble companion to the monumental *Oxford English Dictionary*, from which I am proud to have learnt a very great amount.

"*A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, i. e. of linguistically unconventional English, should be of interest to word-lovers; but it should also be useful to the general as well as the cultured reader, to the scholar and the linguist, to the foreigner and the American. I have, in fact, kept the foreigner as well as the English-speaker in mind; and I have often compared British with American usage. In short, the field is of all English other than standard and other than dialectal" (Preface).

This is a work of great value to students of English literature and language and of considerable interest to students of American speech. When shall we have a comparable work on American English?

ON JOURNEY. By Vida Dutton Scudder. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. [1937.] 445 pp. \$4.00.

This is an unusually interesting biography of a former teacher of English in Wellesley College. Miss Scudder is a contemporary of Bliss

Perry, but her life has been very different from that which he so fascinatingly recounted in *And Gladly Teach* (1935). A native New Englander and the daughter of a missionary, she was born in India. Her uncle on one side was E. P. Dutton the publisher; on the other side, Horace E. Scudder, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Miss Scudder gives an interesting account of her undergraduate years at Smith College and of a postgraduate year at Oxford, where she came under the influence of Ruskin, then lecturing there. Her account of her teaching at Wellesley from 1887 to 1927 is full of wise and candid comment upon an art in which she must have excelled. Her special field was the Middle Ages, but she taught courses in nearly every field. Always too busy with other things to take a Ph.D. degree, she expresses her belief that "Research . . . should never be attempted till the great masterpieces have become part of the blood and bone; a principle which if adopted would deal a deathblow I fear to many a dissertation in America" (p. 125). Much of the book is taken up with Miss Scudder's account of her "quest for reality," which took her into settlement work, socialism, and the study of St. Francis of Assisi.

COLLECTED POEMS OF FLORENCE CONVERSE. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1937. 224 pp. \$2.50.

The best guide to the understanding of these poems is Vida Scudder's *On Journey*, which is dedicated to Miss Converse, who in turn dedicates her *Collected Poems* to Miss Scudder.

THE NEW REPUBLIC ANTHOLOGY: 1915-1935. Edited by Groff Conklin. Introduction by Bruce Bliven. New York: Dodge Publishing Company. [1936.] xlii, 566 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Conklin, one of the editors of *The Smart Set Anthology* (1934), has brought together many of the best things that have appeared in the *New Republic*. Literature bulks rather larger in the anthology than in the files of the magazine. The reviewer recommends to all who have not read it George Santayana's "Shakespeare: Made in America," which contains a Shakespearean sonnet "plucked of all its Elizabethan feathers" and recast in American English.

SEVEN YEARS' HARVEST: *Notes on Contemporary Literature*. By Henry Seidel Canby. New York: Farrar & Rinehart. [1936.] x, 310 pp. \$2.50.

In this volume the former editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* has reprinted, almost without change, the best of his editorial articles

which appeared during the years of the depression. The introductory chapter, "The Twenties and Thirties," is an excellent characterization of recent American literature.

FORAYS AND REBUTTALS. By Bernard DeVoto. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. xiv, 403 pp. \$3.00.

The present editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* has collected certain essays which originally appeared in that magazine, *Harper's*, and the *American Mercury*. Among them are "New England: There She Stands," "The Co-eds: God Bless Them," "The Skeptical Biographer," "The Centennial of Mormonism," "Mark Twain: The Ink of History," and "Mark Twain and the Limits of Criticism."

IN THE AMERICAN JUNGLE: [1925-1936]. By Waldo Frank. New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart. [1937.] xiv, 302 pp. \$2.50.

This collection of Mr. Frank's essays and sketches, selected by his friend Harold Clurman, includes material published in magazines since the appearance of *Salvos* (1924), a similar collection. Among the essays included are "I Discover the New World," "Randolph Bourne," "Sherwood Anderson," "Hart Crane," "Mr. Mencken, King of the Philistines," "The Artist in Our Jungle," "Poe at Last," "France and Thoreau," "The 'Universe' of T. S. Eliot," and "The Writer's Part in the Social Revolution."

GOOD NEWS FROM VIRGINIA. By Alexander Whitaker. New York: Scholars' Facsimilies & Reprints. 1936. \$1.50.

Good Neues from Virginia, by "the Apostle of Virginia," originally appeared in London in 1613. The facsimile, including W. Crashawe's long introduction, was made from the originals now owned by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach and the Huntington Library.

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE: Or *A Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies*. Reproduced from the Original Edition, Philadelphia, 1741. With a Bibliographical Note by Lyon N. Richardson. New York: Published for The Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press. 1937. 141 pp. \$2.00.

THE POWER OF SYMPATHY. By William Hill Brown. Reproduced from the First Edition. With a Bibliographical Note by Milton Ellis. New York: Published for The Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press. Two Volumes. 1937. x, 138, 158 pp. \$2.60.

Scholars will welcome these two publications of The Facsimile Text Society, for both of the originals are scarce. The facsimile of Andrew

Bradford's *American Magazine*, of which only three numbers appeared, has been made from copies in the libraries of Brown University, the New York Historical Society, and the Library of Congress, no one of which possesses a complete file. *The Power of Sympathy*, the first American novel, was twice reprinted in 1894, but copies are difficult to find. The bibliographical introductions by Professors Richardson and Ellis are admirable in every respect.

RUDYARD KIPLING IN NEW ENGLAND. By Howard C. Rice. Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Daye Press. 1936. 39 pp. \$1.50.

Reprinted, with corrections and additions, from the *New England Quarterly* for September, 1936.

SOME CONVERSATIONS OF DR. FRANKLIN AND MR. JAY: *Being the First Publication of a Manuscript Written by John Jay in Paris during 1783-1784*. With an Introductory Essay on *Dr. Franklin & Mr. Jay* by Frank Monaghan of Yale University in New Haven, Conn. New Haven, Conn.: The Three Monks Press. 1936. 17 pp.

The selections from Jay's diary record conversations with Franklin. Mr. Monaghan's introduction combats the traditional notion that Jay shared John Adams's hostility to Franklin.

ON RICHARD HENRY DANA & TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST. By James Johnson. San Francisco, Calif.: The Windsor Press. 1936. 27 pp. \$2.50.

A well-written appreciative essay.

PROUST AND SANTAYANA: *The Aesthetic Way of Life*. By Van Meter Ames. Chicago and New York: Willett, Clark & Company. 1937. x, 176 pp. \$2.00.

"This book is the result of years of reading Proust and Santayana and thinking about aesthetics under their influence. The essay on Mr. Santayana was given its present form for the Philosophy Club at Austin, Texas, but was originally written by my wife on the basis of conversations with him in Rome in 1932" (Author's Note). The essay contains important materials for an understanding of Santayana.

GEORGE SANTAYANA: *An American Philosopher in Exile*. By Cyril Clemens. With a Foreword by Joseph F. Thorning, S.J. Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society. 1937. 6 pp.

An interview with Santayana containing the author's comments on *The Last Puritan*, William James, Santayana's childhood, etc.

THE CHISHOLM TRAIL: *A History of the World's Greatest Cattle Trail, Together with a Description of the Persons, a Narrative of the Events, and Reminiscences Associated with the Same.* Illustrated. By Sam P. Ridings. Guthrie, Okla.: Co-operative Publishing Company. 591 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Ridings, one of the few living men who ever rode up the old Chisholm Trail, has obviously taken great pains to collect the material for this volume, which gives the history of the famous trail along with many related matters. There are many illustrations and a map showing the location of the Chisholm Trail.

GUIDE TO BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THESES, UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Compiled by Thomas R. Palfrey and Henry E. Coleman, Jr. Chicago: American Library Association. 1936. 48 pp. \$1.00.

The material in this useful list is classified both by departments and by institutions.

SUMMARIES OF THESES ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY [at Harvard University] 1935. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University. 1937. x, 393 pp.

There are detailed summaries of two dissertations on American subjects: Robert Forbes Almy, *The Rôle of the Club in American Literary History, 1700-1812* (pp. 265-268) and Robert Bechtold Heilman, *The English Novel, 1760-1800 and the American Revolution* (pp. 271-274).

THE TAIL OF THE COMET. By Mary Cable Dennis. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. 1937. 189 pp. \$2.50.

Mrs. Dennis's reminiscences deal mainly with her father, George W. Cable, and her husband, Alfred Dennis, the historian. There is a long letter (pp. 47-50) from Cable to Richard Watson Gilder describing the sufferings of the Cables during the yellow fever epidemic of 1878.

HOW WRITERS WRITE: *Essays by Contemporary Authors.* Edited by Nettie S. Tillett. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Publishers. [1937.] 222 pp. \$2.00.

A group of essays concerned with the art of writing. American authors included are Edith Wharton, Ellen Glasgow, Paul Green, and William Ellery Leonard.

SUT LOVINGOOD TRAVELS WITH OLD ABE LINCOLN. By George Washington Harris. Introduction by Edd Winfield Parks. Chicago: The Black Cat Press. 1937. 44 pp.

These sketches, which first appeared in the *Nashville Union and American* in February and March, 1861, were not included in Harris's *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* (1867). Dr. Parks has written an excellent Introduction and a Textual and Bibliographical Note.

REPUBLICAN NEWSPAPERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. ("Southern Sketches," First Series, No. 10.) By Robert H. Woody. Charlottesville, Va.: The Historical Publishing Co., Inc. 1936. 60 pp. \$.75.

An excellent study of newspaper activities in Reconstruction South Carolina.

WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW: *Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands*. By E. Merton Coulter. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1937. xii, 432 pp. \$3.50.

This excellent historical study deals with a region of the Old South which has been somewhat neglected: the Southern Appalachians. Parson Brownlow was once one of the best known figures in American politics. If he has been forgotten, it is because, as Professor Coulter phrases it, he "created a vast disturbance, but he produced nothing lasting." "In ante-bellum times he was the fiery parson and editor who unloosed in the name of Christianity a terrible flood of epithets and personal abuse against the Presbyterians and the Baptists; during the war he toured the North as a martyr to the cause of Unionism in the South and talked himself into a small fortune; after the war he became an avenging crusader for the holy cause of Radical reconstruction and set up in Tennessee a regime of violence and vengeance which stunned the South and produced misgivings in the minds of even such Northerners as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner" (pp. v-vi).

PRIMITIVISM AND DECADENCE: *A Study of American Experimental Poetry*. By Yvor Winters. New York: Arrow Editions. [1937.] xiv, 146 pp. \$2.50.

"This study," says Mr. Winters in his prefatory Note, "originally began as a sympathetic elucidation of the methods of the Experimental poets; it developed of necessity into an elucidation of their shortcomings" (p. xi). Whether or not the reader agrees with Mr. Winters, he is certain to enjoy many of his shrewd and sensible comments on the va-

rious poets whom he quotes, particularly Robinson Jeffers, T. S. Eliot, and H. D. The scope of the book is indicated by the titles of the five chapters which it contains: "The Morality of Poetry," "The Experimental School," "Poetic Convention," "Primitivism and Decadence," and "The Influence of Meter on Poetic Convention."

CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE *New York Times*. Compiled and Published by Frances E. Sabin. [1936.] 48 pp. \$1.00. (For sale by the author, 26 East 10th Street, New York City.)

The author states that she has compiled this collection to prove "that in order to read even a daily newspaper intelligently one must be able to interpret classical allusions . . ." The pamphlet contains an index and a number of illustrations.

A SONG CATCHER IN SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS: *American Folk Songs of British Ancestry*. By Dorothy Scarborough. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. xviii, 476 pp. \$4.50.

On her death in November, 1935, Miss Scarborough left the manuscript of this book complete except for a last revision. Two of her Columbia friends, John H. H. Lyon and Vernon Loggins, gave the manuscript its final revision and saw the book through the press. In Part One Miss Scarborough describes in the manner of her earlier *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs* her experiences while collecting songs and ballads in the Southern mountain region. Part Two is given to American versions of British ballads in the Child collection. Part Three deals with songs, some of which perhaps might equally well be classified as popular ballads. Pp. 385-457 contain the music for many of the songs and ballads represented. In an appendix Miss Elna Sherman contributes a brief essay entitled "Modal Aspects."

MAKERS OF AMERICA: *Significant Factors in the Ancestry and Social Inheritance of Leading Americans—A Study of the Lives of Sixty-three Persons Elected to the American Hall of Fame, from the Point of View of Their Heredity, Social and Economic Status, Education, Religion and Moral Training, in an Attempt to Discover Significant Factors in Their Early Years*. By Hugh Anderson Moran, Ph.D. Ithaca, New York. 1936.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: *A Handbook*. Indianapolis, Ind.: Published for The Conference of Historical Societies. 1936. vi, 136 pp. \$1.50.

ROBERT FROST AND THE SOUND OF SENSE

ROBERT S. NEWDICK
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WITH T. S. Eliot's recent absorption in the verse play, with Maxwell Anderson's success in that genre both on the boards and in the movies, and with Archibald MacLeish's experiments in *Panic* in the theater and *The Fall of the City* on the radio, the most striking phenomenon in the poetry of the day is unquestionably the general renaissance of the poetic drama after its untroubled sleep of some thirty years. And except for the discussion of the place of propaganda in literature, the air of literary criticism these days is most challengingly filled with discussions of the knotty problems of accurately and effectively transcribing in verse the actual speech of the present. Perhaps, therefore, it may be in order to recall to a generation of intense but self-absorbed younger dramatic poets the wisdom of Robert Frost, and to do so by stating and tracing the development of the central point of his *ars poetica*, for Frost has addressed himself for forty-odd years primarily to the fundamental problems involved in capturing in poetry the full range of tones in the speech of living men and women.

Frost came to himself as a young man at the remarkably youthful age of fifteen; at seventeen he had realized his calling in life to be poetry; at twenty he had determined upon the particular road he was to follow; and he traveled it for nearly two decades before his achievement was acclaimed as it deserved to be. He came to himself when he began penetratingly to read for himself; and though he read both widely and intensively and found much to admire, he never came under the dominating influence of any poet English or American except Shakespeare. Shortly after beginning to read for himself he began to write verses; and by 1892, when he wrote "My Butterfly" and other pieces he still chooses to stand by, he knew that henceforth his first allegiance was to poetry.

As for the particular road he was to follow, there is more to be said. In a manner of speaking, it all grew out of William Hayes Ward's buying "My Butterfly" for his New York *Independent* in 1894. Ward accompanied his cheque for fifteen dollars with a

letter of commendation, and then and later counseled Frost to give his days and nights to the study of Sidney Lanier, whose verse he had often printed some twenty years earlier. What the youth of nineteen found in Lanier's poetry and literary criticism was not to his liking. He therefore refused to take that road, and Ward thereupon gave him up.

Meanwhile, however, Ward had written to a friend of his in Lawrence, the Rev. Mr. William A. Wolcott, suggesting that Wolcott look the young man up. Wolcott liked Frost despite his quiet stubbornness, won his confidence, and before long they were discussing his poems. One point that the clergyman made was that the tone of the verses was too much like that of talk.

That observation was to Frost like the drop of acid that magically brings down the precipitate from a chemical solution, for the tone of talk was precisely what he had been striving for without being quite conscious of it. Now he realized what he had taken particular delight in when he met it on the printed page, but what in the vast stretches of poetry he found more remarkable for its absence than for its presence: tones of voice. Now he realized, too, what he had found most offensive in Lanier: the underlying concept of the aptness of musical notation for verse, a concept resulting in poetry in which, as Frost phrased it later, "all the tones of the human voice in natural speech are entirely eliminated, leaving the sound of sense without root in experience." And now, finally, he realized what had drawn him summer after summer to work on farms in southern New Hampshire: the fascination of the sound of sense in language whose strong roots drove far down into the rich soil of really vital human experience.

So one of the unobtrusive but really revolutionary aspects of his first important book—its emphasis on living speech—is properly to be regarded only against a background of principle and practice to which the poet devoted himself for twenty years before winning the applause of fellow artists and of the poetry-reading public.

In speaking of this central principle Frost at different times has used different phrases, such as "sentence-sound," "sound-posture," "vocal-gesture," "the sound of sense," etc. Nevertheless, the principle itself has remained constant in his mind. But because the principle strikes more deeply and embraces much more than simply a conversational manner in verse, it may be well at this point to

extend merely vague and general apprehension of the principle to more nearly exact and thorough comprehension of it. And it will be well also to conduct as much as possible of the exposition in the words of the poet-critic himself, though it should be observed at the outset that, unlike a number of younger contemporary poets, Frost has not formally entered the lists of literary criticism by writing *in extenso* of his principles and practices, and that therefore an adequate statement of any one of those principles or practices must necessarily be a mosaic of phrases and sentences and points made by the poet in converse with groups or individuals and afterwards reported—often imperfectly—by listeners.

In the long interview Frost granted to W. S. Braithwaite in the spring of 1915, shortly after his return from three triumphant years in England, the poet spoke, something as follows, of what he means by "the sound of sense":

Before I give you the details in proof of its importance, in fact of its essential place in the writing of the highest poetry, let me quote these lines from Emerson's "Monadnock" where almost in a particular manner he sets forth unmistakably what I mean:

"Now in sordid weeds they sleep,
In dulness now their secret keep;
Yet, will you learn our ancient speech,
These the masters who can teach.
Fourscore or a hundred words
All their vocal muse affords;
But they turn them in a fashion
Past clerks' or statesmen's art or passion.
I can spare the college bell,
And the learned lecture, well;
Spare the clergy and the libraries,
Institutes and dictionaries,
For what hardy Saxon root
Thrives here, unvalued, underfoot.
Rude poets of the tavern hearth,
Squandering your unquoted mirth,
Which keeps the ground, and never soars,
While Dick retorts, and Reuben roars:
Scoff of yeomen strong and stark,
Goes like bullet to its mark;
While the solid curse and jeer
Never baulk the waiting year."

Understand these lines perfectly and you will understand what I mean when I call this principle "sound-posturing," or, more literally, getting the sound of sense.

What we get in life and miss so often in literature is the sentence sounds that underlie the words. . . . [L]et us take the example of two people who are talking to each other on the other side of a closed door, whose voices can be heard but whose words cannot be distinguished. Even though the words do not carry, the sound of them does, and the listener can catch the meaning of the conversation. This is because every meaning has a particular sound-posture, or, to put it in another way, the sense of every meaning has a particular sound which each individual is instinctively familiar with. . . .¹

Then he illuminated the matter of the sound of sense by rapidly sketching its historical development in primitive and savage society, by suggesting the basic explanation of the inadequacy of all translations, by pointing out the essential nature of folk-speech, etc.:

If we go back far enough we will discover that the sound of sense existed before words, that something in the voice or vocal gesture made primitive man convey a meaning to his fellow before the race developed a more elaborate and concrete symbol of communication in language.

I have even read that our American Indians possessed besides a picture-language a means of communication, though it was not said how far it was developed, by the sound of sense. And what is this but calling up with the imagination, and recognizing, the images of sound.

To carry this idea a little further: It does not seem possible to me that a man can read on the printed page what he has never heard, Nobody today knows how to read Homer and Virgil perfectly, because the people who spoke Homer's Greek and Virgil's Latin are as dead as the sound of their language. On the other hand, to further emphasize the impossibility of words rather than sound conveying the sense of meaning, take the matter of translation. Really to understand and catch all that is embodied in a foreign masterpiece it must be read in the original because while the words may be brought over, the tone cannot be.

In the matter of poetry there is a subtle differentiation between sound and the sound of sense which ought to be perfectly understood. . . . [T]he beginning of literary form is in some turn given to the sentence in folk speech. Art is the amplification and sophistication of the proverbial turns of speech. All folk speech is musical. In primitive conditions man has not at his aid reactions by which he can quickly and easily

¹ "Robert Frost, New American Poet," *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 8, 1915, Part Three, pp. 4, 10.

convey his ideas and emotions. Consequently he has to think more deeply to call up the image for the communication of his meaning. It was the actuality he sought; and, thinking more deeply, not in the speculative sense of science or scholarship, he carried out Carlyle's assertion that if you "think deep enough you think musically."²

Doubtless close students of literary criticism and history will already have recalled, first, some "anticipation of Robert Frost's theory of speech tones as the basis of verse" on the part of James Whitcomb Riley,³ and, second, the nineteenth chapter of the heterogeneous *Biographia Literaria*, in which, after quoting Garve on the verses of the German poet Gellert ("in which everything was expressed just as one would wish to talk"), Coleridge calls attention to evidences of the same virtue among English poets from Chaucer to Waller. On reflection, however, it becomes apparent that these and similar considerations which might here be adumbrated are really beside the point, for into the manifold problems of the sound of sense Frost has obviously dug far deeper—in observation, in theory, and in practice—than the level of the merely conversational:

What I am interested in emphasizing is the sentence of sound, because to me a sentence is not interesting merely in conveying a meaning of words; it must do something more; it must convey a meaning by sound.⁴

Concentrating on the sound of sense; that is, on all that enters into the tones and rhythms of actual speech, involves no disregard for the laws of metrics, because, says Frost,

this sound of which I speak has primarily to do with tone. It is what Mr. Bridges, the poet-laureate, characterized as speech-rhythm. Meter has to do with beat, and sound posture has a definite relation as an alternate tone between the beats. The two are one in creation but separate in analysis.⁵

Or, as Percy Boynton summed it up concisely after conversations with the poet:

Mr. Frost contends that there are two rival factors in every verse product: the absolute rhythm demanded by the adopted pattern, and the flexible rhythm demanded by the accents of the successive words and by the particular stresses needed among the words; neither should be

² *Ibid.*

³ Bliss Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature* (New Haven, 1920), p. 258.

⁴ Quoted from Frost by Braithwaite, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

entirely subjected to the other. . . . He says to let the spoken word and the verse pattern fight out the issue; the best poetry results from the nicest compromise between them. So in the forms of all his poems there is a not too insistent design—either in rhyme or in rhythm.⁶

The "not too insistent design," however, has repeatedly led hasty critics to speak of Frost as one who writes in free verse. Perhaps Ford Madox Ford (then Hueffer) was the first to speak so, in the London *Outlook* for June 27, 1914, when he commended the poet's "vers libre, . . . an excellent instrument for rendering the actual rhythms of speech."⁷ At all events much ink has been needlessly spilled in the matter, for Frost has said plainly enough:

I do not write free verse; I write blank verse. I must have the pulse beat of rhythm; I like to hear it beating under the things I write. That doesn't mean I do not like to read a bit of free verse occasionally. I do. It sometimes succeeds in painting a picture that is very clear and startling. It's good as something created momentarily for its sudden startling effect. It hasn't the qualities, however, of something lastingly beautiful.⁸

That there is no element of novelty in the principle of the sound of sense as applied to poetry, Frost is himself the first to point out. "[D]o not . . . be deceived," he warned one questioner, "that this is anything new."⁹ Then he cited examples of it in some of the early work of Edwin Arlington Robinson and considered its place in the theory and practice of Wordsworth:

When Wordsworth said, "Write with your eye on the object" . . . he really meant something more. That something carries out what I mean by writing with your ear to the voice. That is what Wordsworth did himself in all his best poetry, proving that there can be no creative imagination unless there is a summoning up of experience, fresh from life, which has not hitherto been evoked. . . . As language only really exists in the mouths of men, here again Wordsworth was right in trying to reproduce in his poetry not only the words—and in their limited range, too, actually used in common speech—but their sound.¹⁰

⁶ "Robert Frost," [No.] II of "American Authors of Today," *English Journal*, XI, 455-462 (Oct., 1922). Reprinted in *Some Contemporary Americans: The Personal Equation in Literature* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 33-49. Cf. *Literature and American Life* (Boston, 1936), p. 811.

⁷ "Mr. Robert Frost and 'North of Boston,'" [No.] XLII of "Literary Portraits," *Outlook* [London], XXXIII, 879-880 (June 27, 1914).

⁸ Rose C. Feld, "Robert Frost Relieves His Mind," *New York Times Book Review*, Oct. 21, 1923, pp. 2, 23.

⁹ Quoted from Frost by Braithwaite, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

And inevitably he finds it most of all in Shakespeare:

When I think of successful poetic drama I think of the speaking passages. They are the best of Shakespeare to me. Lean, sharp sentences, with the give and take, the thread of thought and action quick, not lost in a maze of metaphor or adjective.¹¹

But what the judicial critic will here claim *for* Frost is that alone in his generation of younger poets he consciously and deliberately clung critically to the psychological fundamentals involved in the principle, that therefore he led by at least two literary generations the present hue and cry for right metrical transcription of the actual speech of men, and that—though this remains to be discussed—his achievements in applying the principle to poetry have both present and permanent validity.

These achievements were less clearly to be observed in his first book, *A Boy's Will*, a sheaf of lyrics published in London in the spring of 1913, than in his second, *North of Boston*, for when that "book of people" was published in the following spring the English and Anglo-American reviewers almost to a man singled out for special attention his success in the reproduction of the actual speech of men and women, and this despite the differences that are popularly supposed to obtain between English and American speech-rhythms. First in the field was the anonymous reviewer for the London *Times* who noted the "natural speech running without effort into limpid verse."¹²

Then a veritable chorus of poet-critics took up the chant. Lascelles Abercrombie observed that Frost seemed to be "trying to capture and hold within metrical patterns the very tones of speech—the rise and fall, the stressed pauses and little hurries, of spoken language," and went on to point out the "novel inflections of metre . . . designed to reproduce in verse the actual shape of the sound of whole sentences."¹³ Wilfrid Wilson Gibson deemed the poet to have caught "not only the sense of the speakers, but the very tones of their voices," and to have turned "the living speech of men and women into poetry."¹⁴ Edward Thomas declared that "the

¹¹ M. P. Tilley, "Notes from Conversations with Robert Frost," *Inlander*, XX, 3-8 (Feb., 1918).

¹² *Times Literary Supplement*, May 28, 1914, p. 263.

¹³ "A New Voice," *Nation* [London], XV, 423-424 (June 13, 1914).

¹⁴ "Simplicity and Sophistication," *Bookman* [London], XLVI, 183 (July, 1914).

sentences, if spoken aloud, are most felicitously true in rhythm to the emotion,"¹⁵ and also that the artist's vocabulary was more "colloquial and idiomatic than the ordinary man dares to use even in a letter."¹⁶ Harold Munro likewise stressed the "subtle cadences of colloquial speech" in the book.¹⁷ And, finally, in Harriet Monroe's *Poetry* Ezra Pound re-emphasized his fellow American's mastery of "natural spoken speech."¹⁸ Indeed, the one negative note among reviews of the English edition of *North of Boston* came from Alice Corbin Henderson, who complained of her countryman's "insistent monosyllabic monotony."¹⁹

It is true that by 1914 these poet-reviewers were friends of Frost—witness Gibson's "The Golden Room"²⁰—but it is far more reasonable to regard their cordial understanding of Frost's purpose and technique as springing from sincere approval than to dismiss it as proceeding from fondness for the man. Further, since only one or two of their observations touch on the historical, psychological, or technical aspects of the sound of sense in poetry, it may be that Frost had not talked with them of his intense absorption in the problem. Yet the fact remains that when the volume was published in New York, there was less unanimity among the American reviewers than there had been among the English on the score of the balance struck between the rhythms of speech on the one hand and the minimum necessities of meter on the other.

"Now we can go home; the book has gone home," Frost remarked to his wife, and the lionizing that he was subjected to on his return to America is now a matter of literary history. Especially pertinent for the present essay, however, is the fact that as soon as opportunities to do so presented themselves, Frost began to expound the gospel of the sound of sense in poetry. "We don't get tones enough into our poetry," he declared to Carl Wilmore at Franconia in 1916.

Take, for instance, the expression "oh." Think of what "oh" is really

¹⁵ *English Review*, XVIII, 142-143 (Aug., 1914).

¹⁶ Quoted by Gorham B. Munsen, *Robert Frost: A Study in Sensibility and Good Sense* (New York, 1927), pp. 121-123.

¹⁷ "New Books," *Poetry and Drama*, II, 297 (Sept., 1914).

¹⁸ "Modern Georgics," *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, V, 127-139 (Dec., 1914).

¹⁹ "Recent Poetry," *Dial*, LVII, 254 (Oct., 1914).

²⁰ *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXVII, 204-205 (Feb., 1926). Reprinted in *The Golden Room and Other Poems* (New York, 1928).

capable: the "oh" of scorn, the "oh" of amusement, the "oh" of surprise, the "oh" of doubt, and there are many more.²¹

That homely but effective illustration has served him repeatedly since. Commenting on contemporary poetry to an Amherst audience in 1935, he observed a deadness in the simple declarative in which most of it is written; then he went on to say that you might define what he meant by poetry by calling it all the different intonations of "oh" and the context written around them.²²

He has said, indeed, that "All poetry is a reproduction of the tones of actual speech." At the same time, however, he said that "Imagery and after-imagery are about all there is to poetry." And surely it need scarcely be suggested that it would be quite to misunderstand Frost to take his emphasis on images to the ear as precluding an almost equal interest in images to the eye. Once a child, seeing a swallow in flight, remarked to him that it looked as if the bow had got away from the arrow; and in relating the experience Frost added, "Give me fifteen similes as good as that and I'll find a publisher."²³ Further, for her extraordinary visual imagery he had unstintingly praised Amy Lowell:

The water in our eyes from her poetry is not warm with any suspicion of tears; it is water flung cold, bright and many-colored from flowers gathered in her formal garden in the morning. Her Imagism lay chiefly in images to the eye. Her poetry was forever a clear resonant calling off of things seen.²⁴

Nevertheless it is true that he values ear-images over eye-images; and, however masterfully he evokes the latter in his poetry, he purposefully exalts the former. As he explained to Stirling Bowen:

I try to make each word serve two purposes; in addition to its own meaning it serves as a guide to the voice in reading preceding and succeeding words. If this is not always true of each word, it is true of each phrase or each line.

²¹ "Finds Famous American Poet in White Mountain Village," *Boston Post*, Feb. 14, 1916, p. 16.

²² L. D. Wickenden, "Frost's Second Talk Stresses Originality," *Amherst Student*, May 27, 1935, pp. 1-2.

²³ "A Robert Frost Talk," *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 17, 1924, p. 6.

²⁴ "The Poetry of Amy Lowell," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 16, 1926, p. 8. Reprinted, with some alterations, in *Prose Preferences*, ed. Sidney Cox and Edmund Freeman (New York, 1926), pp. 269-270.

There are only three things, after all, that a poem must reach: the eye, the ear, and what we may call the heart or the mind. It is the most important of all to reach the heart of the reader. And the surest way to reach the heart is through the ear. The visual images thrown up by a poem are important, but it is more important still to choose and arrange words in a sequence so as virtually to control the intonations and pauses of the reader's voice. By the arrangement and choice of words on the part of the poet, the effects of humor, pathos, hysteria, anger, and, in fact, all effects, can be indicated and obtained.²⁵

From that statement of purpose and technique it follows that, as John Holmes reported him in one of the Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard in 1936, Frost "wasn't very much pleased when some one told him, once after hearing him read his poems, that now they knew how to read them right, because they had heard his voice."²⁶

Yet even Carl Van Doren has confessed that when Frost once read a poem to him:

the sound of his voice for the first time explained his poetry to me. I had, somehow, read the words as universal English, like any other poem's. But now I found that they were Yankee words and without their true intonation had never said to me half they meant.²⁷

Lesser but equally honest readers point out specific lines and passages that they have read appreciatively but not quite correctly until after hearing Frost read them either in person or in the Columbia University or Erpi phonographic recordings of his readings.²⁸ Such, for instance, is the thirtieth line of the justly famous "Birches"—the third in the sentence that follows:

One by one he subdued his father's trees
By riding them down over and over again
Until he took the stiffness out of them,
And not one but hung limp, not one was left
For him to conquer.

²⁵ "A Poet on the Campus of the University of Michigan," *Detroit News*, Nov. 27, 1921, Part Seven, p. 1.

²⁶ "Robert Frost as He Talks to Multitudes," *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 21, 1936, Book Section, p. 1.

²⁷ In "Post-War: The Literary Twenties," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CLXXIII, 155 (July, 1936).

²⁸ Cf. "Phonograph Records of Robert Frost," *English Journal*, XXV, 417 (May, 1936).

Which word in that line is properly to be stressed the more in reading it, "stiffness" or "out?" The correct response is "out." Again, consider the third stanza of the unutterably lovely "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening":

He gives his harness bells a shake
To ask if there is some mistake.
The only other sound's the sweep
Of easy wind and downy flake.

Hearing Frost read them, one instantly recognizes the rightness of his speeding the tempo in the first two lines and retarding it in the last two. But even Louis Untermeyer, who regularly dwells on the poem in one of his most popular lectures, reads the lines without making clear the wholly admirable differences in tempo that Frost wrote into them.

Frost went on, in the same Norton lecture, to express his conviction that the great art is to make the poem so that it cannot possibly be misread; and his thoroughgoing admirers insist that precisely this height of art is his. Typical among these enthusiasts is Sidney Cox, who maintains that

The tones cling to idioms and groups of common words when spoken at a certain speed and with certain runs and pauses. And Mr. Frost succeeds in indicating, by the way he places them and by hints that go before, where the pauses come, where there is a slowing up and where a burst, where a guttural murmur or a snort or whisper.²⁹

And further:

The very sound of his poems is *true*. In some the sound is not only as important as the meaning, but most of the meaning. "The Onset," for example, tells me that man need never be beaten, that hope is not inevitably delusive; but I cannot find the assurance anywhere except in the sound of the whole poem. It would not be so convincing if it were stated. It would be an opinion, then.³⁰

In Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant's copy of his poems, opposite that pregnant line in "The Mountain"—

But all the fun's in how you say a thing—

²⁹ Robert Frost: *Original "Ordinary Man"* (New York, 1929), p. 29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Frost wrote: "And the chance it gives you for tones of voice."³¹ And whether or not the poet has always been completely successful in writing his poems "so as virtually to control the intonations and pauses of the reader's voice,"³² he has caught indisputably—and, to borrow Padraic Colum's adverb, "startlingly"³³—the vibration of the voice in his poetry.

³¹ Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "Robert Frost: A Good Greek Out of New England," *New Republic*, XLIV, 144-148 (Sept. 30, 1925). Reprinted in *Fire Under the Andes* (New York, 1927), pp. 285-303.

³² Quoted from Frost by Stirling Bowen, *loc. cit.*

³³ "Robert Frost," *Book-of-the-Month Club News*, May, 1936, p. [5].

RICHARD LEWIS AND THE RECEPTION OF HIS WORK IN ENGLAND*

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RICHARD LEWIS has on several occasions received passing attention from the historians of our literature. A short note on him was included in Percy H. Boynton's *American Poetry*,¹ in connection with the reprinting of his "Description of Spring" in that volume. Some of the errors in this account were later corrected by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth in his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*.² At no time, however, has an attempt been made to give the details of Lewis's life or to analyze contemporary estimates of his work. The present study, originally undertaken at Dr. Wroth's suggestion, offers a summary of the details of Lewis's career, and surveys the critical attention given to his work in England. The discovery of hitherto unidentified poems by Lewis,³ and of considerable new biographical and critical material which relates to him, makes a re-estimate of his position in the annals of Colonial literature seem the more opportune.

Such biographical material as is available on Lewis unfortunately fails to reveal anything certain about his early youth, or about the literary and other influences to which he was subjected during his formative years. We have no contemporary references to him until after his arrival in Maryland, but these prove him to have been a man of culture and the friend of people of position and substance. Thus Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, in a letter to Thomas Hearne, the antiquary,⁴ makes mention of him, and speaks of his

* Some of the material for this article was collected while the author held a research grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

¹ Percy H. Boynton, *American Poetry* (New York, 1918). Pp. 24-29 contain "Description of Spring." The note on Lewis is in the Appendix.

² So Wroth indicates that Lewis must have been in Maryland already by 1725, while the note on him in Boynton's book suggests 1727 as the earliest date. Cf. *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, Typothetae of Baltimore (Baltimore, MCMXXII), p. 65.

³ Several hitherto unidentified poems by Lewis have been discovered recently by Professor Walter B. Norris of the United States Naval Academy, in a manuscript volume at the library of that institution, and have been reprinted by him in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXII, 112-135 (June, 1937). The biographical and critical material which the author has collected are presented in the following pages.

⁴ Cf. Thomas Hearne, *Collections*, X, 109; cited in Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

having "formerly belonged to Eaton," calling him "a man really of Ingenuity, and to My Judgment well versed in Poetry." The question whether Lewis ever went to Eton or not must remain unsettled. There is no contemporary reference to him in the *Eton College Lists*.⁵ Even so, he may have attended school there, and is perhaps the Richard Lewis whose matriculation at Balliol has been recorded:

Lewis, Richard, s. Richard of Llanfair co. Montgomery,
pleb. Balliol Coll. Matric. 3 April, 1718. Aet. 19.⁶

While no indisputable evidence exists to prove that the Balliol student is identical with the man who eventually became, with Ebenezer Cooke, the founder of a literary tradition in Maryland, we shall see that his age and interest in matters Welsh give some support to the supposition that Lewis of Maryland was Lewis of Balliol.

The records of Balliol do not mention the awarding of a degree to Lewis, and it is entirely probable that if he was originally a student there, he left without a degree, perhaps on the inducement to go to Maryland as a tutor. His later work as a teacher and his association with Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, who took a lively interest in educational matters,⁷ suggest that this may have been the case. When he arrived in Maryland is not known, though it appears from a letter which he wrote to Peter Collinson, that he was there as early as October, 1725.⁸ From then until 1728 nothing is known of his activities. In the latter year his translation of Edward Holdsworth's *Muscipula* was published as the first book to be issued from the press of William Parks at Annapolis. It is difficult to say what prompted Lewis to translate Holdsworth's satire on

⁵ R. H. Austen-Leigh, in his *Eton College Register* (1698-1752), Eton, 1927, lists Lewis among the Etonians on the authority of Hearne and Wroth.

⁶ Cf. Foster, *Alumnae Oxoniensis*.

⁷ Calvert's interest in furthering education has been praised by Lewis in his "Verses to the Memory of his Excellency Benedict Leonard Calvert," which will be considered later. For a discussion of Calvert's career, see the article on him by B. C. Steiner in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, III, 191-227, 283-342 (Sept., Dec., 1908).

⁸ Printed in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, XXXVII, 69; XXXVIII, 119. Cf. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Lewis's second letter to Collinson contains "an account of a remarkable generation of Insects; of an Earthquake, and of an Explosion in the Air." The latter two phenomena had taken place in 1725. It should be noted here that in the *Maryland Archives* (1698-1731), XXV, 373, is a reference under the head of Fri., Nov. 3, 1721, which informs us that a lease of ejectment had been taken out by Patrick Murphy against Richard Lewis, John Thomas, and David Evans. This does not appear to have reference to the poet, but to one of a number of other people in the colony who had the same name.

the Welsh people. He may have been urged to the undertaking by his literary friends, who must have had an interest in what was one of the most popular Latin poems of the early eighteenth century.⁹ Perhaps if he is identical with the Balliol student, he did it because he himself had an interest in Welsh customs, and took some satisfaction in making Holdsworth's criticism of the foibles of his countrymen more accessible.¹⁰ Whatever the reason, his book had a more extensive circulation than might have been expected. The list of subscribers includes over forty names. Some individuals took from four to six copies; the Governor, to whom the work was dedicated, taking ten. It is likely that five hundred copies of the book were printed—no mean number in eighteenth-century Maryland.

Lewis's dedication of his work to "Benedict Leonard Calvert, Governour and Commander in chief in and over the Province of Maryland," is wholly conventional, as was all his occasional verse,¹¹ and shows no remarkable difference from that of other minor writers of the day. In the Preface, however, we find some evidence of his learning and critical taste. As an apology for attempting to translate a Latin poem, Lewis cites Denham's Preface to his translation of the *Aeneid*, refers to Dryden's comments on the difficulty of translation, in the latter's Preface to the *Epistles* of Ovid, and quotes Roscommon's dictum that "Good translation is no easy art." From the insertion of such remarks, it would appear that Lewis was seeking the indulgence of his readers-to-be by demonstrating that translation had the approval of authority. His references to the authors mentioned, as well as to Parnell and Pope, indicate that he was well acquainted with contemporary English literature, and expected a similar familiarity on the part of his readers. In the translation he succeeded, quite as he wished, in avoiding the "Libertinism of a Paraphrast on the one Hand, and the Idolatry of a mere literal Translator on the other."

Significant though the remarks of the Preface are for their evidence of a well-developed literary interest among the upper classes

⁹ Published in 1709, it appeared in three editions that year, only one of which was authorized. It was reprinted in three collections of Latin verse, and translated at least five times before Lewis's version appeared. Cf. *D. N. B.*, "Holdsworth."

¹⁰ In the Preface to the translation Lewis states that he has no intention to "derogate from the Honour of the Cambrians," thus forestalling possible criticism by Welsh readers. Cf. reprint of the *Muscipula*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 36 (Baltimore, 1900).

¹¹ Some of this, recently discovered, has been printed by Professor Norris.

in Colonial Maryland, some of the other comments that Lewis made there are of equal importance, because they show us what manner of man he was and what attitude he took toward the new country to which he had come. His comparison of the "Italian plains" with his own rude environment, and his implied apology for the latter, suggests what the verse of Ebenezer Cooke had illustrated: that the Colonial scene was unpropitious to poets seeking inspiration for conventionalized pastorals. Moreover, it reflects Lewis's own concern for the state of literature in that country which he had made his home, and foreshadows his own later attempts to write descriptive verse which will adequately portray an unsung land. The lines containing his comparison, conventional and mediocre though they are, merit an attention which they have never received. Contrasting Italy with Maryland he writes:

There pompous Hills of Building pierce the Skies,
And endless Scenes of Pleasure court the Eyes,
While here rough Woods embrown the Hills and Plains,
Mean are the Buildings, artless are the Swains:
"To raise the Genius" we no time can spare,
A bare Subsistence claims our utmost Care.

The situation which Lewis describes may have thwarted the ambition of more than one potential writer in the Colonies, but in his case, as we shall see, it became an incentive to write of those features of Maryland which Ebenezer Cooke, with his stronger interest in humanity and keen sense of satire, had unfortunately neglected.

But with Lewis writing was only an avocation, in the intervals, as he tells us, of a "very fatiguing Employment."¹² Governor Calvert, in the letter to Hearne which has already been mentioned, writes of Lewis as "a schoolmaster," and the suggestion has been made that he perhaps succeeded Michael Piper at King Williams School in Annapolis.¹³ In all likelihood he was domiciled in that city,¹⁴ and we have no reason to suppose that he left off teaching after having published his translation. Maryland furnished little opportunity for men of letters, except as instructors of youth, and

¹² Cf. the Preface to the *Muscipula*.

¹³ Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁴ Mr. Joseph L. Wheeler, Jr., of Brown University, informs me that apparently Richard Lewis, the poet, owned property in Baltimore County, perhaps at Patapsco. Even if he owned property there, we have no proof that he made it his permanent place of residence. By 1732, at least, his letters to Collinson, and his poems, are being dated from Annapolis. For property records, see "Testamentary Proceedings", Vol. XXXI, Folio 387 (MS volumes in Hall of Records at Annapolis).

Lewis's case indicates this.¹⁵ On occasion he must have left Annapolis, perhaps on business affairs, perhaps for reasons of personal enjoyment. It was on his return to that city from Patapsco, on April 4, 1730, that Lewis wrote the poem entitled "Description of Spring. A Journey from Patapsco to Annapolis, April 4, 1730," which won wide attention in England.

The "Description of Spring" gives to Lewis the unique distinction of being the first Colonial author to write a descriptive poem in the manner so popular with English readers of the eighteenth century. Indeed, it gives him the right to be ranked among the best Colonial poets. Cooke's *Sot-Weed Factor* may have more value as a social document than does anyone of Lewis's poems. It may even embody a just and mordant criticism that lay beyond Lewis's gentler ability, but in his own sphere, as a pleasant and urbane author, in the accepted tradition of the eighteenth century, his effort has been equaled by that of no other contemporary Colonial author.

One can hardly speak conclusively of the literary influences that shaped the "Description of Spring," so characteristic is it of the period in which it was written. To Milton and Thomson the author may stand in debt.¹⁶ Both had shown him the usefulness of the day as a unit around which to build a descriptive poem—Milton in "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," Thomson in his recently published *Summer*, which Lewis may have seen. Even so, it is easy to overestimate the influence of either of these authors, particularly of Thomson, on the work of Lewis.¹⁷ Occasional commonplace ex-

¹⁵ Lewis's education and his friendship with the Calverts helped to secure him the clerkship of a committee of the Assembly, which met to consider revisions of the Tobacco Laws. He served in that capacity only temporarily, however, at various intervals from May 27 to June 16, 1732, and received but £1. 16s. 6d. for his services. Cf. *Maryland Archives*, XXXVII, 14, 33, 62, 129, 130, 136.

¹⁶ Suggested in the discussion in the Appendix of Boynton's *American Poetry*, noted above.

¹⁷ There is a natural danger when discussing poetry belonging to a particular genre, to see the possibility of influences of one author on another, even when they may be most tenuous. That danger appears to be particularly great in discussing descriptive poetry of the time of Thomson. His pre-eminence among his contemporaries has made critics overlook the fact that he did well what a host of other poets did less ably. The poetry of Thomson marks the culmination of a trend in English poetry. It is the best example of a poetic manner that had already begun to grow fashionable. The mere fact that other poets wrote verses of the same genre as Thomson is a testimony to the popularity of the genre, but need not imply any considerable indebtedness to Thomson. It is well to remember that Virgil's *Georgics* had provided a model to which Thomson as well as his contemporaries stand in debt, and that in the case of Lewis the classical influence was a strong one.

pressions in his poem recall Thomson, but not more strongly than they recall other descriptive poets of the day. Though he describes the changing aspect of the countryside, from dawn to sunset, he writes in couplets, varied by occasional triplets, instead of in blank verse. He tells with feeling of his joy in Nature's morning freshness, of her gradual awakening, and the advance of day. Then we hear of a thunderstorm, which marred a perfect afternoon, as sorrow would a human life. This is all told with a simplicity and directness that mark the author's sincerity. We find none of the philosophical digressions so characteristic of Thomson's art. Not until Lewis begins to write of evening does his pleasure in the abundant beauty of Nature yield to a pensive melancholy. Then he sees the day's activity ended, and observes how all things seek their rest. His own identity is lost in the immensity of his surroundings, and he is led, perforce, to compare that spring day with his own life:

. . . a Course of thirty Years,
Blest with few Joys, perplex'd with num'rous Cares.

This latter remark has some importance, as it reveals to us that Lewis was about thirty years old when the poem was written. His age is thus seen to coincide with that of the Balliol man with whom he has already been tentatively identified.

Lewis's descriptive technique in this poem deserves attention, for here we first find a Colonial poet describing American scenery with tolerable success. The nature of the pioneer country about which Lewis was writing made it necessary that he give less attention to the work of men than Thomson had done. Instead, he has turned his eye toward Nature. His philosophizing may be lacking in profundity; in fact, it reveals too much of the influence of Newton and Shaftesbury, and shows the author was acquainted with the deistic notions that were popular in the early eighteenth century. Yet his joy in "the first-born of Spring . . . the Pacone," in "the Crowfoot blue," "the Cinque-foil with its dazzling Dye," is a genuine emotion, and is inspired by the local scene.¹⁸ His imagination was fired by what he saw, and he observed Nature meticulously. There is life in his vivid lines on the humming-bird, that bee-like creature unknown in his native land. His description of the savan-

¹⁸ The word "pacone" may be a local or Indian term. I have not found it in any manual of American flora. The "crowfoot blue" undoubtedly refers to the crowfoot violet. As for the "cinque-foil," there are numerous varieties of it both here and in Europe.

nas, the woods, the gleaming white of flowering dogwood, introduced to his readers scenes that they had met in none of the popular verse of the day. In writing of Nature, Lewis kept his eye on his subject, and the purely descriptive part of his verse shows a notable stylistic individuality, best expressed by the term definiteness. In his occasional poetry we find only a competent conventionality, and his art can occasionally degenerate into mere verbalizing. The "Description of Spring" is not wholly free from similar faults. His figures are seldom daring; rather they are pleasant, and at the best just and revealing. Withal his verse is on a level above that of such labored treatises as Philips's *Cyder*, or Grainger's *The Sugar Cane*. In addition, it has personal qualities lacking in the latter poems. It reveals not only the author's interest in Nature, but also his sensitive and religious cast of mind, as these lines show:

*Tremendous God! May I not justly fear,
That I, unworthy Object of thy Care,
Into this World from thy bright Presence tost,
Am in th' Immensity of Nature lost!
And that my Notions of the World above,
Are but Creations of my own Self-love!
To feed my coward Heart, afraid to die,
With fancied Feasts of Immortality?*

The answer to his doubts was an argument that had been on the lips of theologians since the days of Descartes:

No sure,—These *Thoughts* which in my Bosom roll
Must issue from a *never-dying Soul*; . . .

After reflections such as these, he closes the poem fittingly with an appeal to the Deity, requesting his aid, that the author may know himself, and honor Him.

We have no record of the appearance of the "Description of Spring" in any contemporary American edition.¹⁹ So far as is known, it was first published in England, and it is on the basis of its attribution to Lewis in English periodicals, that it has been possible to assign it beyond doubt to him. Its earliest known appear-

¹⁹ It is quite possible that an edition of the poem was printed by William Parks, who issued others of Lewis's poems, but that no copy has survived. It was printed in Carey's *American Museum* for 1791, Vol. IX, Appendix I, pp. 9-16. Later reprints are in Edward D. Neill, *Terra Mariae; or Threads of Maryland Colonial History* (Philadelphia, 1867), Appendix, pp. 239-252, and in Boynton's *American Poetry* (New York, 1918), pp. 24-29.

ance abroad was in the *Weekly Register*, No. 90, for Saturday, January 1, 1731-1732. Lewis appears to have sent it to a correspondent in England, perhaps with the intention that the latter should arrange for its publication. It seems quite fitting that the *Weekly Register* should have printed it, for of the London journals of the day it maintained a more literary tone than most.²⁰ The poem was first published there anonymously, and had a prefatory note which shows that the editor was aware of the merits of the piece. He writes:

The following poem was sent by the Author in Maryland to his friend in London.—I think 'tis as beautiful as the Country it describes, and as much an original too.—I flatter myself the Publick has never been better entertained, seldom as well.—It affords a picture perfectly new to the English Reader, and argues so fine a Taste in the Author, as will reflect an Honour on the Country that could afford him a Subject suitable to such a Genius.

The poem was also preceded by quotations from Virgil's *Georgics*²¹ in which the poet requests the aid of the Muses for his song of Nature. It is uncertain whether Lewis had used these quotations in that connection himself, or whether they were affixed by the publisher.²² Whatever the case, they did not appear with subsequent English reprints of the poem.

The "Description of Spring" received immediate attention in England. It was reprinted anonymously in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1732; the entire poetry section of that issue was devoted to it.²³ This was a mark of more than ordinary approval, as the magazine had not yet begun to include verse in such quantity as it was later to do. The text of the poem was based on that of the *Weekly Register*, from which it shows slight and unimportant deviations.²⁴ No critical remarks were included, evidently because

²⁰ Although the *Grub-Street Journal* was literary, it was primarily a journal of satire, criticism, and controversy. The *Weekly Register* was the most literary of the news journals of the day.

²¹ *Georgics*, Bk. II, ll. 475-478, 483-486.

²² It appears most likely that Lewis had chosen them. He had the habit of prefixing Latin quotations to his published poems, as appears from the editions of *Carmen Saeculare* and *A Rhapsody*, published by Parks. Cf. Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182 for bibliographical descriptions of these. The presence of the Latin quotations in the *Weekly Register* would suggest possible publication from an edition of the "Description of Spring" similar to that of the *Carmen Saeculare*.

²³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, II, 669 (April, 1732).

²⁴ An example is "Fore-taste" in the *Register* for "For-tast" in the *Gentleman's*.

of limitations of space, and because of Cave's policy of extracting and reprinting material from other publications without commenting on it.

Not until the spring of 1733, however, did the poem gain the recognition and critical attention that it deserved, and not until then did it come to be recognized in England as the work of Richard Lewis. In April of that year it was twice reprinted, appearing in the *Weekly Register* for April 7, 1733,²⁵ and in Eustace Budgell's *Bee*, No. 10, for April 7-14, 1733. Of the two reprintings, that in the *Weekly Register* was undoubtedly the earlier.²⁶ It was on its second publication there that the poem was finally identified as the work of Lewis, though the editor must have known it to be his when he published it previously. Its republication was explained to be due to the request of a reader, but may well have been a trick of padding, such as was frequently practiced when important news was scanty.

On its second appearance in the *Weekly Register*, the "Description of Spring" was preceded by the following prefatory note:

Sir, your *Weekly Register*, no. 90, accidentally falling into my Hands, I read with prodigious Pleasure a Poem which makes Part of it, entitled A Journey from Patapsco to Annapolis, April 4, 1730. It is amazing to me, and the ingenious Reader will allow that it is a Pity, such a Piece of Entertainment should not have had more Notice taken of it. The Thoughts are masterly and just, the Management of the Drapery fine and poetical; nor is there much that the brightest Genius in my Opinion can imagine to want Amendment. For my part, I assure you I read it over with a Variety of Passion equal to the Descriptions, which never leave Nature, and want not the fairest Touches of Art. It is therefore my Request that you would afford your Readers a fresh Opportunity of Delight in its Republication; and I flatter myself, the Thanks of all that have Taste for Poetry will accompany those of

Your most humble Servant

Philaethes.

It is not known who was the author of this letter. Unmixed censure and general remarks, such as we find here, are indeed no adequate index to the trend of critical evaluation at a particular

²⁵ A copy of this issue of the *Weekly Register* is in the library of the Maryland Historical Society. I am indebted to Mr. Joseph L. Wheeler, Jr., for the reference.

²⁶ The *Bee* was a digest of material of other weeklies, and appeared during the week after that for which it was dated. So the issue for April 7-14 contained news items from that period, but it was not on sale until after April 14.

period, but the reprinting of a poem of this length, in a journal where it had appeared once before, is an honor that appears to have come to no other poem of the time, and shows sufficiently that it was appreciated as a remarkable effort.

If "Philaethes" had complained that Lewis's poem was slow in receiving the notice that it merited, he must have read with some satisfaction the critical remarks that Eustance Budgell inserted in *The Bee* on its reprinting there. Budgell wrote:

We are inform'd that the following Poem was wrote by Mr. Lewis; and tho' the Gentleman himself is a Stranger to us, we shall endeavour to make the Publick take that Notice of his Poem which it most certainly deserves. The Thoughts in this Piece are natural, the Language is good, the Versification is easy, and some of the Descriptions are exquisite. Part of them are new to an English Reader, as they are adapted to that Country in which they were wrote, and are a little the more seasonable, because they paint that Country as it appears to a Traveller in the present Month of April. The Doubts which arise in the Author's Mind, that his Hopes of immortality proceed from Self-Love; and his Apprehensions that such a Speck as himself is not worth the Care of a Deity, but must be lost and swallow'd up in the Immensity of the Universe, are no more than what we could prove (if it was necessary) have perplex'd and disturb'd the Minds of some of the wisest of Men. These Doubts and Apprehensions are finely express'd, as are those Reflections by which he gets the better of them. In short, a judicious Reader will observe in this Piece good Sense raised and beautified by the true Spirit of Poetry. If there are 2 or 3 little blemishes in the *Whole*, we shall at least venture to assert they are *such*, as but very few eyes are capable of discerning. We hope the Author will excuse our having made a few small Alterations.²⁷

One need hardly remark that Budgell had singled out for comment the most distinctive features of Lewis's poem. It was not unnatural that a critic in the early eighteenth century should have been struck by Lewis's problems of faith, particularly when his doubts had appeared to have their origin in the popular deistic philosophy of the time. That in itself is less noteworthy than the remarkable unanimity of opinion among English critics that the real appeal of the poem lay in the freshness with which it depicted the American scene. Such lengthy notices as was given the "Description of Spring" in the *Bee*, would have been most unusual for any

²⁷ *The Bee*, No. 10, pp. 393-394, Saturday, April 7-Saturday, April 14, 1733. The poem occupies ten pages, 394-404.

poem in an English news journal at the time. The fact that it was given to a poem from Maryland is only evidence of the lively interest that English readers were then taking in anything that contained new and reliable information about the American colonies.

Even with the appearance of the "Description of Spring" in the *Bee*, its interest had not paled, and early in the following month it was reprinted in the *London Magazine*,²⁸ that inveterate rival of the *Gentleman's*. Here it was once again assigned to Lewis, and the editor, who then appears to have been Isaac Kimber,²⁹ took pains to inform his readers that the "Description of Spring" was "taken originally from the *Weekly Register*."

That the Kimber family was seriously interested in the poem, and that its appearance in the *London Magazine* does not reflect merely a passing fancy for the unusual, appears an established fact. Thus Edward Kimber, the son of Isaac Kimber, in his "Itinerant Observations in America," which were published in the *London Magazine* at intervals during 1745-1746, has a curious reference to Lewis, which shows that he particularly appreciated his poetry. Writing of his travels in Maryland,³⁰ he quotes some of the lines from the "Description of Spring" in which Lewis had described the extensive pine woods of that colony, and goes on to remark:

I can't help, every now and then, taking him out of my Pocket in this Country; for his descriptive Part is just and fine, and such a warmth of Sentiment, such a deliberate vein of Poetry, such an unaffected Piety run thro' the Whole, that I esteem it one of the best Pieces extant. This, with my other dearer Treasure,³¹ and my Euclid, generally relieves me from a too great Sameness of Prospect, or Frequency of the same Objects.

The "Observations" show us that Kimber was a careful observer, with a good eye for the natural features of the country he was visit-

²⁸ *London Magazine*, II, pp. 204 ff. (April, 1733). This was issued early in May, after the usual eighteenth-century custom of publishing magazines early in one month for the preceding one.

²⁹ See D. N. B., "Isaac Kimber." For a more complete account of the literary activity of the Kimbers, and their connection with the *London Magazine*, see "'Relation of a Late Expedition to St. Augustine', with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes on Isaac and Edward Kimber," by Sidney A. Kimber, *Papers of the American Bibliographical Society*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. II, pp. 81-96 (1934).

³⁰ "Itinerant Observations in America," *London Magazine*, XV, 327-328 (July, 1746).

³¹ A footnote informs us that this was a poem entitled "Letter to a Son," which had appeared in the *London Magazine* in July, 1744 (p. 343), with the signature "Sophronius." The poem was by Isaac Kimber. Cf. article by Sidney A. Kimber, *Papers of the American Bibliographical Society*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. II, p. 88.

ing, so that his praise of Lewis amounts to a critical approval of the latter by a contemporary who shared his interests, and was enjoying an experience of travel similar to Lewis's own.

The "Description of Spring" was the only poem by Lewis that received widespread attention in England. Two of his other poems, however, were reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* shortly after their publication at Annapolis. In April and May, 1733, there appeared in that periodical extracts from *Carmen Saeculare*,³² which Parks had published in the fall of 1732.³³ The relatively short period of time that elapsed between the American edition of the poem and its reprint in the *Gentleman's* would seem to show that the welcome given the "Description of Spring" in England had made editors eager to secure more of Lewis's work. In what way the Annapolis edition of the *Carmen Saeculare*, or any other copy of that poem, had become available to Cave is an unsettled question. He may have been provided with a copy by Parks, or even by Lewis. The possibility that he had secured one directly from Maryland, without the aid of an English intermediary, is strengthened by the fact that an earlier poem, *A Rhapsody*,³⁴ almost certainly by Lewis, was reprinted in the *Gentleman's* in July, 1734,³⁵ with an introductory remark informing the reader that "the following piece was sent us long since from Maryland." Neither of these poems received any critical attention in the *Gentleman's*, and they do not appear to have been noticed in other periodicals of the time. The only evidence to show Cave's appreciation of Lewis's talent is his willingness to print the poems so soon after their publication, as well as a remark preceding the reprint of *A Rhapsody*, in which he expresses the hope that the author of that poem would have timely notice of Cave's poetry contest³⁶ so that he might submit something for the prize. According to Dr. Johnson, Cave hoped that men of the first abilities would become candidates for the prize,

³² *Gentleman's Magazine*, III, 209 ff. (April, 1733); 264 ff. (May, 1733).

³³ Cf. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 181. The date on the title-page is Nov. 25, 1732.

³⁴ Although there is no conclusive external evidence to show that this poem is by Lewis, the attitude of the author, his pious resignation and implicit trust in God's care, as well as the style of his work, its imagery and descriptive touches, all suggest that he must be the author. For a description of the Maryland editions of this see Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 182. It is uncertain whether Cave received the edition of 1732.

³⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, IV, 385 ff. (July, 1734).

³⁶ The reference was to the contest for a fifty pound prize for the best poem on Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell.

so that this reference to Lewis constitutes definite, though indirect, praise.

Several factors appear to have contributed to the relative lack of interest among English readers in Lewis's *Carmen Sæculare* and *A Rhapsody*. In the case of the former, its intensely local and personal quality—it was an address to Charles Calvert, on his becoming Governor of Maryland—tended to discourage readers who might otherwise have been attracted by a poem that is respectably facile. Precisely the opposite was true of *A Rhapsody*. This prayer in verse, expressing the author's thankfulness for God's providential care, and imploring his further aid in years to come, might have been written equally well by any English author of the time. We have seen that the local references in the "Description of Spring" attracted English readers. In *A Rhapsody* these were limited to a few lines about "the Cedar and the Pine," an altogether disappointing circumstance from the English point of view.

In the canon of Lewis's work neither of these poems can occupy so prominent a place as must be given to the "Description of Spring," and that mainly because they lack the local descriptive touches of the latter poem. In versification they are easy, and their smooth lines betray the accomplished writer. *A Rhapsody*, in particular, deserves equivocal praise as one of the best prayers in verse that was written in Colonial America. Lines such as these are evidence of the author's sincerity, and though they possess no remarkable force, show deftness of phrasing:

O graciously accept my grateful sense,
Acknowledging thy great beneficence.
From all my faults and follies set me free,
From their ill Consequence deliver me.

Since the main purpose of this article has been to discuss the reception of Lewis's work in England, mention has not yet been made of those poems by Lewis which Professor Norris has discovered, and which do not appear to have received any attention abroad. Their literary merit is far below that of the "Description of Spring," and they have received the polite obloquy that inevitably overtakes verse of the occasional sort. Even so, they should be noted in passing, as they are further evidence of the Maecenas relationship between the Calverts and Lewis, a relationship of which we have no suggestion except through the medium of Lewis's verse.

Of the poems in question, two were written in the same year as *A Rhapsody* and *Carmen Saeculare*, but after the former, which had appeared in March, 1732, and before the latter, which dates from November of that year. One of them, dated Annapolis, May 10, 1732, was addressed to John Ross, Esq., Clerk of the Council, and was intended to console him for the departure of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, who was returning to England in the hope of regaining his health. The other, written somewhat later in the year, is a set of "Verses" to the memory of Benedict Leonard Calvert, who had died at sea on June 1, 1732. This poem Lewis addressed to Edmond Jenings, Esq., Secretary of the Province. In both poems Lewis speaks of Calvert as his kind friend and patron, and makes the conventional complaint that his verses cannot celebrate him properly. From the details of the second poem, in particular, it appears that Lewis was occasionally entertained at Calvert's house, with others of his friends, and that he, who had never traveled on the Continent, especially enjoyed Calvert's learned and instructive discourse on "What e're was Beautiful in Italy." None of these poems appears to have been printed, and hitherto both have existed only in the Naval Academy manuscript. There only the second was assigned to Lewis, but the sentiments and style of the first make that indisputably his also.

One further poem, evidently by Lewis, though it does not bear his signature, exists to show the laureate function which he exercised in Colonial Maryland. This, in a sense a sequel to the *Carmen Saeculare*, is an "Elegy" on the death of Charles Calvert, who had died on February 2, 1734. It was printed in the *Maryland Gazette* for the week of March 8-15, 1734, and appears to have been the last of Lewis's poems. Certainly it is the most elaborate and obviously labored of his productions. Its figures are those of the conventional English elegy of the day, and there is no novelty in the references to "baleful Yews" and "Floods of gen'rous Grief." In merit, however, it is far superior to such funeral elegies as were usually written in the Colonies, and there is a touch of originality in Lewis's arrangement, which portrays for us the "Genius of the Country," clad in mourning, and weeping for the death of Calvert, whom she praises in extravagant terms. She is solaced in her grief by an angelic messenger, who proclaims the joy which Calvert partakes in the mansions of the blest, and turns a neat compliment by

telling what progress the colony will make under the governorship of Ogle. If it be objected that this is the bathos of the paid laureate, one must yet grant that in no other poem of the period has so nice a balance been struck between the cause of sorrow and the reasons for joy, and that without too obvious a straining of effort. There is also some satisfaction in finding that a Colonial author could write a funeral elegy with a minimum of the didactic, and for this one pardons Lewis his praise of the Calverts.

The "Elegy" on the death of Calvert is the latest of the recently discovered poems that can be attributed to Lewis,³⁷ and may well be the last poem that he wrote. Since a number of people at the time bore the same name as the poet, it is difficult to determine from the vital records when he died. Perhaps he did not long survive Charles Calvert. There is some possibility that he is identical with a Richard Lewis who died at approximately the same time as Lewis the poet appears to have ended his literary activity. It has been suggested³⁸ that he may be this same man whose widow, Betty Lewis, applied to the Commissary General on April 10, 1734, requesting that he appoint administrators for her husband's estate,³⁹ situated in Baltimore County. It matters little whether this identification is correct or not. Lewis's literary career undoubtedly came to an end in the thirties of the eighteenth century, while he was still a young man.

It is doubtful whether he would have developed greater artistic power had he lived longer. His poetry reveals no technical development; indeed, his earliest known verses surpass in originality those that he wrote later. Had he developed his talent for descriptive poetry further, had he experimented with forms other than the couplet, in which he always wrote, had he been able to play a part

³⁷In the Naval Academy manuscript there are some earlier poems, including translations of three Latin letters from Eleanor of Aquitaine to the Pope—taken out of the 1704 edition of Rymer's *Foedera*—and a poem, "To the Queen," which Professor Norris believes was addressed to Queen Charlotte. These are unsigned, and may have been written by Lewis. If he is the author, these verses shed no luster on his memory, as they are inferior to anything else he ever wrote.

³⁸Mr. Joseph L. Wheeler, Jr., has examined the records, and suggests this as a possibility, on the basis of the previous tentative identification of the poet with the individual owning land in Baltimore County.

³⁹"Testamentary Proceedings," Vol. XXXI, Folios 113, 127, 139, 149, 156, and 173, in Hall of Records at Annapolis. The tenuous nature of the identification can be seen from the fact that while no other records appear to be applicable to Lewis the poet, there is no specific reference to him in the *Index of Inventories*, nor in Hodge's *Marriage References*, which are indexed in the Hall of Records.

other than that of a laureate, he might have helped found a vigorous literary tradition in the relatively unpropitious environment of Colonial Maryland. As it is, one remembers him as a man of gentle tastes, who loved Nature and was curious of her secrets. One recalls that he subscribed to Pine's *Horace*, thinks of his satisfaction in the friendship of the Calverts, and sees in him a man of culture, fond of his books, happy in the company of those whose experience enabled them to impart knowledge to him. His was not the character of a self-assertive man, and apparently his gifts were not those of a man of great originality. Had he remained in England, he might have been a country rector, and might even have been numbered among the minor authors of his time, as one now numbers Jago. But his coming to Maryland changed all that. Though he can never be numbered among even the near-great, though he is still a minor writer, he deserves attention as one of the most talented versifiers in Colonial America. In literary history his work must live. He wrote the first important descriptive poetry, and some of the most sustained occasional verse produced in the Colonies. He was the first Colonial poet to describe the American scene for readers in his native country,⁴⁰ and the English attention to his work must remain a significant instance of that interest in Colonial culture which increased steadily in informed circles in England throughout the years preceding the Revolution.

⁴⁰ Anne Bradstreet had some incidental descriptive touches in "The Four Seasons," but in Lewis's poem the attempt at description is more sustained and his figures are more vivid.

MELVILLE AS A CRITIC OF EMERSON

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I

BECAUSE the critical remarks of one eminent author concerning another are rarely without interest, students of American literature regret that there is apparently no record of Ralph Waldo Emerson's opinion of Herman Melville.¹ That Emerson owned at least one of Melville's works is shown by the presence of *Typee* among the preserved books of his library. Yet there is no evidence that he read the volume.² We are more fortunate, however, in regard to our knowledge of what Melville thought of Emerson.

Until now a letter that Melville wrote to E. A. Duyckinck on March 3, 1849, has been the only generally known source from which one could learn Melville's opinion of Emerson. In the incomplete reproduction of that letter in Meade Minnigerode's *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography*,³ one reads that Melville had recently heard Emerson lecture⁴ and that he considered Emerson "more than a brilliant fellow." He had been told that Emerson was difficult to understand because of his abstruseness, but on this occasion he had found him quite clear. He jested concerning Emerson's reputed sobriety. And he made a statement that astonishes anyone familiar with the thought of the two men: he charged Emerson with insinuating "that had he lived in those days when the world was made, he might have offered

¹ After discussing Emerson's criticism of various other novelists, John T. Flanagan says, in "Emerson as a Critic of Fiction," *Philological Quarterly*, XV, 39 (Jan., 1936): "Of Melville . . . there is no record." So far as I have been able to discover, this statement is correct.

² I have not seen Emerson's copy of *Typee*; but Mrs. Marian E. Kent, of the Concord Antiquarian Society, has informed me by letter that it is a reprint, published in 1848, of Wiley and Putnam's Revised Edition of the novel. She says, "There are no annotations in this book, and I am unable to learn when it came into Ralph Waldo Emerson's possession."

³ (New York, 1922), pp. 32-34.

⁴ He heard one of the five lectures (unpublished) on "Mind and Manners in the Nineteenth Century" which Emerson delivered in Boston during Jan. and Feb., 1849. See Luther Stearns Mansfield, *Herman Melville: Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851* (an unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, 1936), pp. 178-179, and James Elliot Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1899), II, 753.

some valuable suggestions." He censured Emerson on that point, whereas he himself, in his recently published *Mardi*, had shown more discontent over the universe than Emerson expressed in all his published works.⁵

On the whole, Melville wrote so capriciously of "this Plato who talks thro' his nose" that one is not surprised to discover in the manuscript of the letter his confession that he knew practically nothing about Emerson. Minnigerode's version of the letter curiously omits⁶ the following important passage: ". . . I had only glanced at a book of his once in Putnam's store—that was all I knew of him, till I heard him lecture."⁷ This statement of his unfamiliarity with Emerson's works, together with the fact that he had heard only one of Emerson's lectures, convinces one that at the time of writing the letter Melville was hardly qualified to pass judgment upon the merits of his famous contemporary. The comments on Emerson in the letter, therefore, should not be taken very seriously.

In *Pierre*, published three years after the letter was written, there is a passage which might be considered a severe condemnation of Emerson as well as the other New England Transcendentalists. In writing of "the talismanic secret" by which one reconciles "this world with his own soul," Melville says:

Certain philosophers have time and again pretended to have found it; but if they do not in the end discover their own delusion, other people soon discover it for themselves, and so those philosophers and their vain philosophy are let glide away into practical oblivion. Plato, and Spinoza, and Goethe and many more belong to this guild of self-impostors, with a preposterous rabble of Muggle-tonian Scots and Yankees, whose vile brogue still the more bestreaks the stripedness of their Greek and German Neoplatonical originals.⁸

Harsh as this stricture is, one cannot but be impressed by the illustrious company in which the Transcendentalists are damned. After

⁵ On this point, and on other points in this article pertaining to Melville's religious thought, see William Braswell, *Herman Melville and Christianity* (an unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, 1934).

⁶ Minnigerode indicates that an omission has been made.

⁷ The manuscript of this letter is in the Duyckinck Collection, in the New York Public Library.

⁸ *Pierre*, p. 290. All references to Melville's works are to the Constable Edition (London, 1922-1924).

publishing *Pierre*, Melville apparently did not express himself in print on either Emerson or the Transcendentalists as a school.⁹

He did, however, write some comments upon Emerson which he did not mean to publish, and which have not been published until now. These appear in three volumes of Emerson's essays that Melville bought secondhand: *Essays: First Series* and *Essays: Second Series*, which he obtained in the early sixties,¹⁰ and *The Conduct of Life*, which he obtained in 1870.¹¹ Judging from the markings in these books, one concludes that Melville probably did not read some of the essays; there is no evidence, for instance, that he read "Compensation," "Self-Reliance," or "The Over-Soul," which are among the sixteen unmarked essays of the thirty essays¹² contained in the three volumes. The fourteen other essays, however, are marked here and there with pencil,¹³ and of these the following eight are annotated in Melville's handwriting: "Spiritual Laws," "Prudence," "Heroism," "The Poet," "Culture," "Worship," "Considerations by the Way," and "Illusions."¹⁴ By considering the markings and annotations, one discovers some interesting facts about Melville's attitude toward Emerson. One should remember, of course, that the annotations are not to be thought of as notes for

⁹ Carl Van Vechten's theory that *The Confidence-Man* is a satire on the Transcendentalists seems to me unfounded. See his article "The Later Work of Herman Melville," *Double Dealer*, III, 19 (Jan., 1922).

¹⁰ On the verso side of the front cover of the *Essays: First Series* there is inscribed in pencil in Melville's hand, "H Melville/March 22^d 1862/N. Y." The other volume contains the same inscription except that the year is given as "1861" instead of "1862." It seems probable that Melville bought both books at the same time and merely made a careless error when writing the date of the year in one of them.

The copy of *Essays: First Series* labeled "New Edition" and also "Fourth Edition," was published in Boston, by James Munroe and Company, in 1847. The copy of *Essays: Second Series*, "Third Edition," was published by the same house in 1844. Both are cheaply bound. When I examined these two volumes, they, together with Melville's copy of *The Conduct of Life*, were in the possession of Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, of Cambridge, Mass., by whose kind permission I had access to them. They are now in the Harvard College Library.

¹¹ This volume is inscribed in Melville's hand, "H. Melville/Nov 1870/N. Y." (There is the barest possibility that the third figure in the date of the year may be "9" instead of "7.") The title-page states that this copy is of both the "Author's Edition" and the "Second Edition"; the book was published in London, by Smith, Elder, and Co., in 1860.

¹² This figure includes the lecture on "New England Reformers."

¹³ Melville marked passages in various ways: he underscored, he drew marginal lines, he used brackets and other symbols. Occasionally he marked a passage in two or three ways.

¹⁴ The six essays that are marked but not annotated are "Art," "Character," "Manners," "Power," "Wealth," and "Beauty."

a systematic treatise on Emerson's philosophy: they are merely opinions that Melville recorded immediately after reading particular passages in Emerson's essays.

Although any grouping of these incidental observations would be arbitrary, they can be treated in a fairly coherent way under three general topics: first, comments on Emerson's ideas concerning the poet; second, praise of Emerson's views on life; and third, unfavorable criticism of Emerson's ideas concerning the problem of evil.¹⁵

II

The annotations on passages concerning men of letters show that Melville, like Emerson, was more concerned with thought in literature than with craftsmanship. The two men were in agreement on the timeless, universal qualities in the works of great men. In "Spiritual Laws" Emerson wrote:

We are always reasoning from the seen to the unseen. Hence the perfect intelligence that subsists between wise men of remote ages. A man cannot bury his meaning so deep in his book, but time and like-minded men will find them. Plato had a secret doctrine, had he? What secret can he conceal from the eyes of Bacon? of Montaigne? of Kant? Therefore, Aristotle said of his works, "They are published and not published."¹⁶

Melville drew a line beside this passage and annotated, "Bully for Emerson!—Good." A similar idea in Emerson's "The Poet" brought forth another favorable comment. In writing of a conversation "on a recent writer of lyrics," Emerson said: "But when the question arose, whether he was not only a lyrist, but a poet, we were obliged to confess that he is plainly a contemporary, not an eternal man."¹⁷ Melville marked heavily the words "contemporary, not an eternal man" and observed concerning them, "A noble expression, with a clear strong meaning."

He was likewise impressed by Emerson's eulogy of the poets as "liberating gods" who, with their figurative writing, open new worlds for other men. Beginning with "We are like persons who come out of a cave or cellar into the open air," Melville marked in "The Poet" the rest of the long paragraph in which that sentence

¹⁵ Since no chronological development is discernible in the annotations, I have set aside the element of time in an effort to achieve more unity in considering them.

¹⁶ *Essays: First Series*, p. 131.

¹⁷ *Essays: Second Series*, pp. 9-10.

appears¹⁸ and wrote the following praise: "All this is nobly written, and proceeds from noble thinking, and a natural sympathy with greatness."

He did not agree, however, with all Emerson's statements concerning creative artists. Although he concurred in the wisdom of a man's following his peculiar bent, he opposed the view that a man's ambition and powers are commensurate. In "Spiritual Laws" he marked the following sentences as "True":

He [each man] inclines to do something which is easy to him, and good when it is done, but which no other man can do. He has no rival. For the more truly he consults his own powers, the more difference will his work exhibit from the work of any other.

But the sentences immediately succeeding these he marked as "False":

His ambition is exactly proportioned to his powers. The height of the pinnacle is determined by the breadth of the base. Every man has this call of the power to do somewhat unique, and no man has any other call.¹⁹

In connection with Melville's opinion of this passage, one recalls his writing to Duyckinck in 1850:

Can you send me about fifty fast-writing youths. . . . If you can I wish you would, because since I have been here I have planned about that number of future works and can't find enough time to think about them separately.²⁰

Another point upon which the two men's views conflicted is the effect upon the artist of the stimulants that are sometimes used to produce what Emerson called "animal exhilaration." After enumerating in "The Poet" several of the "*quasi-mechanical* substitutes for the true nectar" which help a man "to escape the custody of that body in which he is pent up, and of that jail-yard of individual relations in which he is enclosed," Emerson went on to affirm:

Hence a great number of such as were professionally expressors of Beauty, as painters, poets, musicians, and actors, have been more than others wont to lead a life of pleasure and indulgence; all but the few who received the true nectar; and, as it was a spurious mode of attain-

¹⁸ *Essays: Second Series*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁹ *Essays: First Series*, p. 126.

²⁰ Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

ing freedom, as it was an emancipation not into the heavens, but into the freedom of baser places, they were punished for that advantage they won, by a dissipation and deterioration.²¹

Melville marked this passage and wrote at the bottom of the page:

No no no.—Titian—did he deteriorate?—Byron?—did he.—Mr E. is horribly narrow here. He has his Dardanelles for his every Marmora.²² But he keeps nobly on, for all that!

If Emerson had had an opportunity to answer the questions in this annotation, he probably would have answered in the affirmative. He seems to have left no comment upon Titian; but he made numerous references to Byron, several of which show that although he admired that poet very much as a rhetorician, he held the not uncommon view that Byron's intellect was "depraved" and his will "perverted."²³

In the paragraph on the harm of intoxicants to poets, Emerson went on to say:

So the poet's habit of living should be set on a key so low and plain, that the common influences should delight him. His cheerfulness should be the gift of the sunlight; the air should suffice for his inspiration, and he should be tipsy with water.²⁴

Melville annotated, "This makes the Wordsworthian poet—not the Shakespearean."²⁵ Although Emerson ranked Wordsworth very high,²⁶ he, like Melville, considered Shakespeare supreme among poets. For all his love of Shakespeare, however, he felt that the

²¹ *Essays: Second Series*, pp. 30-31.

²² *Lippincott's Gazetteer* defines the Dardanelles as "a narrow strait between Europe and Asia, connecting the Sea of Marmora and the arm of the Mediterranean known as the Aegean Sea. . . ."

²³ See the *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-1914), II, 4; VII, 163, 285; VIII, 89; and *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Centenary ed.; Boston, 1903-1904), II, 355, and XII, 319.

²⁴ *Essays: Second Series*, p. 32.

²⁵ The paragraph preceding the one just quoted from "The Poet" also caused Melville to refer to Wordsworth. This paragraph begins: "It is a secret which every intellectual man quickly learns, that beyond the energy of his possessed and conscious intellect, he is capable of a new energy (as of an intellect doubled on itself), by an abandonment to the nature of things. . . ." Melville noted in regard to this thought, "Wordsworth, 'One impulse from a vernal wood' &c" (the quoted words are from Wordsworth's well-known poem "The Tables Turned").

²⁶ See *Journals*, X, 68-69, where Emerson expresses his delight at Wordsworth's being acknowledged the greatest of English poets since Milton. For a good brief criticism by Emerson of Wordsworth's merits and faults, see *Works*, V, 297-298.

great dramatist's "profane life" and his "using his genius for the public amusement" had prevented him from filling the highest office of the poet.²⁷

Melville's reaction to Emerson's argument that the poet should not indulge the senses but should become "tipsy with water" reminds one of the letter that Melville had written to Duyckinck in regard to Emerson. Here Melville replied to Duyckinck's complaint concerning Emerson's sobriety:

Ah, my dear Sir, that's his misfortune, not his fault. His belly, Sir, is in his chest, and his brains descend down into his neck, and offer an obstacle to a draughtful of ale or a mouthful of cake. . . .²⁸

Melville's delight in conviviality is well known to all who are familiar with his life and works. The fact that he once entertained visions of paradise as a place where he might drink champagne with Hawthorne²⁹ sets him apart from Emerson; for although Emerson "placed wine before guests of discreet age and habit and took it with them, seldom more than one glass,"³⁰ he on one occasion recorded his regret that during the preceding year he had spent "say \$20 in wine and liquors," only to the detriment of the drinkers, whereas that sum "would have bought a beautiful print that would have pleased for a century; or have paid a debt. . . ."³¹ The conflicting views of the two authors concerning indulgence of the senses

²⁷ *Works*, IV, 218-219. In connection with Melville's comment on the Wordsworthian and the Shakespearean poets, it is interesting to note an opinion that Emerson expressed at the age of twenty-three. "It would seem," he wrote, that "the boisterous childhood, careless of criticism and poetry, the association of vulgar and unclean companions, were necessary to balance the towering spirit of Shakespeare, and that Mr. Wordsworth has failed of pleasing by being too much a poet" (in a letter to "Miss Emerson" (?), June 30, 1826; *Journals*, II, 106).

²⁸ Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Viola Chittenden White, *Symbolism in Herman Melville's Writings* (an unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina, 1934), p. 75, points out the similarity of this conceit of Melville's and one in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

²⁹ During the composition of *Moby Dick* Melville wrote to Hawthorne: "If ever, my dear Hawthorne, in the eternal times that are to come, you and I shall sit down in Paradise, in some little shady corner by ourselves; and if we shall by any means be able to smuggle a basket of champagne there (I won't believe in a Temperance Heaven), and if we shall then cross our celestial legs in the celestial grass that is forever tropical, and strike our glasses and our heads together, till both musically ring in concert,—then, O my dear fellow-mortal, how shall we pleasantly discourse of all the things manifold which now so distress us,—when all the earth shall be but a reminiscence, yea, its final dissolution an antiquity" (Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife: A Biography*, Boston, 1884, I, 402-403).

³⁰ Edward Waldo Emerson, *Emerson in Concord: A Memoir* (Boston, 1888), pp. 154-155.

³¹ *Journals*, II, 468.

are quite in keeping with their differences in temperament as evidenced in the austerity of Emerson's essays and poems and in the spirit of revelry in parts of Melville's novels, notably *Mardi*.

As Melville took exception to the puritanical standards of living prescribed in "The Poet," so he objected to statements made there in regard to the poet's understanding and interpretation of life. Emerson said:

For as it is dislocation and detachment from the life of God, that makes things ugly, the poet, who reattaches things to nature and the Whole,—re-attaching even artificial things, and violations of nature, to nature, by a deeper insight,—disposes very easily of the most disagreeable facts.³²

Melville underlined "disposes very easily of the most disagreeable facts" and commented, "So it would seem. In this sense, Mr E. is a great poet." Further on in the essay Emerson asserted concerning the poet:

He uses forms according to the life, and not according to the form. This is true science. The poet alone knows astronomy, chemistry, vegetation, and animation, for he does not stop at these facts, but employs them as signs. He knows why the plain, or meadow of space, was strown with these flowers we call suns, and moons, and stars; why the great deep is adorned with animals, with men, and gods. . . .³³

Melville marked the last sentence, underscoring "He knows," and wrote, "Would some poet be pleased to tell us 'why.' Will Mr E.?" The unhappy result of Melville's search for some purpose in the universe explains his attitude toward Emerson's faith in the poet's vision. Melville agreed with Emerson that poets are "liberating gods" in that they present wise views on certain aspects of life, but he did not share Emerson's enthusiasm over the poet's ability to reconcile man to the deepest mysteries.

His criticism of Emerson on this point is related to his remarks about various opinions of Emerson concerning life in general.

III

In several instances Melville recorded a favorable opinion of Emerson's ideas about particular aspects of the individual and of society.

³² *Essays: Second Series*, p. 20.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

He was delighted by Emerson's giving veracity and honesty the first place among the virtues. In "Illusions" Emerson declared:

I look upon the simple and childish virtues of veracity and honesty as the root of all that is sublime in character. Speak as you think, be what you are, pay your debts of all kinds. I prefer to be owned as sound and solvent, and my word as good as my bond, and to be what cannot be skipped, or dissipated, or undermined, to all the *eclat* in the universe. This reality is the foundation of friendship, religion, poetry, and art.³⁴

Melville enclosed the last sentence in brackets and annotated, "True & admirable! Bravo!" for he too embodied in his writings the idea that Emerson here expressed. The necessity of being true to oneself is emphasized in the works of both men.

This fact explains the concurrence of their ideas in regard to the fundamental nature of heroism. Melville was impressed by the following passage in the *Essays*:

Self-trust is the essence of heroism. It is the state of the soul at war, and its ultimate objects are the last defiance of falsehood and wrong, and the power to bear all that can be inflicted by evil agents. . . . Its jest is the littleness of common life. That false prudence which dotes on health and wealth is the butt and merriment of heroism.³⁵

Melville drew a marginal line beside these sentences and observed, "This is noble again."³⁶ Besides seeing in the lives of others the truth of these remarks by Emerson, he was aware that his own struggle in the late forties and the early fifties, his most productive period, was characterized by such a heroic spirit as Emerson defined.

Personal experience served also to make him agree with Emerson that great truth is learned only through suffering. In "Considerations by the Way" Emerson wrote that we daily pray "to be conventional," saying:

Supply, most kind gods! this defect in my address, in my form, in my fortunes, which puts me a little out of the ring: supply it, and let me be like the rest whom I admire, and on good terms with them. But the

³⁴ *The Conduct of Life*, p. 201.

³⁵ "Heroism," *Essays: First Series*, p. 229. The omission indicated, together with a few sentences preceding those quoted, is also marked.

³⁶ On the preceding page he underlined: "Heroism feels and never reasons, and therefore is always right . . .," and wrote in the margin, "Alas for the truth again!" But he erased this remark, which happens still to be discernible. Perhaps he made the erasure because he felt that the remainder of the passage sufficiently qualified the underscored words.

wise gods say, No, we have better things for thee. By humiliations, by defeats, by loss of sympathy, by gulfs of disparity, learn a wider truth and humanity than that of a fine gentleman.³⁷

Concerning the last sentence Melville commented, "Nothing can be truer or better said." By not writing books that would make him popular and financially prosperous, and by writing instead books containing the truth learned by just such means as "the wise gods" stipulated,³⁸ he himself had sacrificed the possibility of becoming "a fine gentleman."

Various other passages that Melville marked without annotating are obviously in accord with what he believed. For instance, he underlined "adversity is the prosperity of the great,"³⁹ and "Every man's task is his life-preserver";⁴⁰ and he heavily marked an old Persian proverb which Emerson praised:

Fooled thou must be, though wisest of the wise:
Then be the fool of virtue, not of vice.⁴¹

The annotations and markings referred to show quite clearly that Melville appreciated many of Emerson's opinions relative to personal integrity and fortitude. He was gratified by Emerson's argument that strong character is based upon self-reliance.

He felt, however, that Emerson went too far in his praise of self-reliance when he spoke disparagingly of the benefits to be derived from the study of foreign cultures. His attitude toward Emerson's views on traveling throws some light on that point. In writing of Americans' going to Europe for culture, Emerson queried, "You do not think you will find anything there which you have not seen at home?"⁴² This statement caused Melville to observe, "Yet, possibly, Rome or Athens has something to show or suggest that Chicago has not." Since traveling had contributed much to Melville's own education, such a comment on his part seems only natural. The sights that he had seen were partly responsible for

³⁷ *The Conduct of Life*, p. 162. The phrase "by gulfs of disparity" is underlined. Lower on the page this sentence is also underlined: "A rich man was never insulted in his life: but this man [who becomes wise] must be stung."

³⁸ See William Braswell, "The Satirical Temper of Melville's *Pierre*," *American Literature*, VII, 424-426 (Jan., 1936). •

³⁹ "Worship," *The Conduct of Life*, p. 145.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴¹ "Illusions," *The Conduct of Life*, p. 202. At the end of his tragic life *Pierre*, a symbol of Melville's own spiritual life, calls himself "the fool of Truth, the fool of Virtue, the fool of Fate" (*Pierre*, p. 499).

⁴² "Culture," *The Conduct of Life*, p. 90.

the difference between his cosmic view and that of Emerson; and it was this difference which caused Melville to write his most severe criticism of Emerson.

IV

He found a great deal to criticize in Emerson's views upon the problem of evil. Since from the time of writing *Mardi* (1849) he himself had shown great concern over the suffering and wretchedness in the universe, it is not surprising that he found fault with Emerson's relatively unperturbed attitude in regard to the matter.

In the first place, he objected to what he considered an insinuation by Emerson that man himself is responsible for the origin of his ills. In "Heroism" Emerson said:

The disease and deformity around us certify the infraction of natural, intellectual, and moral laws, and often violation on violation to breed such compound misery. A lockjaw that bends a man's head back to his heels, hydrophobia, that makes him bark at his wife and babes, insanity, that makes him eat grass; war, plague, cholera, famine, indicate a certain ferocity in nature, which, as it had its inlet by human crime, must have its outlet by human suffering.⁴³

Melville marked the last part of this passage and commented:

Look squarely at this, & what is it but mere theology—Calvinism?—The brook shows the stain of the banks it has passed thro. Still, these essays are noble.

Melville's use of the word "Calvinism" indicates that he perceived in the passage evidence of Emerson's belief in the fall of man through his own agency.⁴⁴ This dissenting comment came naturally

⁴³ *Essays: First Series*, pp. 226-227.

⁴⁴ As a youth Emerson had accepted the story of Adam's entailing sin upon all mankind. On Feb. 22, 1822, Emerson wrote concerning evil: "What is its origin? The sin which Adam brought into the world and entailed upon his children" (*Journals*, I, 115). On Nov. 23 of the same year a new note appears: "it should be remembered that we wisely assume the righteousness of the Creator in placing man in a probationary state. We do not seek with vain ambition to question the abstruse and unsearchable ground of this ordination, because it is plain matter of fact that we are incompetent to the discussion" (*ibid.*, I, 195). About a year later he wrote to ask his Aunt Mary Moody Emerson a number of questions, among them: "what is the origin of evil?" (*Cabot, op. cit.*, I, 103).

But as a mature man he wrote: "We say Paradise was; Adam fell; the Golden Age, and the like. We mean man is not as he ought to be; but our way of painting this is on Time and we say *was*" (under Aug. 21, 1837, *Journals*, IV, 287). The fall of man, he observed, is "the discovery we have made that we exist" (*Works*, III, 75).

enough from one who, brought up to believe in the doctrine of the fall, had in maturity come to the conclusion that God is responsible for the presence of evil as well as for the presence of good.

Similarly Melville was perturbed, for understandable reasons, by Emerson's belief that by obeying the immutable natural laws, which Emerson thought to be at one with a Beneficent Tendency of the universe, man attains goodness, whereas by disobeying them he becomes depraved.⁴⁵ So Emerson maintained when he wrote: "it is the undisciplined will that is whipped with bad thoughts and bad fortunes."⁴⁶ This statement caused Melville to accuse Emerson again of being theological: "Jumps into the pulpit from off the tripod here," Melville annotated. Another passage concerning the punishment that a man suffers for his sins evoked a humorous comment. In "Spiritual Laws" Emerson wrote:

Our dreams are the sequel of our waking knowledge. The visions of the night bear some proportion to the visions of the day. Hideous dreams are exaggerations of the sins of the day.⁴⁷

Melville annotated the last sentence thus: "Meaning, of course, the sins of *indigestion*."

Like Emerson, Melville believed that man can improve his condition if he will but live by the best that is in him. Both *Redburn* and *White Jacket*, especially the latter, contain forcible argument to that effect. But Melville was not nearly so sanguine as Emerson concerning man's ability to overcome evil. He stressed much more than Emerson the fact that there is a difference between man and man. To quote Babbalanja, the philosopher in *Mardi*, some men are governed less by their "moral sense" than by their "instinctive passions," which fact makes it "easier for some men to be saints, than for others not to be sinners."⁴⁸ Babbalanja says concerning the man who is not a criminal: "That he is not bad, is not of him. Potter's clay and wax are all moulded by hands invisible. The soil decides the man."⁴⁹ Reduced to the ultimate, such a view might be held to show that Melville was a Necessitarian; but he, like Emerson, had no definite philosophical system. Suffice it here to

⁴⁵ See Chester Eugene Jorgenson, "Emerson's Paradise under the Shadow of Swords," *Philological Quarterly*, XI, 281-282 (July, 1932).

⁴⁶ "Illusions," *The Conduct of Life*, pp. 200-201.

⁴⁷ *Essays: First Series*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ *Mardi*, II, 156.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 251.

say that he was more fully aware of the undesirable elements in human nature than Emerson was.

In an annotation already noted Melville said that if the tendency to dispose easily of disagreeable facts is a sign of poetic power, Emerson is a great poet. His dissatisfaction with Emerson's minimizing some of the harsher aspects of nature is evident in other marginal remarks. In the essay on "Prudence" Emerson declared: "The drover, the sailor, buffets it all day, and his health renews itself at as vigorous a pulse under the sleet, as under the sun of June."⁵⁰ Melville commented: "To one who has weathered Cape Horne as a common sailor what stuff all this is." The vivid description in *White Jacket* of the hardships and the danger encountered in rounding Cape Horn contains this statement concerning the Cape: "Lucky it is that it comes about midway in the homeward-bound passage, so that the sailors have time to prepare for it, and time to recover from it after it is astern."⁵¹

That Melville considered Emerson prejudiced in his treatment of unpleasant facts is likewise shown by an annotation upon a passage which proclaims the trustworthiness of man. "Trust men," wrote Emerson, "and they will be true to you; treat them greatly, and they will show themselves great, though they make an exception in your favor to all their rules in trade."⁵² Melville observed, "God help the poor fellow who squares his life according to this." In *The Confidence-Man* (1857) Melville had written one of the severest satires ever directed at the idea that man is innately good and deserving of trust. Later works indicate that he came to hold a more favorable view of human nature, but he never found enough goodness in mankind to justify such an assumption as Emerson's.

His criticism of Emerson on these matters is merely a part of his criticism of Emerson's optimism in regard to the problem of evil. Emerson believed that evil is temporary. "Good is positive," he asserted. "Evil is merely privative, not absolute: it is like cold, which is the privation of heat."⁵³ Believing in a universal scheme that tends toward absolute good, Emerson made some statements

⁵⁰ *Essays: First Series*, p. 216. Emerson, however, did not deny the ferocities of nature. In "Fate" he recorded: "But Nature is no sentimentalist,—does not cosset or pamper us. We must see that the world is rough and surly. . . . The cold, inconsiderate of persons, tingles your blood, benumbs your feet, freezes a man like an apple" (*Works*, VI, 6-7).

⁵¹ *White Jacket*, p. 137.

⁵² "Prudence," *Essays: First Series*, p. 215.

⁵³ *Works*, I, 124.

that Melville thought ridiculous. In Emerson's assertion that "the first lesson of history is the good of evil"⁵⁴ Melville underlined "the good of evil" and wrote: "He still bethinks himself of his optimism—he must make that good somehow against the eternal hell itself."⁵⁵ Emerson's saying that "we use defects and deformities to a sacred purpose, so expressing our sense that the evils of the world are such only to the evil eye,"⁵⁶ caused Melville to inquire:

What does the man mean? If Mr Emerson travelling in Egypt should find the plague-spot come out on him—would he consider that an evil sight or not? And if evil, would the eye be evil because it seemed evil to his eye, or rather to his sense using the eye for instrument?

A passage in "Spiritual Laws" had a similar effect upon Melville. "The good," Emerson wrote, "compared to the evil which he [a man] sees, is as his own good to his own evil."⁵⁷ Melville annotated:

A perfectly good being, therefore, would see no evil.—But what did Christ see?—He saw what made him weep.—Howard, too, the "Philanthropist" must have been a very bad man—he saw, in jails, so much evil. To annihilate all this nonsense read the Sermon on the Mount, and consider what it implies.⁵⁸

The Sermon on the Mount was for Melville the "greatest real miracle of all religions" because it shows Christ's vivid awareness of the evil in the world and expresses his "inexhaustible . . . tenderness and loving-kindness" for mankind.⁵⁹

The annotations upon the subject of evil help to explain the most important critical remark that Melville made concerning Emerson. In "The Poet" Melville marked the passage beginning, "Language is fossil poetry,"⁶⁰ and wrote:

⁵⁴ "Considerations by the Way," *The Conduct of Life*, p. 157.

⁵⁵ The use of "hell" here is figurative, for Melville did not believe in eternal punishment. See *Mardi*, II, 33.

⁵⁶ "The Poet," *Essays: Second Series*, p. 20. To continue Emerson's passage: "In the old mythology, mythologists observe, defects are ascribed to divine natures, as lameness to Vulcan, blindness to Cupid, and the like, to signify exuberances." In this sentence Melville underlined "defects" and "signify exuberances," and in the margin he commented: "'Defects' signify 'exuberances.'—My Dear Sir!"

⁵⁷ *Essays: First Series*, p. 133.

⁵⁸ One can see that where Melville wrote the last sentence he had written and erased some other remark.

⁵⁹ *Pierre*, pp. 289-290.

⁶⁰ *Essays: Second Series*, p. 24.

This is admirable, as many other thoughts of Mr Emerson's are. His gross and astonishing errors & illusions spring from a self-conceit so intensely intellectual and calm that at first one hesitates to call it by its right name. Another species of Mr Emerson's errors, or rather blindness, proceeds from a defect in the region of the heart.

By expressing admiration for much of Emerson, and by censuring at the same time what appeared to Melville to be intellectual smugness and an imperfect appreciation of the suffering of mankind, this comment sums up very well Melville's criticism of Emerson.⁶¹ In spite of what the praise implies, the censure shows that between the two men's interpretations of truth there was a gulf.

V

How to account for that gulf is a problem which can be partially solved by a brief survey of certain factors in the lives of the two authors.

There is a real contrast between Emerson's long academic training and Melville's brief training. And there is a great difference between the types of people the two were associated with as young men: Melville's experiences on the high seas and on foreign soil brought him into contact with a wider variety of evils than was

⁶¹ All except three of Melville's annotations upon Emerson have been considered. For anyone who may be curious, here are those three annotations:

In "Heroism," *Essays: First Series*, p. 232, Emerson wrote: "It is told of Brutus, that when he fell on his sword, after the battle of Philippi, he quoted a line of Euripides,—'O virtue! I have followed thee through life, and I find thee at last but a shade.' I doubt not the hero is slandered by this report. The heroic soul does not sell its justice and its nobleness." Melville commented: "The meaning of the exclamation imputed to Brutus is here wrested from its obvious import. The struggle in which he was foiled was for mankind, & not for himself."

In "Worship," *The Conduct of Life*, pp. 127-128, Emerson quoted from Chaucer to show "Chaucer's extraordinary confusion of heaven and earth in the picture of Dido:—

She was so fair,
So young, so lusty, with her eyen glad,
That if that God that heaven and earth made
Would have a love for beauty and goodness,
And womanhede, truth, and seemliness,
Whom should he loven but this lady sweet?
There n' is no woman to him half so meet.

With these grossnesses, we complacently compare our own taste and decorum." Melville underlined "these grossnesses" and observed: "The idea in the quoted lines is perfect poetry—therefore very far from blasphemous or gross—as it seems to me."

In "The Poet," *Essays: Second Series*, p. 29, Emerson wrote: "As the traveller who has lost his way, throws his reins on his horse's neck, and trusts to the instinct of the animal to find his road, so must we do with the divine animal who carries us through this world." Melville annotated: "This is an original application of the thought."

afforded by polite society of Boston and Cambridge. His financial failure as a novelist also taught him some bitter truth.

Yet it would be dangerous to assert that the hardships and the distress which Melville suffered were more difficult to bear than those which came to Emerson in his quiet surroundings. Mental defectiveness in one brother, temporary insanity in another, consumption that preyed upon himself and others in his family, deaths of loved ones, all caused Emerson sorrow; but they did not lessen his basic optimism.

The difference in the religious training of the two men is probably one of the chief reasons why one's outlook on life was much brighter than the other's. It is significant that Emerson was born and reared in a Unitarian world, whereas Melville spent his early years under the influence of the Reformed Theology. Emerson was taught to believe that the Deity is benevolent and that man is good. Melville was instructed in the Calvinistic views that God is a jealous God and that man is corrupt. Moreover, because of the place it gave to Christ, Melville's religious training was more emotional in effect than Emerson's. In both cases the teachings had an abiding influence.

Perhaps even more important than religious training, however, is the constitutional factor. At the age of thirty Emerson wrote in his journal:

Men seem to be constitutionally believers and unbelievers. There is no bridge that can cross from a mind in one state to a mind in the other. All my opinions, affections, whimsies, are tinged with belief,—incline to that side. . . . But I cannot give reasons to a person of a different persuasion that are at all adequate to the force of my conviction. Yet when I fail to find the reason, my faith is not less.⁶²

There is a notable contrast between this autobiographical passage and a shrewd analytical comment that Hawthorne made upon Melville. After a long talk with Melville, with whom he had conversed many times before, Hawthorne wrote in his journal in 1856: He can neither believe, nor be comfortable in his unbelief; and he is too honest and courageous not to try to do one or the other. If he were a religious man, he would be one of the most truly religious and reverential; he has a very high and noble nature, and [is] better worth immortality than most of us.⁶³

⁶² *Journals*, III, 210.

⁶³ Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, II, 135.

Emerson's optimism had an unshakable basis in his intuition: physical facts and logic were secondary matters with him. Although during the early part of his career as a novelist Melville derived occasional ecstasy from intuitional thinking, he was temperamentally disposed to trust more to his understanding than to his intuition.

For that reason one might expect certain important influences from his reading. He was more affected by the arguments of skeptical philosophers than Emerson was. The attitudes of the two men toward Hume is enlightening. Emerson admitted that Hume's logic had proved invulnerable to all attacks upon it; yet he referred to Hume's arguments as "calumnies upon our nature."⁶⁴ Melville, on the other hand, said that although Hume was "the most skeptical of philosophical sceptics, yet" he was "full of that firm, creedless faith that embraces the spheres."⁶⁵

The constitutional tastes of Emerson and Melville as well as the influences of their reading are implied in Emerson's fondness for Plotinus, who minimized the importance of evil in the universal scheme, and Melville's fondness for such works as Ecclesiastes. When praising that book, Melville wrote: "that mortal man who hath more of joy than sorrow in him, that mortal man cannot be true—not true, or undeveloped."⁶⁶ This assertion, written before Melville annotated Emerson's essays, is not unlike an opinion that he expressed some years after that experience. When writing to thank an English correspondent for a copy of Thomson's *The City of Dreadful Night, and Other Poems*, he said:

As to the pessimism [of Thomson's poetry], although neither pessimist nor optimist myself, nevertheless I relish it in the verse, if for nothing else than as a counterpoise to the exorbitant hopefulness, juvenile and shallow, that makes such a bluster in these days, at least in some quarters.⁶⁷

This taste for pessimism in literature helps to explain why at the very end of his life Melville read sympathetically certain passages in the works of Schopenhauer.⁶⁸ An admirer of Schopenhauer—

⁶⁴ *Journals*, I, 292; see also *ibid.*, I, 290; *ibid.*, *passim*; and Cabot, *op. cit.*, I, 104-105.

⁶⁵ Redburn, p. 377.

⁶⁶ *Moby Dick*, II, 181.

⁶⁷ Letter to James Billson, Jan. 22, 1885, *The [London] Nation and the Athenaeum*, XXIX, 712 (Aug. 13, 1921).

⁶⁸ See Braswell, *Herman Melville and Christianity*, chap. ix, for a discussion of some of the markings in the seven volumes of Schopenhauer that Melville owned.

a philosopher whom Emerson called "odious"⁶⁹—would hardly approve of some of the ideas in Emerson's essays.

On the whole, in the light of all the facts noted concerning the two men, Melville's criticism of Emerson seems very much what one might have expected. That Melville censured Emerson's attitude toward evil is no more surprising than that he praised such qualities as Emerson's mastery of rhetoric and his love of goodness.

⁶⁹ *Works*, VIII, 138.

WHITTIER

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TO ENTER a plea for Whittier at this date will seem to many a purely academic procedure. Yet it may be maintained that, with the exception of some left-wing writers who praise him as propagandist, present-day American critics have given him less than his due. Parrington allots him ten pages in his great history; Mr. Lewisohn dismisses him in two. He has been accorded less summary but no less disparaging treatment by the anthologists. Nearly a score of years ago Howard Mumford Jones expressed the opinion of Whittier held by most of us, when he wrote:

Like Longfellow, he is read by the children, and his fame is therefore secure. In the American pantheon he will always hold an honorable place; but the trend of development is away from him, and it seems probable that he will sink to the safe dignity of a minor sectional poet.¹

This has much truth in it. One agrees not with what it says, but with what it implies.

It is true that Whittier is read by the children, because they are made to read him in school; that does not mean he is a children's poet. It is true that the trend is away from him; but it is away from a host of good writers. It is true that he is a minor poet: the intensity, the mastery, the opulence of major poets are not his. The history of literature, however, seems to prove that writers can live for qualities other than these. And it is also true that a large part of Whittier's work is sectional. Perhaps the most severe charge that can be brought against his nature poems is that so many of them depend upon the reader's knowledge of a landscape that most of us do not know and that is beginning to disappear before the eyes of those who do. But lines like

And through the war march of the Puritan
The silver stream of Marvell's music ran

are not sectional. Nor are most of the other lines upon which his fame will ultimately depend.

¹ *American Poetry*, ed. Percy H. Boynton with the assistance of Howard M. Jones, George W. Sherburn, and Frank M. Webster (New York, 1918), p. 648.

True, the adverse criticism which Whittier has received is justified. Most of his work is bad. He could not restrain his faculty for jogging verse. He could not concentrate his powers. He could not recognize a bad stanza even when it occurred between two good ones. He could spoil a lyric by tacking a moral on the end as readily as Bryant. He could accept the popular canons of taste, and thereby enervate his work, as thoroughly as Longfellow. He could rely on what he deemed to be the truth, rather than upon his ability to express it in terms of life and beauty, as completely as Lowell. Yet despite all these and other stultifying restrictions he managed to write well, occasionally by transcending them, but more often by doing his best within their narrow limits.

Whittier's nature poetry offers a good example of his achievement within a restricted field. Much as it has been praised, its peculiar quality has been little recognized. It was conditioned on the great sensory limitation of color-blindness.² To speak of him as painting a scene is inexact; rather he etches it. *Snow-Bound* is memorable largely because it gave full play to his powers as an artist in black and white. It is the sharp ravine cutting the expanse of snow, the ducks' black squadron lying beneath the gray November cloud, the cat's dark silhouette crouching on the wall that we remember when we think of this poem. Even the angel invoked at the end has wings of ashen gray. Though at times Whittier employed conventional color associations to good advantage, such successes are rare. Seldom did he make an adjective of his own like that of the "crimson-blooded maples" in "The Ranger." In his best pictures he let color go and concentrated on things that could be revealed in black and brown and gray. Thus it is that he dealt so much with the pattern of light and shade in summer woods, with autumn eves when the spectrum began to disappear, with the sea when shadows fell dark upon its face. Within this narrow range he gave us some unforgettable poetry, the somber quality of which is the chief component of its beauty. Although he was often able to suggest sounds felicitously, his imagery was chiefly visual. In "Summer by the Lakeside" there is not an auditory image, and in nearly a hundred descriptive lines only two color

² Whittier was only red-green blind, but his timidity in using color extended to the whole scale. He was no more successful with blue, for example, than with red.

adjectives.³ His achievement becomes the more remarkable when we recognize these facts.

The study of Whittier is a study of limitations. In order to understand them it is necessary to take into account the theory of poetry within which he worked. He never stated it in detail, but in the introduction to "Amy Wentworth" he wrote a brief defense of the art:

Let none upbraid us that the waves entice
Thy sea-dipped pencil, or some quaint device
Rhythmic and sweet, beguiles my pen away
From the sharp strifes and sorrows of today.
Thus while the east-wind keen from Labrador
Sings in the leafless elms, and from the shore
Of the great sea comes the monotonous roar
Of the long-breaking surf, and all the sky
Is gray with cloud, home-bound and dull, I try
To time a simple legend to the sounds
Of winds in the woods, and waves on pebbled bounds,—
A song for oars to chime with, such as might
Be sung by tired sea-painters, who at night
Look from their hemlock camps, by quiet cove
Or beach, moon-lighted, on the waves they love.

These lines, I think, explain why Whittier, who was a born poet, was in the main such a futile one.

We think of Whittier, when we think of him at all, as a quiet old Quaker in white whiskers and black pants, who spent his time walking in the country around Amesbury and drinking tea with the temperance ladies of the neighborhood. We forget the ardent young abolitionist of the thirties, who was stoned out of Concord and rotten-egged out of Newburyport. A true spiritual descendant of Roger Williams, Whittier for many years fought for an unpopular cause. He saw his beliefs held up to ridicule, his name defamed, his office sacked and burnt by the mob. He went on fighting until in the end, for reasons which he did not understand, his cause prevailed. Despite the uneventful later years there was action, there was heroism in Whittier's life. Except for a few

³ The phrases "laughing girl" and "the cricket's wail" as they are used in this poem do not arouse auditory images in me. There is a kind of negative auditory imagery, however, in the "dark still woods" and "the hushed inland sea."

feeble successes among the anti-slavery poems he was unable to transmute these experiences into literature. His statements about art in poems like "Amy Wentworth" furnish us with an explanation of this. Looked at more closely the tragedy of Whittier becomes a tragedy of the intellect. He was a bad poet because he was a bad critic. He could challenge injustice, but he could not challenge untruth. He could not even perceive it.

Long before the phrase was coined, Whittier pledged himself to the theory of art as escape from life. That much great poetry can be explained by this theory is doubtful. To say that "The Eve of St. Agnes" is an escape from external reality is less penetrating than to say that it is an assertion of the reality of the imagination. To say that *The Tempest* is a denial of life is less true than to say that it is an affirmation of art. In short, to describe so positive a thing as poetry in terms of a negative is dubious. Whittier, however, accepted the escape theory in its simplest form without recognizing that it was inadequate to explain the great poetry he most admired. Although he wrote that Luther's pen was mightier than von Seckingen's mailed fist, he could not see what made that pen powerful. Although he gave himself utterly to the abolitionist cause, he failed to sing the songs of justice and liberty as Shelley had sung them. His excuse in "Proem" was that life got in the way, that duty and labor made his song unskilled and harsh. He could not see that duty and labor had made the song of Milton clear and strong. Despite Mr. Lewisohn's and Mr. More's attempts to prove that Whittier understood this, it is quite certain that he did not. He believed poetry should be something plaintive and sweet which would charm the world away from its memory of bitter things. That is why he so loved Spenser and Sidney, who live apart in a dream world of their own. That is why he never recognized that Luther was a poet as well as a polemicist. That is why he produced that long line of stories which now so weary the reader, not so much because he lacked the narrative gift as because he refused to make his characters convincing. That he could depict character when he wished, he proved in *Snow-Bound*; that he could tell a story when he was not bogged down by the devising of romantic atmosphere, he proved in "Skipper Ireson's Ride." But in the ballads he was trying to get away from reality, to write about faint far-off things that would soothe rather than arouse.

And then, as is my wont, I told
A story of the days of old,
Not found in printed books,—in sooth
A fancy with slight hint of truth. . . .

Statements like this occur in half a dozen places. One can see how such an intention must have reacted on those poems in which his intenser emotions were engaged. He could not give himself to them utterly as poet; he lost his strength when he needed it most.

This is why the anti-slavery poems fail to interest us any more. I wish that Whittier could have achieved the feeling of "To a Southern Statesman" in more of them. I wish he could have made use of the experiences of his life as inciting forces for poetry. I wish he could have poured out on the people of Concord and Newbury the wrath that Jones Very once visited on the folk of Salem. But wrath and indignation are only two of the emotions and the anti-slavery poems only a small part of our loss. More important is the effect of Whittier's theory on the rest of his work. Hate and scorn were weakened, the other passions were killed by it. The result is an impersonal quality that sticks in the throat. Actually he was a poor romantic; he kept the best part of himself out of his work. The statement that his most intimate poems lack vigor and masculinity is true. The charge that his nature poetry contains too much nature and too little Whittier is just. The suggestion that his love poems prove he never experienced love is only too plausible. Yet Whittier is not cold; he is rather the warmest poet in the whole New England group. He gives the impression not of a man who lacks fire, but of one who banks it. This was a conscious process dictated by his belief.

Even while holding this view, however, one must recognize that the emotional content of some of Whittier's finest poems is as much the result of the limits of his theory as his nature pictures are the result of the limits of his color-blindness. Take, for example, that much-admired poem "Telling the Bees." Whittier's approach to his theme grew directly out of that attitude which we now derisively label "Victorian sentimentality." In "Marguerite," "The Countess," and "The Bridal of Pennacook" he dealt with the same theme. We usually say we cannot read those poems because they are sentimental. But "Telling the Bees" we are able to read, even though we *do* find it sentimental. Why? In truth it is not because "Marguerite"

is sentimental that we dislike it, but because it is a bad poem. "Telling the Bees" is a good poem, one in which Whittier has induced in us Coleridge's "suspension of disbelief." Whether we share his feeling in general or not is of little importance to our appreciation of the poem. For some he has preserved a mood that has gone out of literature; for others he has expressed a mood that has not gone out of life. Whichever it is, it is something that few poets can do today because they are incapable of Whittier's approach. "Telling the Bees" is a good poem not in spite of its sentimentality but in part because of it.

In the same way his successful treatment of some of the lesser emotions may be due to his flight from the greater ones. There is a special tenderness in his work, special because it exists apart from passion. Foregoing the expression of love between the sexes, he became pre-eminently the poet of friendship. This is the emotion of "My Playmate," of "Benedicite," of half a dozen other minor masterpieces. Meeting it in "Lucy Hooper," we forget our objections to worn-out rhymes and conventional images. There is in him, too, a childlike innocence that may be the result of turning his back on life. He preserves all of the kindliness of Christianity and none of its fanaticism. With two or three exceptions his religious poems are imitative and without distinction; but throughout his other work occur lines of religious verse of exceptional grace. He was able also to suggest many vague feelings that are too tenuous for exact phrasing: the nearly pleasurable sadness aroused in old graveyards, the melancholy of autumn twilights, the stilling effect of "the sea's long level dim with rain."

To illustrate these things it would be necessary to select rigorously from the poet's work. The best plea for Whittier would be an anthology composed largely of fragments. Were I to attempt such a collection I should draw heavily on the poems arranged under the heading "Narrative and Legendary." From the wasteland of "The Bridal of Pennacook" I should rescue the dirge for the Indian maiden, from "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" the description of the snakelike wizard Kelpius. "The Countess," "Miriam," and several other poems would yield lines on the sea, which inspired Whittier to such pure utterance that he well deserves a place in Salvador Novo's *esquema de hidrografia poetica*. From "The Bay of the Seven Islands" I should take the first half of the introduc-

tion in which the names Amesbury and Merrimac prove themselves as fitted for poetry as Trebizond and Samarkand; and that forgotten poem "The Henchman" would give me two scattered stanzas which are a complete lyric:

Oh, proud and calm!—she cannot know
Where'er she goes with her I go;
Oh, cold and fair!—she cannot guess
I kneel to share her hound's caress!

The hound and I are on her trail,
The wind and I uplift her veil;
As if the calm, cold moon she were,
And I the tide, I follow her.

I should also seek to illustrate two aspects of Whittier's talent generally overlooked. First, his humor. Parts of "My Old Schoolmaster" and the "Extract from a New England Legend" would disclose this; perhaps the best example is the sketch in "The Double-headed Snake of Newbury" of Cotton Mather galloping into town "with his eyes agog and his ears set wide." Second, his naturalism. The picture he painted of rural life was not always idyllic. In the prelude to "Among the Hills" he presented the darker side: the homes without beauty; the damp, closed parlors, decorated with mourning pieces displaying "a green-haired woman, peony-cheeked, beneath impossible willows"; the petty, grasping lives of people who spent their days on a stubborn soil:

Shrill querulous women, sour and sullen men,
Untidy, loveless, old before their time,
With scarce a human interest save their own
Monotonous round of small economies,
Or the poor scandal of the neighborhood. . . .

And in "The Preacher" he portrayed with remarkable fidelity the effect of the evangelist upon his hearers: upon the boy and girl who identify their desire for love with religious exaltation; upon the old man, passion-spent, who merely strains his ears to listen; upon the child in whom is suddenly awakened a sense of sin.

An anthology including such fragments would reveal a more varied and more interesting Whittier than the one found in school collections. If the editor were permitted not only to select lines

but also to arrange them, there would be further gain. Take for example this version of "The Dead Feast of the Kol-folk":

We have opened the door
Once, twice, thrice.
We have swept the floor,
We have boiled the rice.

We have opened the door,
We have kindled the coals,
And we boil the rice
For the feast of souls.

Where the pale grasses bend
Low to our sighing,
Come, husband and friend,
The dead to the dying.

Come you who are dearest
Beneath our roof cover
To us who are nearest
Come, husband and lover.

For the feast of the souls
We have opened the door,
And we kindle the coals
We may kindle no more.

There will be those who say I have no right thus to recast this poem. Yet the effect of incantation, which is the chief virtue of the lyric, is strengthened by it. Whittier stands to gain by such editing. He would remain a minor poet, but a richer poet and a surer one.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A NOTE ON AVON'S HARVEST

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CONTEMPORARY poets who manage to run to more than one edition are rare. It is natural, therefore, that critics should not take the trouble to ask themselves whether or not they have an authoritative text. In the case of Edwin Arlington Robinson, who was a careful critic of his own work and revised often, it is frequently essential that students should investigate the final form of any single poem. The purpose of this note is to correct an error, which has considerable currency, concerning Robinson's intentions with respect to *Avon's Harvest*.

Some of Robinson's revisions are more notable than others, and they are not always made for the same reason. The revision of *Captain Craig* in 1921, for instance, is made significant by the fact that Robinson's ideas had undergone considerable change during the nineteen years which had elapsed since its first publication in 1902. In *Avon's Harvest*, on the other hand, the revisions were not occasioned by a change in ideas which was the result of the passage of time. For the first edition of *Avon's Harvest* appeared only seven months before the revised version of the *Collected Poems*.¹ Revision was the direct result of the response of reviewers to the story. They had made a mistake in their reading of the poem, and Robinson revised to take care of the error. But the interesting fact is that he revised in such a way as to legitimate the reviewers' interpretation rather than to correct it. A reconstruction of what happened is not without significance.

If we go back to the first critical volume devoted solely to the poetry of Robinson and published in 1923, we find the author, Lloyd Morris, aware of the importance of Robinson's revisions of *Avon's Harvest*, though he did not find it necessary to explain their exact nature. He writes:

¹ *Avon's Harvest*, published March 29, 1921; *Collected Poems*, published Oct. 18, 1921. For the bibliographical matter, dates of publication, etc., in what follows, I am indebted to Charles Beecher Hogan's *A Bibliography of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New Haven, 1936). Robinson's poems are published by the Macmillan Company.

In no one of Mr. Robinson's poems has his capacity for probing into the hidden recesses of the spirit been more clearly demonstrated than in the revised version of that long poem, "Avon's Harvest," to which he refers as his "dime novel". . . . In the first published version of the poem there were certain flaws which dissatisfied Mr. Robinson, and it is a rewritten and perfected version which appears in the *Collected Poems*.²

The next book³ to appear on Robinson (1926) accords *Avon's Harvest* but brief notice. In the following year, with the publication of Mark Van Doren's *Edwin Arlington Robinson*, the interesting error begins which it is the purpose of this note to correct.

I quote the complete passage, since it includes an excellent summary of the content of the poem.

"Avon's Harvest" has for its scene an earth which is almost wholly black. Avon is a chronic victim of fear, the infection having first visited him when he was a boy in school. Another boy, whom now as he tells the story Avon describes with the utmost of virulent loathing, had then filled him with a nameless hatred and dread—so nameless in fact that Avon had never attempted to express them. Only in one final encounter with the boy had he let them move him to action; and the action was a blow in the evil face before him. Years later he is haunted not merely by the memory of that blow, which has recoiled upon him in the multiple guise of remorse, humiliation, and undischarged venom; he is haunted by the man himself, who every year has sent him word from some part of the world that he still exists and will continue to send word. When the *Titanic* sinks the list of published dead includes the name of Avon's aversion, and for a while Avon, whose soul has been all but strangled by the fingers that reach out from this man's existence, breathes freely and feels warmth returning to him. Then in a cabin in a [Maine] forest to which he has gone for rest he sees the man once more and is found by friends with a knife in his body; and the tale ends with his dying in his chair at home one night, following a complete disclosure of the situation to a friend. The friend, coming the next morning, is told by the doctor:

"He died, you know, because he was afraid—
And he had been afraid for a long time."

Readers and reviewers at the time the poem was published conjectured variously that Avon had seen a ghost, had created to feed his fear an image of one long gone, had died because in some abstract way he was afraid. Mr. Robinson insisted to a younger poet who was interviewing

²Lloyd Morris, *The Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1923), p. 29.

³Ben Ray Redman, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1926).

him that Avon's enemy had of course not died on the *Titanic*. "You know," he was quoted as saying, "ghosts don't leave knives. All the reviewers so far have made that mistake. It is simply a more excruciating form of mental torture which he contrived when he let Avon think he was a ghost." The significant thing is that Avon thought he saw a ghost, that Avon felt like one possessed. Mr. Robinson had asked his publishers to announce "Avon's Harvest" as a "metrical dime novel." It is of course no such thing; it is rather a particularly intense study of the corrupting effects of single-minded hate and fear when no other emotions are allowed room in a closed soul.⁴

Here we find a clear account of the first version of *Avon's Harvest*, of the interpretation which the reviewers gave it, and of Robinson's complaint that he had been misunderstood in one point of the plot; namely, that Avon's enemy was a real man—not a ghost—who left behind him a real knife. In passing we may note that one of Mr. Van Doren's statements is inexact. Avon was not found "by his friends with a knife in his body" even in the first version. The knife was there, to be sure, but, Avon says:

They found it on me with the point of it
Touching my throat. I had not moved since then.⁵

But there *was* a knife, and when Avon begins his story, in the first version, the knife is the object to which he constantly alludes as a point of importance in the establishment of the credibility of his story.

I waited, and anon became aware
That I was looking less at Avon's eyes
Than at another thing that had a gleam
Quite of its own. "And what the devil's that?"
I questioned.—"Only what you see," said Avon;
"Merely a dagger on a dictionary.
Daggers are out of date, but there you are.
Take it; and if you like it, shave with it."⁶

⁴ Mark Van Doren, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1927), pp. 57-59.

⁵ *Avon's Harvest*, p. 62, ll. 2-3. These lines are altered in the revised version, *Collected Poems*, p. 571, ll. 28-29.

⁶ *Avon's Harvest*, p. 6, ll. 1-8. In *Collected Poems*, p. 545, ll. 16-20, these lines are changed to read:

I waited, and anon became aware
That I was looking less at Avon's eyes
Than at the dictionary, like one asking
Already why we make so much of words
That have so little weight in the true balance.

There are seven other references to the dagger which need not be quoted since they are all of the same sort, and indicate that the dagger is real.⁷ In the first version, the poet, who listens to Avon's story, takes it home with him when he leaves, and Avon dies during the night.

The reviewers, as Mr. Van Doren says, overlooked the reality of the dagger, and he seems to be correcting them by appealing to Robinson's own explanation. But the readers were mistaken in their interpretation only for the brief seven months between the first and the revised edition. For Robinson changed the poem by removing the dagger completely. All that he left of it was a "moon-flash of metal,"⁸ which now becomes an item in the story which may be legitimately regarded as a hallucination of Avon, since he alone sees it. In other words, Robinson revised the poem by bringing it into line with the critics' interpretation of it. He abandoned his original intention.

Since all this was discoverable in 1921, it is the more confusing to read the following words of Mr. Carl Van Doren in *Three Worlds*:

. . . in January 1921⁹ he spoke of something which had confused some of the readers of his metrical dime novel: "I supposed, by the way, that the knife would be enough to show that the other fellow was not drowned, but chose merely to let Avon think so. Maybe I had better add a few lines to the collected edition to make this entirely clear."¹⁰

⁷ Since each of these passages is revised in *Collected Poems*, I list the references here for both versions of the poem.

Avon's Harvest

p. 8, l. 10.
p. 8, l. 16-p. 9, l. 3.
p. 9, l. 13-p. 10, l. 7.
p. 18, ll. 9-14.
p. 61, l. 15-p. 62, l. 3.
p. 62, ll. 12-14.
p. 63, l. 7.

Collected Poems

p. 546, l. 18.
p. 546, ll. 24-25.
p. 547, ll. 3-7.
p. 551, ll. 3-6.
p. 571, ll. 26-29.
p. 572, ll. 4-9.
p. 572, l. 17.

⁸ *Collected Poems*, p. 571, l. 22. This is not altered from the original (*Avon's Harvest*, p. 61, l. 11).

⁹ There seems to be something wrong with this date. *Avon's Harvest* was not published until March 29, 1921 (Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 14). I can find no trace of a review before April, 1921; therefore the reviews cannot have appeared in advance of the official date of publication. Yet the quotation assumes the publication of the poem, since the correction is to occur in the *Collected Poems*.

¹⁰ Carl Van Doren, *Three Worlds* (New York and London, 1936), p. 161.

We have here a glimpse into Robinson's mind. He thought that he would make his story clearer by correcting the mistakes of his reviewers. But, contrary to Mr. Carl Van Doren's implication, he found when he came to revise that it was better to let the reviewers have their way by removing the dagger from the dictionary where it could be seen by others than Avon. The poem then ceased to be a "metrical dime novel," as he humorously called it, after his own modest fashion in speaking of his writings. It became fully and clearly a study in the psychology of Avon and his harvest of fear and death from actions and thoughts sown in hate.

But the point is not quite so simple, for Robinson did add lines in two parts of the poem which, taken by themselves, might seem to bear out the intention expressed to Mr. Carl Van Doren. After Avon has described his sense of relief from fear with the news that his enemy has drowned, he adds:

Pity a fool for his credulity,
If so you must. But when I found his name
Among the dead, I trusted once the news.¹¹

Later in the poem, in the midst of Avon's account of the attack by the enemy upon him in the Maine camp, there are four new lines, which appear here in italics:

But all there was left now for me to do
Was to lie there and see him while he squeezed
His unclean outlines into the dim room,
And half erect inside, like a still beast
With a face partly man's, came slowly on
Along the floor to the bed where I lay,
And waited. There had been so much of waiting,
*Through all those evil years before my respite—
Which now I knew and recognized at last
As only his more venomous preparation
For the vile end of a deceiving peace—*
That I began to fancy there was on me
The stupor that explorers have alleged
As evidence of nature's final mercy
When tigers have them down upon the earth
And wild hot breath is heavy on their faces.¹²

¹¹ *Collected Poems*, p. 563, ll. 12-14. These lines do not appear in the first version.

¹² *Collected Poems*, pp. 570-571.

Robinson's addition of these lines, if he had made no further change, would have helped to make it plain that Avon's enemy had not really been drowned. But Robinson did not leave the matter there, and having added, began the process of deleting and altering which we have already noticed.

The story of the revision of *Avon's Harvest* must, therefore, run somewhat as follows: Robinson intended a poem which in its plot had a good many characteristics of a mystery thriller. His own gifts being those of an anatomist of human emotions, he naturally emphasized the psychological values inherent in the theme. His reviewers, expecting this, gave less weight to the external details of the story than this particular "metrical dime novel" required. Robinson, who probably never thought himself as subtle as his readers found him, was surprised at this error, and planned, as he said to Mr. Carl Van Doren, to leave them no opportunity for error in his revision. But, after adding a few lines which were designed to prevent the mistake in the future, he changed his mind, and his second thought was better. Since the first readers had perceived the strength of the poem to lie in its presentation of the harvest of hallucination and death reaped by Avon from his experience of fear and hate, he would let these values stand unconfused by such dime-novel machinery as daggers. Thus, in the revised version, there is no question that the experience of Avon by the Maine lake was a hallucination; or, if there is, the question is irrelevant, since the effect is the same, and the reader is not thrown off the center of interest, which is Avon's mind and not a world of clues and evidences like knives. It now becomes clear that, while Avon *thought* the man had actually returned, the reader need not think so, since there is no external clue to prove that he did.

There is, finally, a special value in the story of the two forms of this poem for those interested in the general qualities of Robinson's art. In his preceding poems Robinson had often caused readers to complain that he left out those facts and details of an external world which they thought necessary if they were to understand his meaning. They often felt lost because of his suppression of mechanical clues and evidences. Here, ironically, when he gave them the mechanical fact and clue, they were even more confused. In a sense, without planning it, he vindicated his own technique. And, per-

haps for the only time, in revising to make his poem what the readers understood, he was the more true to himself.

A NOTE ON WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY'S
"AN ODE IN TIME OF HESITATION"

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THE DOUBLE inspiration of Moody's "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," composed in March, 1900, was (1) his "seeing at Boston the statue of Robert Gould Shaw, killed while storming Fort Wagner,¹ July 18, 1863, at the head of the first enlisted negro regiment, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts,"² and (2) the forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands. Section VI of the ode describes the storming of Fort Wagner. Of course Moody is here the poet, not the historian. But even if we admit that historical inaccuracies do not detract from the poetry, there can be no harm, surely, in getting certain facts straight.

In the first place, no bastion loomed "Huge on the mountain."

¹ The story of the bloody siege of Fort Wagner, on Morris Island, at the south side of the entrance to Charleston Harbor, lasting from July 10, 1863, till it was secretly evacuated by the Confederates on the night of Sept. 6, is best told by R. C. Gilchrist, Confederate artillery officer, in "Confederate Defence of Morris Island," *Charleston Year Book* for 1884, pp. 350-402. A good supplementary account, especially of the part played in the defense of Wagner by the North Carolina Fifty-first Regiment under Colonel Hector McKethan, may be found in A. A. McKethan's history of this regiment, in *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65*, ed. Walter Clark (published by the State, Raleigh and Goldsboro, 1901), III, 205-221. Q. A. Gillmore, commanding general of the United States land forces engaged in these operations, tells the story from the Federal point of view in *Engineer and Artillery Operations Against the Defences of Charleston Harbor in 1863* (*Professional Papers of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army*. No. 16. New York, 1868).

The fort was intermittently bombarded for nearly two months, both by the land batteries and by the ironclads and gunboats in the channel. The Federals thought that the capture of Wagner was a necessary preliminary to the fall of Fort Sumter, in the middle of the harbor. They were confident that if Sumter fell the ironclads could easily remove the harbor obstructions and take the city of Charleston. The Confederate objective was to hold forts Wagner and Sumter at least until the inner defenses of the harbor had been strengthened adequately to protect the city. Shelling by land and sea had reduced Sumter to ruins by Aug. 23 (but it was held—and later repaired—by the Confederates until the approach of Sherman's army forced the evacuation of Charleston) but had not seriously damaged Wagner. On Morris Island the Confederate garrison never exceeded 1601, while the Federals there numbered 11,500 (Gillmore, p. 22; McKethan, p. 207; Gilchrist, p. 394). Two desperate but unsuccessful infantry assaults on Wagner occurred early on July 11 and late on July 18. In the second one Colonel Shaw was killed.

² The quotation is from Moody's note on the poem.

Wagner was no "mountain fortress." And the "mountain laurel" does not bloom near it. That part of Morris Island on which Fort Wagner stood was only two feet above high water.³

Shaw and his men did not crouch "in the sea-fog on the moaning sand All night" and attack at daybreak. The infantry assault occurred at the close of the day, at sunset or between sunset and dark, after a dreadful bombardment lasting eight hours.⁴

Moody implies, or at least leaves the reader to infer, that Shaw's regiment was the only one that attacked. Eleven small regiments were involved, a total of at least four thousand men.⁵

Shaw's Negro regiment led the assault, and Moody says these men "died like freemen on the height, Like freemen, and like men of noble breed." Some did and some did not. All accounts join in praising the courage of the gallant Colonel Shaw, who charged in advance of everyone else and fell with three mortal wounds on the very top of the Confederate parapet. The Negro regiment then broke and fled—"fled in wild terror," "ran away like deer," "acted like wild beasts let loose from a menagerie," breaking through the lines of other regiments to the rear.⁶ According to Gillmore, the Federal commander, "the leading regiment was soon thrown into a state of great disorder, which acted disadvantageously upon, and delayed the progress of those which followed, and rendered it necessary to send in the supporting brigade."⁷ The Federals were repulsed, and Gillmore says, "Our loss was very severe, especially in valuable officers of rank."⁸

Moody complains that the Union dead were thrust, at night, obscurely into a common grave by "hasty and contemptuous hands." The burial occurred on the day following the assault, which was Sunday, and not at night. Of course a common grave was employed—nothing else was possible under the circumstances—but that did not imply any disrespect for the dead. There were "eight hundred mangled bodies, many of them shattered beyond recognition,"⁹ and the Federal land and naval batteries were still close

³ Gillmore, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Gilchrist, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

⁴ McKethan, *op. cit.*, p. 208; Gilchrist, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Gillmore, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵ Gilchrist, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Gillmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 and 41.

⁶ Gilchrist, p. 368; McKethan, pp. 208-209. It is only just to point out that these men were mainly raw recruits, that the battle was one of the fiercest of the war, and that at least some of the attackers were under orders to use bayonets on unloaded rifles.

⁷ Gillmore, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹ Gilchrist, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

at hand. General Beauregard directed that special care be taken of the wounded Federals captured at Wagner, their bravery in the charge having won his respect. The effects, money, and papers of those who died in Charleston hospitals were sent through the lines under a flag of truce.¹⁰

LAFITTE: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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SOME MONTHS ago I sought unavailingly for a copy of a novel listed in Wegelin's *Early American Fiction* under the title of *The Memoirs of Lafitte* (1804). The title was also recorded in Loshe's *Early American Novel* under the same year, but without note. Despite this twofold citation I early questioned the existence of the book as dated, from both title and potential contents. Lafitte could scarcely have been a subject of much importance in 1804, for he was then but twenty-seven years of age, and, according to Stanley Faye, only newly arrived in Louisiana. Any interest in a Baratarian¹ smuggler before the close of the decade, especially in the Eastern states, would have been strange; for although port regulations were in force at New Orleans in February, 1804,² it was not until the embargo of 1808 and the discontinuance of the slave trade that ports were sharply watched and violators sought out. Not until March 15, 1812, in fact, did smuggling become sufficiently alarming to the customs authorities to produce a letter to Washington from Thomas H. Williams of the collector's office. A second letter of July 20, 1813, spoke of a "nest of pirates" and defiance to

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 371 and p. 371 n.

¹ The term Barataria may have been used before 1804; in reality, there is evidence that the area was so referred to at a very early date. The name appears in Mrs. Surrey's *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley* as early as 1741 (Washington, D. C., 1928, II, 934). There is even the name of one Jean Lafitte, brother of Leonard Lafitte, merchant of Bordeaux, in these same volumes as early as 1770 (II, 1540). But of Barataria as a region associated with organized privateering, and of importance in commercial circles, there was no hint before 1804, when New Orleans was taken over by the United States.

² Special instructions were sent to H. B. Treat on Feb. 27, 1804, and again on March 10, 1804 (see *Collectors, Small Ports*, U. S. Treasury Department, pp. 77, 88).

laws on Lake Barataria.³ It was the ten months of customs evasions in 1812 and 1813 and the Baratarian manning of important batteries in the defense of New Orleans in 1815 that gave grounds for interest in Lafitte. A novel based upon his activities but bearing date of 1804 would have been paradoxical.

I had gone thus far in my speculations when there came a letter⁴ from Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society setting forth the admission by Wegelin that he took the title from the Brinley catalogue and erred in copying the date. The item was listed as follows:⁵

The Memoirs of Lafitte,
or The Barratarian Pirate;
A Narrative founded on Fact,
Wood-cut Portrait, pp. 95, bds., SCARCE
Sm. 12^o N. Y., J. M. Danforth, 1828.

Everything in the listing of Wegelin was accurate except the date.⁶ John M. Danforth was a printer in New York City from 1827 to 1830. He was born in the year of the false entry (1804) and died in 1835. Thus rather conclusively the 1804 imprint is disposed of.

This 1828 title, once possessed by the Library of Congress, has disappeared. Available, however, is the 1828 edition of *Lafitte, or the Baratarian Chief, A Tale/Founded on Fact*, pp. 106, printed in New York, to which Miss Loshe refers, though her bibliographical data are not complete. Since she starred this title as one not included in the first edition of Wegelin,⁷ it is obvious that she had not seen the Brinley volume. It is very probable that these two titles are the same work, for though they differ in number and size of pages and in the spelling of Baratarian, they agree in the subtitle of "Founded on Fact," they are substantially of the same bulk, and were both published in New York. Neither volume seems to have

³ See the Treasury Department record book, *Letters to and from the Collector, New Orleans, Louisiana*, Feb. 27, 1804, to April 29, 1833.

⁴ Dated Aug. 15, 1933.

⁵ Part IV, Item 7124.

⁶ The book was bought by Joseph Sabin for \$1.25, presumably for a customer, and cannot now be traced.

⁷ In his second edition Wegelin credited this work to Richard Penn Smith, possibly from the impression that he had found the author in a presentation copy. There is no definite proof for such ascription. He may have been led to the inference through the printing of *The Sea Voyage* (known to have been written by Smith) in the same volume with *Lafitte* in the Hamilton edition of 1830.

been copyrighted in the lower New York Court. The second item is without the name of a printer.

Lafitte, or the Baratarian Chief had a varied history. Sabin listed a Providence edition of 1826;⁸ there was a Fall River edition, printed by Nathan Hall, in 1827;⁹ it was printed in the *Auburn* (New York) *Free-Press*, from which the 1828 edition was copied. The Auburn original next appeared in a Hamilton imprint in 1830,¹⁰ in Atkinson's *Casket*¹¹ in 1831, with the signature, *Intruder Tar*, in the Wells River edition in 1834,¹² and was bound together with *Sophia; or the Girl of the Pine Woods* in a Dansville, New York, edition in 1838.

In 1836 the subject of Lafitte was given such elaboration in the widely read Ingraham novel¹³ (the *Southern Literary Messenger* pronouncing it "one of the most popular fictions ever issued from the American press")¹⁴ that thereafter the earlier melodramatic volume, slender in bulk and lacking elaboration of New Orleans battle scenes, was almost lost sight of.

POE ON THE NEW YORK STAGE IN 1855

SCULLEY BRADLEY

University of Pennsylvania

ON THE NIGHT of December 3, 1855, at the Broadway Theatre, New York, Julia Dean presented a new play called *The Bankrupt*, by "a gentleman [who] desired to withhold, for the present, his name from the public."¹ Investigation has established the fact that the play was written by George Henry Boker.

Examination of the manuscript, now in the Princeton University Library, discloses a very interesting reference to Poe. It seems

⁸ No. 47570.

⁹ A copy in the Brown University Library.

¹⁰ Hamilton: Published by Williams, Orton and Co., at the University Press, No. 3, Broad-Street, 1830. This edition contains eighty-four pages, has no ascription of authorship, no signature, and the subtitle reads, "An American Tale." It was this title that was used in the Dansville edition.

¹¹ Pp. 541-552.

¹² A copy in the American Antiquarian Society library.

¹³ *Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf* (2 vols., New York, 1836).

¹⁴ II, 596 (Aug., 1836).

¹ *New York Tribune*, Dec. 4, 1855.

likely, also, that the plot of the play is indebted to Poe in two ways. A cipher or cryptogram figures importantly in the mystery; and a detective ferrets out the criminal, the unsuspected "brains of a dangerous gang," by the process of induction which Poe called "ratiocinative."

The reference to Poe is very interesting. When Shorn, the criminal, asks Pike, the detective, how they got sufficient evidence for his arrest, Pike explains: "The cipher, in which the papers were written, was no go. We got hold of a poet—a great genius, people will say, after he's dead—and he read off the cipher as if it had been print. Mr. Poe is waiting at the office to explain his system to you." The playwright had the benevolence to omit the scene with "Mr. Poe at the office," and the poet is not represented on the stage.

Since the denouement of the play hinges upon the scene just described, the inference seems clear that Boker believed a reference to Poe and his interest in solving cryptographs would be at once understood and accepted by an audience in 1855, although it had been twelve years since Poe wrote "The Gold Bug" and boasted his ability to decipher any cryptogram presented to him in any language. Poe had already died, in 1849, and obviously the playwright could not present Poe as solving the cipher in the play except by resurrecting him.

The question rises whether Boker's *The Bankrupt* was the earliest American play to make use of the type of detective conceived by Poe for his "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" of 1841. Boker's detective, Pike, is an obvious descendant of M. Dupin, although a somewhat unconvincing member of the species. The brood of Dupin was in later years enormous, both on the stage and in fiction; the use of the cryptograph also became a familiar device. Certainly in *The Bankrupt* we have a very early use of both these elements of plot on the stage.

Boker wrote the play in 1853, subsequently to completing *Francesca da Rimini*, his best drama. *The Bankrupt* was frankly an experiment in a new field for which its author was unfitted, and he never returned to the type. The performance in New York was incidental to an engagement of Julia Dean (Mrs. Hayne) in repertory for a month ending December 21, 1855.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM JAMES LANE ALLEN

CYRIL CLEMENS

Webster Groves, Missouri

Readers of *American Literature* may be interested in this unpublished letter by James Lane Allen (1849-1925), written to Richard Watson Gilder, who edited the *Century* from 1881 until his death in 1909. It is not generally known that Allen had such financial difficulties while he was working his way to fame.

86 East 4th. Street
Cincinnati, O.
Dec. 8, 1888.

My dear Gilder:—

I had thought that ere this I should have replied to your last letter by submitting the manuscript of "Sister Dolorosa," but that work has been sadly held back by weakness of the eyes which forbids all but the most sparing use.

I have never cared to trouble you with any of the many letters that come to me regarding articles in the *Century*; but it seems right to forward the enclosed, since I am in doubt touching my right to give permission in the matter as desired. That is, I do not know whether I control the right of republishing my articles, or whether this has been yielded to the *Century*. I have throughout supposed that the right remained with me; but before I give my consent to this writer's request, I should like to be certain that the *Century* has no objection if it have any voice.

I am looking very anxiously forward to the time when the *Century* will see reason to increase my honoraria—certainly not from sordid motives, but because on these will depend the very perpetuation of my literary life. You will, I know, see in this but the cry of desperation against the old victorious enemies.

I know little or nothing touching the wages of literature; but I have always heard that as one got on and won something of a following, these were increased. I have been advanced in another quarter; and I hope that if the *Century* accepts my next story, this will be such an advance on my previous work, that it will bring me the means of doing something better still.

It would give me intense mortification and pain should you not understand that I am expressing no dissatisfaction.

I repeat that this is the cry of my art for life—for more life.

Will you be good enough to send me one word, saying whether I may give consent to the request made in the letter. With more gratitude than you can easily understand for your patient interest,

Sincerely

Jas. Lane Allen.

GOETHE'S AMERICAN VISITORS

IDA G. EVERSON

Columbia University

THE FACT that a number of young Americans called upon Goethe in the early years of the nineteenth century, bringing back to their own country a high enthusiasm for things German, has frequently been noted. The visits of George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph Green Cogswell, and George Bancroft are familiar episodes in the history of German-American literary relationships. The names of several other Americans who went to see Goethe are, however, not very generally known. A perusal of Goethe's *Tagebücher* (1775-1832) reveals the fact that during a period of approximately twenty years (January 4, 1810, to March 25, 1830) at least twenty Americans sought him out and were received by him, either at Weimar or at Jena. In most instances, Goethe was careful to record these visits promptly, though always with characteristic simplicity. The list of American callers given below is intended to be complete in so far as can be determined from the records in the *Tagebücher*:

Aaron Burr.....	January 4 and 7,	1810
George Ticknor }	October 25,	1816
Edward Everett }		
Joseph Green Cogswell }	March 27,	1817
Augustus Thorndike }		
Theodore Lyman.....	October 12 and 13,	1817
Joseph Green Cogswell	May 10 and August (?), ¹	1819
George Bancroft.....	October 12,	1819
	March 7 and 12,	1821

¹ Goethe did not record Cogswell's third visit in his *Tagebücher*. Leonard L. Mackall, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Amerikanern*, Goethe-Jahrbuch (XXV, 34, n. 60), places it between Aug. 12 and 26, 1819.

Notes and Queries

357

William Emerson.....	September 19,	1824
George Henry Calvert.....	March 27 and 29,	1825
Lewis David von Schweinitz.....	September 23,	1825
Henry Edwin Dwight.....	August 19,	1826
Francis Cunningham.....	July 9,	1827
Edward Robinson.....	August 12,	1828
James Cook Richmond.....	April 6,	1829
Albert Brisbane.....	June 30,	1829
—— Van Rensselaer }	October 14,	1829
—— Van Rensselaer }		
Lieutenant Colonel Low }	December 9,	1829
R[ichard?] Ray }		
Jesse Burton Harrison.....	March 24 and 25,	1830

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- Orestes A. Brownson: American Political Philosopher. Paul Conroy (St. Louis, History).
- The Vogue and Influence of Robert Burns in American Literature. Alice Clarke (Wisconsin).
- Philip Pendleton Cooke. John D. Allen (Vanderbilt).
- John Dickinson, Statesman of the American Revolution. John H. Powell (Iowa, History).
- Emerson's Theory of Poetry. Charles Howell Foster (Iowa).
- Emerson and the Idea of Progress. Mildred Silver (Iowa).
- Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Middle West. Louise Hastings (Indiana).
- The Life and Writings of James Hall. Randolph C. Randall (Columbia).
- The Social Idealism of T. W. Higginson. D. B. Cook (Western Reserve, History).
- Edgar Watson Howe. P. H. Ropp (Virginia).
- Thomas Paine. Marshall F. Edwards (Harvard, History).
- The Social Philosophy of Thomas Paine. A. K. King (Chicago, History).
- A Critical Study of the Works of Harriet B. Stowe. John R. Adams (Southern California).
- The Life and Works of William T. Thompson. Henry P. Miller (Chicago).
- The Literary Reputation of Mark Twain. Arthur L. Vogelback (Chicago).
- The American Criticism of Tennyson to 1892. John O. Eidson (Duke).
- Thoreau and Primitivism. Mary E. Cochnower (Iowa).
- William Winter. George Kummer (New York).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- A Calendar of English California MSS in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, with Additional Material from the San Francisco Bay Region. D. C. Duniway (California, History).
- Early American Farm Journals, 1819-1860. Albert L. Demaree (Columbia, History).

- Economic and Cultural Activities of the French Emigrés in the Eastern United States. Frances Childs (Columbia, History).
- History of the American Book Trade, 1875-1900. J. L. Norris (Chicago, History).
- History of the *National Intelligencer*. Edward M. Read, Jr. (Harvard, History).
- A Critical History of the *New York Sun* under Dana. Candace Stone (Columbia, History).
- The Human Interest Story: A Study of Popular Literature. Helen MacGill (Chicago, History).
- American Letters and Imperialism, 1898-1904. William Gibson (Chicago, History).
- Literary Culture in Eighteenth-Century Maryland. Joseph T. Wheeler (Brown, History).
- The Idea of Progress in the Writings of Franklin, Freneau, Paine, Barlow, and Brown. Macklin Thomas (Wisconsin).
- A History of the Pittsburgh Stage, 1861-1900. A. T. Cordray (Iowa).
- Political Caricature in the United States since the Eve of the Civil War. John E. Byrnes (Iowa, History).
- A Study of American Political Party Campaign Songs. Jesse Coldren (Pittsburgh, History).
- Reflections of Socialist Thought in American Literature, 1825-1845. George K. Smart (Harvard).
- The Southern Mountaineer in Fiction. Isabelle D. Harris (Duke).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED, 1936-1937:

- American Literary Annuals and Gift Books, 1825-1865. Ralph Thompson (Columbia). H. W. Wilson Co. New York.
- America's Heritage from John Stuart Mill. George Morlan (Columbia, Education). Columbia University Press.
- Book Reviewing in the American Newspaper. Florin L. McDonald (Missouri).
- Robert Browning's Reputation in the Nineteenth Century in England and America. James P. McCormick (Northwestern).
- The History of the Boston Stage from the Beginning to 1810. Dorothy M. Bonawitz (Pennsylvania State).
- The Rhetorical Theory of Phillips Brooks. Kenneth G. Hance (Michigan).
- Charleston Periodicals, 1795-1860. A Study in Literary Influences, with a Descriptive Check-list of Seventy-five Magazines. Guy Cardwell (North Carolina).

- The Development of American Social Comedy from 1787 to the Present Day. John G. Hartman (Pennsylvania).
- Dante and the Major American Writers, 1800-1867. J. Chesley Mathews (California).
- The Influences Determining Emerson's Conception of Jesus. Charles W. Cannon (Iowa, Religion).
- A Critical Study of the Oratorical Technique of Jonathan Edwards. Orville Hitchcock (Iowa).
- Emerson and the Problem of War and Peace. William A. Huggard (Iowa). Dr. Huggard abandoned "Thoreau's Religion."
- The Beginnings of Theories of Natural Ethics and Theology in Seventeenth Century America. Irvin Goldman (Michigan).
- Henry W. Grady: Spokesman of the New South. Marvin G. Bauer (Wisconsin, Economics).
- Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Apostle of the Newness. Howard W. Hintz (New York).
- Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, and the Western Local Color Story: A Study in the Origins of Popular Fiction. R. R. Walterhouse (Chicago).
- Marietta Holley. Katherine G. Blyley (Pittsburgh).
- Helen Hunt Jackson and her Times. Ruth Odell (Nebraska).
- Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers. Elijah Criswell (Missouri).
- New York Almanacs, 1694-1793: Their Significance and Influence. Louis K. Wechsler (Harvard).
- The *New York Tribune* since the Civil War. Harry W. Baehr, Jr. (Columbia, History). Dodd, Mead & Co.
- A Historical and Phonetic Study of Negro Dialect. T. Earl Pardoe (Louisiana).
- The Phonology of the Illiterate Negro Dialect of Guilford County, North Carolina. William E. Farrison (Ohio).
- A Grammatical and Linguistic Study of Pennsylvania German. Albert F. Buffington (Harvard, German).
- A New England Family: Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, and Mary Peabody Mann. Josephine E. Roberts (Western Reserve).
- The Theory of the Future: A Study of the Idea of Progress in the Literature of the American Revolution. Rutherford E. Talmage (Cornell).
- Peter Porcupine in America, Being the Career of William Cobbett, Editor and Publisher, Pamphleteer and Bookseller, 1792-1800. Mary E. Clark (Pennsylvania).

- The Public Speaking Principles and Practice of Theodore Parker.
R. C. McCall (Iowa).
- The Speech of East Texas. Oma Stanley (Columbia). Columbia
University Press.
- The Speech of Rhode Island: The Stressed Vowels and Diphthongs.
Rachel S. H. Kilpatrick (Brown).
- Catherine M. Sedgwick: Her Position in American Literature and
Thought up to 1860. Sister M. M. Welsh (Catholic).
- The Southern Poor-White: A Literary History. Ardrey S. Mc-
Ilwaine (Chicago).
- Studies in Literary Types in Seventeenth Century America, with
Particular Emphasis upon the Beginnings of the Essay, 1607-
1710. Josephine K. Piercy (Yale).
- A Critical Investigation of Charles Sealsfield's Literary Style. Mar-
vin C. Dilkey (Cornell, German).
- Studies in the Poets and Poetry of New England Transcendentalism.
Elsie F. Brickett (Yale).
- The History of the Theatrical Syndicate: Its Effect Upon the The-
atre in America. Monroe Lippman (Michigan).
- The Western Development of Mark Twain. Ivan Benson (South-
ern California).
- Whitman in America: 1885-1892. John F. Bozard (Cornell).
- Whittier's Early Years, 1807-1836. John A. Pollard (Yale).
- Roger Williams: A Study of His Life and Career to 1657. Sam H.
Brockunier, Jr. (Harvard, History).
- Samuel Woodworth. Kendall B. Taft (Chicago).

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

- A History of American Satire. Harold P. Miller, San Jose State
College, California.
- Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities 1936-1937
(Number 4) by Donald B. Gilchrist has just been published by
the H. W. Wilson Co., New York.

Southern Methodist University, ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*
Dallas, Texas.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

The editors of *American Literature* wish to acknowledge with gratitude assistance in the preparation of this check-list rendered by the following: Prof. Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Prof. Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Prof. Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Prof. Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), Dr. Arthur Christy (Columbia University), Mr. Chester T. Hallenbeck (New York City), Prof. George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Prof. Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Mr. David K. Jackson (Duke University), Dr. Robert Kane (Ohio State University), Mr. Samuel Middlebrook (College of the City of New York), Prof. John H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Mr. James T. Pole (Boonton, N. J.), Prof. Thomas C. Pollock (Ohio State University), Prof. Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), and Prof. Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College of the City of New York).

Items for the check-list may be sent to Prof. Clarence Gohdes (Box 296, College Station, Durham, N. C.).

I. 1607-1800

- [BARLOW, JOEL] Adams, M. Ray. "Joel Barlow, Political Romanticist." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 113-152 (May, 1937).

Barlow's connections with European political radicalism.

- [BYRD, WILLIAM] Masterson, James R. "William Byrd in Lubberland." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 153-170 (May, 1937).

Byrd's remarks about North Carolina are justified by the picture of that state in the eighteenth century presented by early travelers and settlers.

- [COOKE, EBENEZER] Wroth, Lawrence C. "*The Maryland Muse*. By Ebenezer Cooke. A Facsimile, with an Introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth." *Proc. of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, n. s., XLIV, 267-335 (1936).

- [COTTON, JOHN] Hornberger, Theodore. "Puritanism and Science: The Relationship Revealed in the Writings of John Cotton." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 503-515 (Sept., 1937).

- [COTTON, SEABORN] Morison, Samuel E. "The Reverend Seaborn Cotton's Commonplace Book." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 320-352 (1937).

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 363

Cotton, son of the Rev. John, graduated from Harvard in 1651. His commonplace book includes a considerable number of extracts from secular literature, prose and verse, especially from Sidney's *Arcadia* and from *Witt's Recreations*. . . (1640).

[EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Hornberger, Theodore. "The Effect of the New Science upon the Thought of Jonathan Edwards." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 196-207 (May, 1937).

Edwards's "metaphysics, and hence his theology, were markedly influenced by the new science" of his day.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Crane, Verner W. "Benjamin Franklin and the Stamp Act." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 56-77 (1936).

[KEIMER, SAMUEL] Carlson, C. L. "Samuel Keimer. A Study in the Transit of English Culture to Colonial Pennsylvania." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXI, 357-386 (Oct., 1937).

Keimer's career as a printer, publisher, and author in England and America.

[LEWIS, RICHARD] Norris, Walter B. "Some Recently-found Poems on the Calverts." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII, 112-135 (June, 1937).

Six poems, three dated (two in 1732 and one in 1734), two by Richard Lewis, three addressed to Benedict Leonard Calvert.

[MAYLEM, JOHN] Wroth, Lawrence C. "John Maylem: Poet and Warrior." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 86-120 (1936).

An elaborate biographical and bibliographical study of the author of *Gallic Perfidy* and the epic *Conquest of Louisbourg*.

[SMITH, JOHN] Morse, Jarvis M. "John Smith and His Critics: A Chapter in Colonial Historiography." *Jour. of Southern History*, I, 123-131 (May, 1935).

An evaluation of Smith's work.

[TAYLOR, EDWARD] Johnson, Thomas H. "Edward Taylor: A Puritan 'Sacred Poet'." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 290-322 (June, 1937).

" . . . a Puritan who, seeming to love poetry for its own sake, wrote with a delicacy and brilliance unexampled in colonial letters."

[WINTHROP, JOHN, JR.] Mood, Fulmer. "John Winthrop, Jr., on Indian Corn." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 121-133 (March, 1937).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Buffinton, Arthur H. "The Massachusetts Experiment of 1630." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 308-320 (1937).

A favorable estimate of Puritan political theory and practice.

Jillson, Willard R. "The First English Poem on Kentucky." *Ky. State Hist. Soc. Register*, XXXV, 198-201 (April, 1937).

"An Ode to Kentucky. By an Emigrant" appeared in the *Philanthropist* (London), No. 24, Monday, Sept. 7, 1795.

Matthews, Albert. "Brother Jonathan Once More." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 374-386 (1937).

"Once more" alludes to the author's earlier study of the American sobriquet, *Pubs. C. S. M.*, VII, 94-122. Matthews now presents further allusions from the Revolutionary period.

Miller, Perry. "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 247-300 (1936).

A learned and illuminating study of the "covenant theology" as formulated by Ames, Preston, and Sibbes. This is taken to be the system followed by the New England Puritans till the time of Edwards, who was "the first consistent and authentic Calvinist in New England."

Schlesinger, Arthur M. "Propaganda and the Boston Newspaper Press, 1767-1770." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 396-416 (1937).

Shipton, Clifford K. "The New England Clergy of the 'Glacial Age' [1680-1740]." *Pubs. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 24-54 (1936).

A detailed vindication. The New England ministry "boasted the greatest minds of the times. . . ." One "wonders if a century-old established church ever had a better ministry than did New England of the Glacial Age."

Sydnor, Charles S. "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi." *Jour. of Southern History*, I, 49-55 (Feb., 1935).

The first printing done in Mississippi was a ballad, "The Galley Slave," printed by Lieutenant Andrew Marschalk, at Walnut Hills, New Vicksburg, in 1797 or 1798. The first book printed in Mississippi was *Paine Detected, or the Unreasonableness of Paine's Age of Reason*, by John Henderson (?), printed by Marschalk in 1799.

Wright, Louis B. "The Purposeful Reading of Our Colonial Ancestors." *ELH*, IV, 85-111 (June, 1937).

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Drew, Helen L. "Unpublished Letters of William Cullen Bryant." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 346-355 (July, 1937).

The letters were written between Aug. 15, 1833, and Jan. 8, 1839.

McDowell, Tremaine. "Bryant's Practice in Composition and Revision." *PMLA*, LII, 474-502 (June, 1937).

Bryant's habits of writing and rewriting. Careful study of four manuscript versions of "Thanatopsis," and of manuscript versions of "The Yellow Violet," "Oh Fairest of the Rural Maids," "A Walk at Sunset," and "The Rivulet."

[COOPER, J. F.] Arndt, K. J. R. "John Christopher Hartwick." *N. Y. History*, XVIII, 293-303 (July, 1937).

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 365

The novelist's father, as Hartwick's agent, settled the estate in a way to bring on disputes.

[DWIGHT, J. S.] McCusker, Honor. "Fifty Years of Music in Boston." *More Books* (*Bull. of B. P. L.*), XII, 341-359 (Oct., 1937).

Letters to John S. Dwight, the transcendentalist, in the Dwight collection of musical letters in the Boston Public Library.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Elliot, G. R. "Emerson as Diarist (A Middle-Aged View)." *Univ. of Toronto Quart.*, VI, 299-308 (April, 1937).

Flanagan, John T. "Emerson and Communism." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 243-261 (June, 1937).

"In conflict with the ideal of the phalanx stood his own [Emerson's] doctrines of individualism, self-reformation, and reform from within."

Howard, Besse D. "The First French Estimate of Emerson." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 447-463 (Sept., 1937).

An article in the *Revue Indépendante*, July 25, 1846, by the Comtesse d'Agoult.

[FOSTER, S. C.] Young, Stark. "Massa's in Cold, Cold Ground." *New Republic*, LXXXVI, 46-47 (May 19, 1937).

Concerning Stephen Foster's birthplace.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cargill, Oscar. "Nemesis and Nathaniel Hawthorne." *PMLA*, LII, 848-862 (Sept., 1937).

Detailed analysis of Hawthorne's hatred for Margaret Fuller.

Haskell, Raymond I. "The Great Carbuncle." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 533-535 (Sept., 1937).

A possible origin of Hawthorne's story.

Kern, A. A. "Hawthorne's Feathertop and R. L. R." *PMLA*, LII, 503-511 (June, 1937).

"R. L. R." appearing in an outline of "Feathertop" in Hawthorne's *American Notebooks* is probably "R. S. R.," a satirical reference to the wealthy Richard S. Rogers of Salem.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Christy, Bayard H. "The Ship of Pearl." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 245-247 (May, 1937).

Reprints from the *Family Visitor* for May 15, 1851, a poem "The Nautilus and the Ammonite," by G. F. Richardson, which contains ideas in part similar to those of Holmes in "The Chambered Nautilus."

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Smith, Francis P. "Washington Irving, the Fosters, and Some Poetry." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 228-232 (May, 1937).

Pierre Irving's displeasure at revelations of his uncle's connections with the Fosters, and certain verse by Washington Irving of a biographical nature.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Bernard, Edward G. "New Light on Lowell as Editor." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 337-341 (June, 1937).

Two hitherto unpublished letters (March 14, 1858, and April 24, 1858) to Parke Godwin shed light on the "circumstances of Lowell's assumption of the writing of the political leaders for the *Atlantic Monthly* during his editorship."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Forsythe, R. S. "An Oversight by Herman Melville." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 296 (April 24, 1937).

Forgets the use of the tiller and speaks of the helm.

— "Herman Melville's Father Murphy." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 254-258, 272-276 (April 10 and 17, 1937).

Gohdes, Clarence. "Gossip about Melville in the South Seas." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 526-531 (Sept., 1937).

A letter written in 1868, apparently by a British naval officer, "not only offered a bit of scandalous gossip about Melville but gave an interesting description of the 'Typee valley' twenty-odd years after Melville's visit.

[PARKMAN, FRANCIS] Schramm, Wilbur L. "Parkman's Novel." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 218-227 (May, 1937).

Vassall Morton (1856), viewed largely as autobiographical in nature.

[POE, E. A.] Basler, Roy P. "Byronism in Poe's 'To One in Paradise'." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 232-236 (May, 1937).

Englekirk, J. E. "My Nightmare—The Last Tale by Poe." *PMLA*, LII, 511-527 (June, 1937).

Author of this Mexican Poe hoax identified as Francisco Zárate Ruiz. Reprinting of this story and an anonymous Mexican article on Poe, probably by Ruiz. Also bibliographies of Mexican versions of Poe and of Mexican criticism of Poe.

French, John C. "Poe's Literary Baltimore." *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII, 101-112 (June, 1937).

Poe in Baltimore, 1831-1835.

Neale, Walter G., Jr. "The Source of Poe's 'Morella'." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 237-239 (May, 1937).

Poe apparently drew upon "The Dead Daughter" by Henry G. Bell.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Peairs, Edith. "The Hound, the Bay Horse, and the Turtle-Dove: A Study of Thoreau and Voltaire." *PMLA*, LII, 863-869 (Sept., 1937).

Thoreau, it is claimed, borrowed these symbols from *Zadig*. Interesting parallels.

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 367

[WHITMAN, WALT] Allen, Gay W. "Walt Whitman and Jules Michelet." *Études Anglaises*, I, 230-237 (May, 1937).

Michelet's *The People* contains the fundamental ideas of *Leaves of Grass* and shows the importance of French thought in Whitman's work.

Alexander, Colin C. "A Note on Walt Whitman." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 242-243 (May, 1937).

A postal card by Whitman, Jan. 14, 1880, addressed to J. P. Usher, Jr., of Lawrence, Kansas.

Mirsky, D. S. "Walt Whitman: Poet of American Democracy." *Dialectics*, No. 1, pp. 11-29 (1937).

Translated from the Russian by B. G. Guernsey. (The periodical is to appear sporadically under the auspices of the Critics Group—Marxists.)

Rubin, Joseph J. "Whitman in 1840: A Discovery." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 239-242 (May, 1937).

A political effusion by Whitman published in the *Long Island Democrat* for Oct. 6, 1840.

Sixbey, G. L. "'Chanting the Square Deific'—A Study in Whitman's Religion." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 171-195 (May, 1937).

A close study of the meaning of the poem, which is regarded as "an intensely subjective statement of Whitman's theological tenets."

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Drew, Helen L. "The Schoolmaster in *Snow-Bound*." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 243-244 (May, 1937).

George Haskell was the original—not Joshua Coffin.

Ericson, Eston E. "'John Hort' and 'Skipper Ireson'." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 531-532 (Sept., 1937).

The source of Whittier's refrain.

Hawley, Charles A. "Jennie Shrader." *Palimpsest*, XVIII, 285-298 (Sept., 1937).

"The story of Jennie Shrader and her admiration for Whittier forms an interesting link in the Iowa-Whittier relation."

[MISCELLANEOUS] Davenport, F. Garvin. "Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War." *Jour. of Southern History*, III, 326-347 (Aug., 1937).

The article contains information about the drama, about writers, and about literary magazines.

Hesseltine, William B. "The Propaganda Literature of Confederate Prisons." *Jour. of Southern History*, I, 56-66 (Feb., 1935).

McDermott, John F. "Everybody Sold Books in Early St. Louis." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 248-250 (July 24, 1937).

"Saint Louis had no bookstore until 1820. . . ."

McMurtrie, D. C. "A Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Printed at Ithaca, N. Y., 1820-1850." *Grosvenor Library Bull.*, XIX, 46-105 (June, 1937).

III. 1870-1900

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] Follett, Wilson. "Ambrose, Son of Marcus Aurelius." *Atlantic Month.*, CLX, 32-42 (July, 1937).

Ambrose Bierce, often neglected nowadays, has nevertheless left much work of lasting merit.

[BURROUGHS, JOHN] Anonymous. "Woodchuck Lodge Exercises Mark Burroughs' Centennial." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 4 (April 5, 1937).

A celebration of the centennial of Burroughs's birth was held recently at his old home, Woodchuck Lodge, New York.

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Benson, A. B. "Mark Twain's Contacts with Scandinavia." *Scandinavian Studs. and Notes*, XIV, 159-167 (Aug., 1937).

On a few Scandinavian acquaintances and sources.

Burton, Richard. "Mark Twain in the Hartford Days." *Mark Twain Quart.*, I, 5 (Summer, 1937).

Personal recollections.

Coryell, A. "Josh, of the 'Territorial Enterprise'." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLIII, 287-295 (Summer, 1937).

A description of Carson City boom days, of the town's celebrated newspaper, the *Territorial Enterprise*, and its greatest contributor, "Josh," and of Samuel L. Clemens.

Fischer, Walther. "Mark Twain: Zu seinem 100. Geburtstage. . . ." *Neueren Sprachen*, XLIII, 471-480 (1935).

Rowe, Ida. "Mark Twain's Interest in Nature." *Mark Twain Quart.*, I, 7, 9-10, 14 (Summer, 1937).

Schönemann, Friedrich. "Neue Mark-Twain-Studien." *Neueren Sprachen*, XLIV, 260-272 (1936).

Critical commentary on the work of DeVoto, Brashear, Wagenknecht, and others.

[COOKE, ROSE T.] Rugg, W. K. "A Lady Author Comes to Town." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 11 (May 13, 1937).

A brief account of the life—literary and domestic—of Rose Terry Cooke in Winsted, Conn., the "Mytown" of her fiction.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] R. "Letters from Amherst." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 7 (June 30, 1937).

An impressionistic account of the author's reading of Emily Dickinson's letters, "the sign, the signature, of a unique, and exquisite personality."

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 369

[DUNBAR, P. L.] Anonymous. "Dunbar—Negro Poet." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 141 (July 26, 1937).

Editorial commendations of "an unspoiled and truly great poet."

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Arvin, Newton. "The Usableness of Howells." *New Republic*, XCI, 227-228 (June 30, 1937).

General essay on Howells.

[PHELPS, ELIZABETH S.] Hotson, C. P. "'The Gates Ajar.'" *New-Church Mag.*, LVI, 168-178 (July-Sept., 1937).

Swedenborgian influence on the novel by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Davidson, L. J. "Out West, a Pioneer Weekly and Monthly." *Colo. Mag.*, XIV, 135-142 (July, 1937).

IV. 1900-1937

[AIKEN, CONRAD] Anonymous. "Virtues of Abundance: Current Feeling and Tradition." *Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 1857, pp. 629-630 (Sept. 4, 1937).

Finds the virtues of abundance in Conrad Aiken's *Senlin*, *Punch*, and *Festus*; compares his imagery with that of Francis Thompson.

[CHESTNUTT, C. W.] Burris, Andrew M. "American First Editions: Charles W(addell) Chestnutt 1868-1933." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXI, 2033 (May 15, 1937).

[DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Pierhal, Armand. "Le grand romancier Dos Passos est à Paris." *Nouvelles Littéraires*, No. 764, p. 9 (June 5, 1937).

An interview.

[DREISER, THEODORE] Huth, John F., Jr. "Theodore Dreiser: 'The Prophet'." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 208-217 (May, 1937).

Dreiser as editor of *Ev'ry Month*.

[ELIOT, T. S.] Brooks, Cleanth, Jr. "The Waste Land: An Analysis." *Southern Rev.*, III, 106-136 (Summer, 1937).

An attempt to give "an explicit intellectual account of the various symbols [in the poem] and a logical account of their relationship."

[FROST, ROBERT] Newdick, Robert S. "Children in the Poems of Robert Frost." *Ohio Schools*, XV, 286-287, 313 (Sept., 1937).

The article is illustrated with a photograph of Frost and his family taken about 1909.

——— "Design in the Books of Robert Frost." *Reading and Collecting*, I, 5-6, 15 (Sept., 1937).

The "design begins with the title and runs through the entire volume."

——— "Robert Frost and the Dramatic." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 262-269 (June, 1937).

"... he has spent his life working with the drama and the dramatic."

—— "Bibliographies and Exhibits of the Work of Robert Frost." *Amherst Graduates' Quart.*, XXVI, 79-80 (Nov., 1936).

—— "Uncollected Poems of Robert Frost." *Book Collector's Jour.*, II, 1-2 (Feb., 1937).

—— "Robert Frost Speaks Out." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLV, 239-241 (April-June, 1937).

—— "Some Notes on Robert Frost and Shakespeare." *Shakespeare Association Bull.*, XII, 187-189 (July, 1937).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Delpech, Jeanine. "Ernest Hemingway romancier de la vie dangereuse." *Nouvelles Littéraires*, No. 755, p. 9 (April 3, 1937).

"Sa vie commande son œuvre, et il faut connaître l'une pour comprendre l'autre."

[MACLEISH, ARCHIBALD] Wade, M. "The Anabasis of A. MacLeish." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLIII, 330-343 (Summer, 1937).

A criticism of Archibald MacLeish's experiments with American speech rhythms.

[MARQUIS, DON] Gilder, Rodman. "American First Editions: Don (Robert Perry) Marquis 1878-." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 209-210 (July 17, 1937).

[MASTERS, EDGAR LEE] Dubois, A. A. "Shelley, Browning and Masters." *Personalist*, XVIII, 405-416 (Oct., 1937).

"Revivifying the idealization of beauty, Masters reaches back through Browning to Shelley. And, therefore, he comes naturally to use *Alastorian* motifs."

[MITCHELL, MARGARET] Rosenbaum, B. "Why Do They Read It?" *Scribner's Mag.*, CII, 23-24, 69-70 (Aug., 1937).

A criticism of the appeal which *Gone with the Wind* has made to the reading public.

[MORE, P. E.] Wilson, Edmund. "Mr. More and the Mithraic Bull." *New Republic*, XCI, 64-68 (May 26, 1937).

Account of a conversation with Paul Elmer More and others—unsympathetic portrait.

Young, Stark. "Art and Decision." *New Republic*, XCI, 307-308 (July 21, 1937).

Reply to Edmund Wilson's article on Paul Elmer More.

—— "Dear Mr. Wilson." *New Republic*, XCI, 130-131 (June 9, 1937).

Addition to Edmund Wilson's portrait of Paul Elmer More. See item above.

Z——, M.D. "An American Critic." *Poetry*, L, 330-336 (Sept., 1937).

A critical appraisal of Paul Elmer More, who, with his "honest sympathies, his exceptional energy, and his high erudition," was in spite of admitted faults an American critic of much worth.

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Anonymous. "Mr. Eugene O'Neill. An Iconoclast in the Theatre." *Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 1840, pp. 353-354 (May 8, 1937).

Despite "the inadequacy of his language and the uncritical confusion of his thought," O'Neill triumphs by virtue of his ability to create living characters endowed with free will.

[OSTENSO, MARTHA] Anonymous. "Writer of Novels Wants to do Play." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 12 (Aug. 17, 1937).

Biographical facts concerning the author of *Wild Geese*, whose present project is the writing of a play.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Brown, David. "E. A. Robinson's Later Poems." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 487-502 (Sept., 1937).

Peltier, Florence. "Edwin Arlington Robinson, Himself." *Mark Twain Quart.*, I, 6, 11-14 (Summer, 1937).

Personal reminiscences.

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Buckham, J. W. "Santayana's Last Puritan Again." *Personalist*, XVIII, 292-300 (July, 1937).

Santayana "betrays little apparent knowledge of Puritanism, past or present." "Hardly a trace of the Puritan, however emasculated, is found in the hero." "The same lack of convincing realism" characterizes Santayana's philosophy.

[STRIBLING, T. S.] Stone, Frank. "American First Editions: T[homas] S[igismund] Stribling 1881-." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 592 (Aug. 21, 1937).

[WHARTON, EDITH] Anonymous. "International Novelist." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 221 (Aug. 16, 1937).

Edith Wharton is praised as "novelist, as war worker, and as interpreter of France to Americans." Her novels are rated as "contributions to international understanding."

Follett, Wilson. "What Edith Wharton Did—and Might Have Done." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, pp. 2, 14 (Sept. 5, 1937).

"For all her achievement we must regret that her growth was interrupted. . . . She more than once reversed her fictional interests. . . . themes," and probably her audience.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anonymous. "The Use of Prizes." *Poetry*, L, 154-157 (June, 1937).

A comment concerning the recent Pulitzer awards and a proposal for the reform of the poetry committee.

Cantwell, Robert. "A Warning to Pre-War Novelists." *New Republic*, XCI, 177-180 (June 23, 1937).

"'Owen Wingrave' constitutes a kind of laboratory specimen for a study of the relationship between a writer's observation of the normal and everyday life of his environment . . . and the looming social conflicts."

Effelberger, Hans. "Neue Entwicklungstendenzen in der amerikanischen Literatur der Gegenwart." *Neueren Sprachen*, XLIV, 154-161 (1936).

Comments on American letters since 1928, with special reference to Hemingway, Wilder, Wolfe, and Hervey Allen. A study of 'directions.'

Helburn, T. "The Theater Bloody but Unbowed." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLIII, 231-242 (Summer, 1937).

A summary of the trends in the modern legitimate theater and their possible outcome.

Huebsch, B. W. "Footnotes to a Publisher's Life." *Colophon*, II, 406-426 (Summer, 1937).

Reminiscences of a contemporary publisher.

Landrey, K. B. "A Bibliography of Books Written by Children of the Twentieth Century." *More Books (Bull. of B. P. L.)*, XII, 149-157 (April, 1937).

Patterson, F. T. "The Author and Hollywood." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLIV, 77-89 (Autumn, 1937).

A description of the difficulty American authors encounter in adjusting the literary novel to the motion pictures.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Wyant, Rowena. "Magazines in 90 Cities—Who Reads What?" *Public Opinion Quart.*, I, 29-41 (Oct., 1937).

Van Alen, E. I. "Brushers of Noblemen's Clothes." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLIII, 153-162 (Spring, 1937).

American reviewers and critics have taken a too careless and self-abasing attitude; they need to take a new grip on aesthetics, develop greater self-respect, and give evidence of a more intense individuality.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Boas, Franz. "Some Traits of the Dakota Language." *Language*, XIII, 137-141 (April-June, 1937).

Garrière, J. M. "Indian and Creole Barboka, American Barbecue." *Language*, XIII, 148-150 (April-June, 1937).

Derivation of *barbecue*.

Gibson, M. J. "America's First Lexicographer Samuel Johnson, Jr., 1757-1836 Part II." *Am. Speech*, XII, 19-30 (Feb., 1937).

Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals 373

Critical examination of the pronunciation of lists of words in Johnson's and Elliott's *Pronouncing Dictionary* (1800). References, in the discussion, to Guilford, Conn., Records from 1639-1800.

Kueth, J. L. "Q. K. Philander Doesticks, P. B., Neologist." *Am. Speech*, XII, 111-116 (April, 1937).

Discussion of the life and work of Mortimer Neal Thomson (1831-1875). Includes a list of neologisms found in Thomson's prose and poetry.

Larson, C. "The Drinker's Dictionary." *Am. Speech*, XII, 87-92 (April, 1937).

A discussion and reprinting of a list of 225 synonyms or synonymous phrases denoting drunkenness prepared for Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Jan. 6 to Jan. 13, 1737, by an anonymous compiler.

Matthews, Albert. "'Rattlesnake Colonel.'" *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 341-345 (July, 1937).

Traces an epithet from 1744 to 1839.

Read, A. W. "Bilingualism in the Middle Colonies 1725-1775." *Am. Speech*, XII, 93-99 (April, 1937).

Thornton, R. H. "An American Glossary [*persimmon* to *puts and calls*]." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 489-512 (Dec., 1935).

Trager, G. L. and Valdez, G. "English Loans in Colorado Spanish." *Am. Speech*, XII, 34-44 (Feb., 1937).

English influence, in the forms of direct and indirect loans, on the spoken Spanish of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Andersen, Annette. "Ibsen in America." *Scandinavian Studs. and Notes*, XIV, 115-146 (May, 1937).

A bibliography brought down to 1936. Continued from the Feb. number.

Bradley, Sculley. "Our Native Humor." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLII, 351-362 (Winter, 1937).

In this analysis and survey of American humor the conclusion is drawn that "courage and necessity were the original sources of our especial variety of humor."

Dangerfield, G. "The Insistent Past." *North Am. Rev.*, CCXLIII, 137-152 (Spring, 1937).

A close examination of a group of contemporary works in order to discover what sort of approach American writers are making to the American past.

Effelberger, Rudolph. "Das nationale Gesicht Amerikas in der Literatur." *Neueren Sprachen*, XLIII, 451-459 (1935).

Falnes, Oscar J. "New England Interest in Scandinavian Culture and the Norsemen." *New Eng. Quart.*, X, 211-242 (June, 1937).

"From the thirties to the nineties of the past century various New England writers and men in public life took more than a passing interest in the history and the culture of the Scandinavian peoples."

Heller, Otto. "Charles Sealsfield, a Forgotten Discoverer of the Valley of the Mississippi." *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 382-401 (July, 1937).

Henry, Edward A. "Cincinnati as a Literary and Publishing Center 1793-1880." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 22-23, 24 and 110-112 (July 3 and 10, 1937).

A paper presented before the Bibliographical Society of America.

Kelley, A. W. "Literary Theories about Program Music." *PMLA*, LII, 581-595 (June, 1937).

Includes comments on program music by J. K. Paulding, C. P. Cranch, Thoreau, Emerson, Poe, and Lanier.

Leisy, Ernest E. "The Novel in America." *Southwest Rev.*, XXII, 88-100 (Oct., 1936).

A survey of the course of American fiction, 1790-1937.

Robinson, E. B. "The Dynamics of American Journalism from 1787 to 1865." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXI, 435-445 (Oct., 1937).

The control of editorial policy of American newspapers by political parties and newspaper interests.

Rosenbach, A. S. W. "The Libraries of the Presidents of the United States." *Proc. of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, n. s., XLIV, 337-364 (1936).

"The libraries of the first six Presidents all contained volumes of Chesterfield, Smollett, Goldsmith, Sterne, Dr. Johnson, and Voltaire."

BOOK REVIEWS

A CORRELATED CURRICULUM: A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CORRELATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH. Ruth Mary Weeks, Chairman. A Publication of the National Council of Teachers of English. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1936. xv, 326 pp.

That either as language or literature English cannot be successfully taught without continual reference to the environment which helped to shape the author and the society which uses the language is a platitude so true that few English teachers have failed to observe it. That closer relations between English and history, the fine arts, scientific thought, and contemporary society are possible is true. In *A Correlated Curriculum* a committee of the National Council of Teachers of English attempts a study of possible syntheses. Portions of the document are clear and sensible, notably an excellent discussion by Professor Robert E. Spiller of "correlation at the college level." Professor Spiller's warning that "experiments without purposive thinking behind them are already too common" has not, unfortunately, been observed by members of the committee; and one who believes that literature cannot be divorced from its setting in time and place must read this volume with regret.

He who proposes extensive alterations in a discipline long established will, if he is wise, show himself competent in the field he proposes to alter. Competence in the field of English is presumably indicated by a clear and easy style; by the ability to refer to literary works in such a manner as to indicate an understanding of their aesthetic and intellectual value; and by a comprehension of the nature of art as an aesthetic experience. Judged by any of these simple standards, *A Correlated Curriculum* unfortunately indicates, not the need for more history, science, music, or what not, but the need for a more thorough grounding in the simple elements of literary study.

The book abounds in errors and confusions. "O'Henry" appears (p. 117); Plato is apparently the author of a work entitled *Selected myths* (p. 147); Van Doren's anthology appears now as the *World's Best Poetry* and now as the *World's Best Poems* (pp. 148 ff.); Sir Roger de Coverley is misspelled (p. 152); the *Mahabharata* loses an *h* (p. 149); Scott's minstrel comes out as "Allan Bane" (p. 24); the familiar error, "Apollo Belvidere" (p. 176) is perpetuated; librarians will look in vain for an Italian poet named Sarducci (p. 143); and none but musicologists will be able to find a composition entitled "Amphale's Spinning Wheel"

(p. 175). French accents are so commonly omitted throughout the book as to point to a distressing ignorance of French; and portrait painters will be interested to learn of the picture of a "Madame Vige Le Brun" (p. 170). "Marius the Epicurean" is apparently not a book (p. 147), whereas Ruskin is the author of a volume entitled *Work* (p. 120). Musicians will be interested to know that Wagner wrote *Das Nibelungenlied* (p. 30), and literary historians will be equally interested to discover that Lytton Strachey's "Florence Nightingale," *Dauber*, two early poems by Robinson, *The Congo*, and A. E. Housman are products of the post-war depression (p. 154)!

The historians will also be amazed at some of the statements appearing in this book. They will learn, for example, of an historical epoch hitherto unknown extending "From the Awakening of the Minds of the People of Western Europe to the Coming of the English to Live in America" (p. 213). The vast intellectual desuetude thus opened before the reader may explain why the cosmopolitan Gibbon is described as presenting "in magnificent style the nationalistic interpretation of history in his own epoch" (p. 54). Students who have struggled with Mommsen's German or Michelet's French will be cheered to learn that history and literature "are the two humanities which have no language barrier between them" (p. 50). Scarcely less surprising is the astounding statement that "if several Victorian Englishmen expressed themselves in a certain way about gentility, we have statistical evidence of a real tradition" (p. 55)! The statement that "Shakespeare's plays, though they deal with Rome, Athens, or the non-existent seacoast of Bohemia, are really set in Elizabethan England" (p. 57) is perhaps not so blatant an error, but it illustrates the half-truths in which the volume abounds.

On pp. 43-49 is a succession of "sample units," the first of which is headed: "Explaining Literary History by Means of the History of Science [!] (College Study of the Victorian Poets)." Under this heading only four Victorian poets appear, but Goethe, Butler, Carlyle, Ruskin, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Renan are listed, apparently for good measure, since no logical connection appears among these names. We are to suppose that a reading of "Walpurgis Night" from *Faust* is somehow to "explain" the Victorian poets, though most Goethe scholars turn to the second part of that masterpiece for a poetical treatment of the evolutionary hypothesis; and Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* and *Past and Present*, which appear in the list, have almost nothing to do with science and nothing at all to do with evolution. Though Elton's important *Survey of English Literature, 1780-1880* is a common reference book in such courses, it is not included in the list, which, however, contains two books for which students will search card catalogues in vain because the

titles are erroneous. Strachey's "Cardinal Manning" is bracketed under "Chapters on Nineteenth-Century Science"; Mrs. Ward's novel appears as *Robert Elsemere*; the spelling *Reliquae Deluvianae* shows an ignorance both of the book and of Latin; there is no book by Spencer entitled *Development Hypothesis*, though there is an essay of that name in *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, volume one; Cuvier's *Theory of the Earth* is presumably his *Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du globe*; and to list Lyell and Spencer under "Early Evolutionists and Their Opponents" is to confound chronology, especially when no opponents are listed! On p. 46 "Slosson" is recommended "for weaker pupils" in the eleventh or twelfth grade, but no Slosson appears under "Materials"; "Bellamy" is the author of a scientific romance; and though the general "objective" of the "unit" includes the "mastery of the contents of certain works of science," the "readings" are composed of a "variety of scientific romances," "striking and fantastic pictures illustrating prehistoric or future scenes," and "pseudo-scientific magazines," writers like Harvey, Alfred Russell Wallace, Eddington [!], Clifford, Russell, and Jeans being merely "supplementary reading." The utter confusion of values here shown is amply illustrated by the questions intended to reveal "Appraisal of Growth" which follow, one of which is: "Do students display increased speed and pleasure in difficult scientific reading?" Scarcely less amazing is one of the "enabling objectives" for a subsequent unit: "Grasp of the significance of the content of a scientific discussion as part of the poetry of existence!"

The language of the report varies, but as it is nowhere made clear whether all the matter attributed to the various authors in the table of contents is actually by them, or whether a central committee assembled portions of the document from materials submitted to them, it is impossible to distribute either praise or blame. It is probably too late to protest against that vicious English which the late Paul Shorey christened Pedagogue, some of the features of which are pseudo-scientific polysyllables, the constant (and distressing) use of the substantive for the adjective (as in "subject-matter patterns"), the vague blur of phrases like "English values," "life situations," "core course," and so on, and the meaningless reiteration of words like "functional," "significant," "reactions," and other *clichés* from the school of education. In a document prepared by a committee of the National Council of Teachers of English it is, however, tragic to find such elementary errors as: "Why is Geoffrey's race and place of residence important?" (p. 89); "in general the life of the knight may be described by following the same outline as suggested for the serf" (p. 91); and: "a description of the hut in which the serf lived and its surroundings, the tools with which he worked, but embedded in an

account of his various tasks as regulated by the rules of the manor" (p. 91). The confusion of thought in such a sentence as: "In this unit the pupil is led to think of the problems raised by the relation of civilized man to the natural environment that lies at the background of his existence" (p. 39) is equaled only by this one: "Biographies may be read for the inspiration of their achievement in conquering nature or the vehicle of their science or art, in coming to terms with society, or in maintaining integrity under the discipline of failure" (p. 51). Perhaps, however, the climax of bad English is a sentence (p. 3) which is supposed to contain the very kernel of the report:

This is neither the time nor the place to expound in complete detail the current organismic psychology of education and the classroom practice by which necessary racial experience patterns reflected in the integrated subject-matter patterns of the new curriculum can be transformed by the student into life patterns of his own that will weld information, understanding, and skill so inextricably into the warp and woof of his nature that transfer of this training into new life situations as they arise will be possible.

This seems to mean: "There is reason to believe a correlated curriculum can be effective."

To guide its deliberations the committee consulted about twenty-one experts in various fields with which it was hoped to "correlate" English. Their statements, which are printed as "the many-colored dome of life" in the appendix, are clear and sensible. On pp. 14-16 of the report, however, appears a "summary of significant concepts in other subject fields proposed by advisory experts as bases for correlation." It is a mark of the general confusion of the volume that the summaries not only fail to follow the order of thought in the experts' reports, but in some cases omit important ideas, in other instances gratuitously add ideas, and in still other examples so grossly pervert what the experts wrote as to indicate a failure of the committee to understand what the experts said.¹ Even though the list made by the committee be profoundly true, the

¹Thus Julius Stieglitz lists among "topics of special interest in . . . chemistry . . . which . . . lend themselves to general treatment" the idea: "a critical parallel between the methods and processes of analysis in mental processes (logic) and the chemist's methods of analysis of the earth's matter" (p. 295), a concept of profound importance for education, but on p. 14 this is omitted! On p. 299 Raymond Pearl lists five basic biological concepts; on pp. 14-15 these are gratuitously expanded to six, the sixth being the work of the committee. The reports of the experts in social science nowhere assume a fundamental law of progress, but on p. 15 we read of "the concept of change, *involving the idea of progress*, and specially of the progressive humanization of Man" (my italics). Almost half of the twelve "concepts" from the "philosophical sciences" (which, it appears, are religion and philosophy) are not "concepts," but a careless perversion of five "recent tendencies in the field of philosophy" cautiously set down by Mr. Ralph Barton Perry. Surely an understanding of the profound difference between a "concept" and a "tendency" is crucial, especially to teachers who propose to "correlate" literature and philosophical thought.

failure to observe the fundamental principle of scholarly accuracy does not increase one's confidence in the report.

It is perhaps clear by this time that any critical sense of the difference between a book of literary value and a book or magazine without literary value has disappeared from the deliberations of the committee. "English" is anything in print. Thus an eleventh-grade unit designed as "education for power" indifferently lists Elbert Hubbard, Tennyson, Schopenhauer, and Galbraith's *The Brink of Silence* for reading (pp. 126-127); one headed "Introduction to the World's Work," intended to enrich the pupils' "acquaintance with the vocational fields, interest in the world's work, and ability to discuss vocational problems," begins with the Book of Ruth, and includes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Heidi*, *Left Behind* or *Ten days a Newsboy*, and "Animal Stories of this type: *Prince Jan*, Hocker; *Dog of France*, De la Ramee [*sic*]; *Grayfriars Bobby*, Ollivant," in the wide scope of its interest (p. 114); and a list on the following page ("Exploring the Vocations") solemnly prints "Bradstreet's" and "Telephone Directory" among the materials of the class in literature. A list under "Topics from Natural Science" includes Darwin, Beebe, Henry M. Stanley, and "such less authoritative travel books" as Melville's *Typee*, Richard Haliburton's *The Glorious Adventure*, Martin Johnson's *Congorilla*, and "even the good-natured foolery of *Dr. Traprock's Cruise of the Kawa*" [*sic*] (p. 38). Two pages later Hugh Miller's *The Old Red Sandstone*, a book outmoded when it was written, figures with Pope's "The Essay on Man [*sic*]," Sir James Jeans, Arrhenius, Sir John Herschell [*sic*], and Addison's hymn in "a unit involving ideas of vastness in space and time as illustrated in astronomical and geological writings, suitable for students of physiography." There is pertinence in the remark of Mr. Harlan Barrows (p. 298): "Any attempt by a teacher of English *who is not well trained in modern geography* to give his pupils helpful geographic experiences as a by-product of work in composition will inevitably do far more harm than good," but what shall we say of the committee of the National Council which can not distinguish between Richard Haliburton and *Typee*, Sir John "Herschell" and Milton's *Paradise Lost*?

The aim of the committee was a noble one: it was nothing less than to give American students "an intelligent understanding of life as a whole" (p. 1). "Only by an integrated education," they remark, "can we reanimate politics by the conviction that life *is* a logical whole for which co-operative planning can be profitably undertaken" (p. 2). They hope through an integrated curriculum "adequately [to] picture the world in which we live" (p. 4). "Get yourself," they direct the English teacher, "a more encyclopedaic [*sic*] education" (p. 284). But two

pages after this direction to "get" an "encyclopedaic" education we find the sad admission that knowledge "has multiplied so fast that the specialists have not yet synthesized their own specialties and extracted from them their basic meanings" (p. 286); and in view of this awkward fact, it is not clear how we are to find those "core topics" through which the student may "approach the world by every significant avenue of human thought and experience" (p. 13). But the committee is not discouraged. "It seems essential," they write, that teachers "test their programs by the standard: Will the child, when he has passed through this course of study, have looked at life from all the angles which the cumulative thought of the race has found significant, and at all those major aspects of experience which are in the picture from each significant angle?" (p. 13). Your reviewer is not clear whether the picture or the experience is at an angle, but this program strikes him as a touch over-ambitious; he ventures to suggest that English teachers have quite enough to do perfecting themselves in the knowledge and discipline of their own specialty; that their proper contribution to civilization lies within the confines of their own field; that when knowledge is so specialized that "specialists have not yet synthesized their own specialties," they had better postpone to a lovelier world the notion that English teachers are competent to "picture" the troubled earth on which we live. As for the National Council of Teachers of English, he earnestly hopes that it will have the common sense to repudiate this report.

Harvard University.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

PEDLAR'S PROGRESS: *The Life of Bronson Alcott*. By Odell Shepard. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. xxi, 546 pp. \$3.75.

Emerson expressed the wish, since none could better do justice to the strange vicissitudes of Amos Bronson Alcott, that death might visit the pedlar first and permit the scholar to write the official biography, much as he had shared in the defense and explanation of Margaret Fuller. Emerson, however, went first; the task descended to F. B. Sanborn, a sympathetic yet not entirely trustworthy writer. Alcott, who for a time was known as "Emerson's teacher," declined in public importance. He became either "The Father of Little Women" or one of the comical group of reformers daily distracting Emerson from his proper vocation. These portraits now are altered by this beautiful, often impassioned, frequently fiery, and always balanced exposition of the deeds and thoughts of the most transcendental member of the Transcendental Club. Alcott emerges, under the sculpturing hand of Professor Shepard, as a son of Connecticut, a Yankee pedlar, who added to his few native

gifts an unflinching acceptance of his intuitions; an almost messianic urge to teach his few thoughts; a serene idealism, grounded on an acquaintance with North Carolina Quakers' doctrines and enforced by Christ's example; and the power of seeing double, of seeing the event and its universal significance. In an era when industrialism counted money profits alone as of worth, Alcott talked ceaselessly of Mind, Spirit, and Soul. While his neighbor Seth Thomas grew wealthy manufacturing clocks with interchangeable parts, Alcott "attempted to show the identity of the human soul, in its diviner action, with God." Impractically he tried to fix upon his pupils his own inbred habit of thought; he never minded, as the Yankees generally did, the "main chance." Incurrigibly he persisted in unpopular reforms; at first the world whipped him for his nonconformity, and, later, under the tutelage of Louisa's "Transcendental Wild Oats," it smiled at his vagaries.

Yet, Professor Shepard assures us, Alcott was victorious. From the stony soil of Spindle Hill, whose acres yielded sparse crops, Alcott drew rich fruitage in thought. From inglorious peddling expeditions in the South, he came home with Chesterfieldian manners and a certainty of his "inner light." His schoolkeeping, which ended in complete failure, planted ideas of reform that other men, like Horace Mann, stressing the pecuniary value of education, could promote. Although the world "bruised him with an iron hammer," from the paradise-building experiment at Fruitlands, so devastating in its effect that it divides his life in two, he still took away hopeful thoughts for man's betterment. As he became the beneficiary of Emerson and other friends, of his wife's relations, and finally of Louisa's charity, he moved serenely, beneficently indeed, among his benefactors. He gave more than he received, although no accountant could balance their gifts of gold of the realm with the gold of his thought and inspiring presence. The lesson of Alcott's life, the lesson Professor Shepard, too, would preach, for the biographer has caught his subject's trick of universalizing the particular incident,—the lesson of Alcott's life is that materialism rusteth and corrupteth, but that spirit creates, is eternal.

A defense of idealism, in thought and conduct, is the secondary purpose of this book. Alcott possessed "inner quiet and poise," a quality rare, yet needed, in American life. Like Whitman, whom he admired, Alcott preached a gospel of friendliness in a friendly world. Unlike Emerson's progress from "the many to One," Alcott moved from "the One to the many." Alcott did not merely talk against slavery; he lost a school by admitting a Negro child, and into his home and to his table he welcomed runaway slaves. Humbly trusting in Providence, he gave away, at one time, his last stick of firewood and, at another time, his

meal; yet he never became destitute. Thoreau said of him: "the sanest man I ever knew."

Architecturally this biography has superb merits of construction. The sequence of topics in the genetic analysis of Alcott's mental growth has been managed most skilfully. Equally praiseworthy are the linkings and transitions, the maintenance of mood and tone, and the dramatic marshaling of ancillary figures. The style, reminiscent of Thoreau's, is richly studded with literary allusions and with figures of speech drawn from nature. Yet there may be some readers, particularly those whose scholarly quest may require precise dating, who will wish for "more little nailheads of fact, driven home," or for a clearer separation of the author's and the subject's thoughts, or for a more explicit distinction between the two idealisms discussed, or for more precise accounts of the Alcott family's daily problem in furnishing the table with food. Based on Alcott's voluminous journals, this book is not a Boswellized biography, but a history of Alcott's mind from the subject's point of view, a kind of recreated *Prelude* or *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. As such it ranks among the great American literary biographies.

University of Maryland.

HARRY R. WARFEL.

ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE. Vol. IX. By George C. D. Odell.
New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. xviii, 742 pp. \$8.75.

The magnitude of the task Dr. Odell has undertaken becomes increasingly evident with Volume IX, which includes only five years, 1870-1875. His ideal, to which he has rigidly adhered, is to present a complete record of the entertainment in the region of what is now Greater New York. A less courageous scholar would have limited himself to the confines of the old city, but Dr. Odell has included not only Brooklyn, but also Williamsburg, Staten Island, and other suburban districts. The advantage from the point of view of the student of the theater is obvious. The transfer of Augustin Daly's Company in whole or in part to Mrs. Conway's Brooklyn Theatre, presents an interesting beginning of what is now known as "the subway circuit" long before there were subways, and, moreover, there are occasions on which the productions of plays in Brooklyn antedated those in New York City. But the most striking quality of the work is its topical rather than its geographical completeness. Dr. Odell has included opera, musical comedies, variety shows, plays in the foreign language theaters and even lectures delivered in the city churches. In short, here is a complete record of every event which stimulated the attention of the people,

"from grave to gay, from lively to severe." Future biographers of Bret Harte may speculate on the contents of his lecture on "Some Bad People" given in Brooklyn in 1873. It would have been worth hearing. This program has required an amount of labor herculean in character and probably never attempted before by any historian of the theater.

The present volume is enlivened by Dr. Odell's personal reactions to the performances of actors whom he saw a little later on the stage. Heretofore he has necessarily had to depend upon contemporary criticism, but I much prefer his own judgments to those of newspaper critics, and I look forward to the time when he will record his own fresh impressions, not only of the actors' general accomplishments but also of their achievements in the individual plays.

The period 1870-1875 has much of interest for the student of the theater. "Wallack's" was still in its palmy days, "Daly's" was establishing itself in popular favor. Rose Coghlan, Fanny Davenport, Clara Morris, and other fine actresses were thrilling audiences, and matinee idols like Henry J. Montague were being adored. Edwin Forrest was saying goodbye to the stage and John McCullough was taking over his great parts like Spartacus in Bird's *Gladiator* and Jack Cade in Conrad's play of that name. Madame Janauschek was proving in her dual performance of Lady Dedlock and Hortense in *Bleak House* that Dickens *could* draw a gentlewoman. I saw her in the play a few years later, and despite my resentment at the playwright's general treatment of the novel, I still remember Janauschek's acting with pleasure.

The period was not very prolific in new American plays of the first rank. Augustin Daly's *Horizon* and *Divorce* were the most important, and Dr. Odell does full justice to the dramatic qualities of them both. Daly's adaptations from French and German were also delighting his audiences, and the great effect of Clara Morris's acting in *Article 47* is vividly described. Frank Murdoch's *Davy Crockett*, that natural idyl of the woods, and Bronson Howard's early plays like *Saratoga*, *Moorcroft*, and *Diamonds* are given adequate treatment. I am puzzled, however, by Dr. Odell's description of *Lillian's Last Love*, the early form of Howard's *The Banker's Daughter*. The implication of the text is that the play had its first production in Brooklyn at Conway's Theatre, while it really was played first in Chicago, and why Dr. Odell writes "Owen [*sic*] Routledge" for the lover's name is not clear. That *was* the name of the character in *Lillian's Last Love*. Later, when the play was revised as *The Banker's Daughter*, he became "Harold." I am a bit afraid that Dr. Odell, like all New Yorkers, has a feeling that so far as the theater is concerned, anything that happened elsewhere is hardly real!

American playwriting had declined in the sixties, with the passing of the romantic era. Fine tragedies like *Brutus*, *The Gladiator*, *The Broker of Bogota*, *Jack Cade*, and *Francesca da Rimini*, and brilliant comedies like *Fashion* were seen only occasionally; and their authors were dead or had, like Boker, left the stage in disgust at managerial stupidity which looked abroad rather than at home for material. Of the popular successes in the season 1874-1875, *The Shaughran*, *Henry V*, *The Big Bonanza*, *The Two Orphans*, and *Colonel Sellers*, two were foreign adaptations. Boucicault was an American only by adoption, and only the weakest, *Colonel Sellers*, was purely native, being the work of Mark Twain, with, perhaps, some trace left of the first adaptor, Gilbert S. Dinsmore, of California. The most prolific American playwrights were men like Charles Foster, J. J. McCloskey, and others who turned out melodramas for the Bowery Theatre which have mercifully perished. This vogue of melodramas, adapted often, like Foster's most famous piece, *Bertha, the Sewing Machine Girl*, from the pages of the *New York Weekly*, was caused by the popular demand for sensation. How it rose, and how it declined, might be an instinctive lesson to certain of the moving picture companies who supply, in some ways, a similar demand today.

But better days were soon coming. Edward Harrigan was to graduate from his variety sketches, many of which are recorded in this volume, to his more important reproductions of the foreign elements in New York life. Howard was soon to deepen in his art; Daly was to continue, through his adaptations which became new creations in his hands, and through his unflinching devotion to high standards, to raise the level of taste in the audiences of New York. Augustus Thomas and William Gillette were, so to speak, just around the corner.

The social historian will find food for thought in the great number of German plays given in the original, far exceeding the French or Italian offerings, and revealing the large German population in New York at that time. As Dr. Odell rightly surmises, von Moser's *Ultimo*, the original of Daly's *The Big Bonanza*, could hardly have been as effective as the adaptation, put on by the brilliant company at Daly's Theatre. But indeed so much of the material in this ninth volume is food for the social historian and the student of comparative literature that a reviewer can only indicate the wealth of fact and background furnished by this tireless chronicler of the most fascinating of the arts.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. By Catherine Gilbertson. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. xv, 330 pp. \$3.00.

Here is another work which, like Marquis James's *Andrew Jackson* and Odell Shepard's *Pedlar's Progress*, suggests that biography is ceasing to be regarded as chiefly an art of denigration. Mrs. Gilbertson is neither cynical nor sentimental, but accurately observant, fair-minded, shrewd, and candid. She is not blind to the limitations and absurdities of Mrs. Stowe and of Mrs. Stowe's contemporaries; but she understands, and helps us to comprehend, how manners and ways of thought which seem obviously preposterous in 1937 appeared quite natural a century ago. She does not attempt to whitewash Mrs. Stowe's faults, whether personal or literary; but neither does she overlook the genuineness and greatness of her virtues and powers. Presumably Mrs. Gilbertson does not consider the theology and religion of the Beechers and the Stowes flawless, but she is not blind to the important truth that it was that religion which, in Mrs. Stowe's case, inspired powerful and noble deeds. The book, although it provides next to no scholarly apparatus, is unmistakably the composition of a scholarly mind and temper.¹

It is a study of the life, the personality, and the environments of Mrs. Stowe, rather than of her literary works. The terse passages of criticism are of such good quality as to make one wish them longer. The literary influences upon her stories are treated only sketchily. The personal and social influences, however, are fully and clearly delineated. Particularly admirable is the account of how the idea of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* arose in her mind, and how it took its growth and substance from many different sources,—things she had seen and heard in Ohio and Kentucky, magazine stories, autobiographies of escaped negroes, and, above all, her own intense feelings concerning religion and family life. But Mrs. Gilbertson is aware that Mrs. Stowe has another claim to fame besides being, as Abraham Lincoln is said to have told her, "the little woman who wrote the book that made this big war." She gives due recognition to Mrs. Stowe as "our first realist," who drew "pictures of New England life of simple honesty and penetration scarcely improved upon by any of the dozens of New England realists who have come after her." Mrs. Gilbertson does not explain how the daughter of a revivalist, herself given to going on emotional sprees, managed to arrive upon this rock of realism. But the fact that she did so makes it, perhaps, seem less strange that she could be in Hartford a next-door neighbor to Mark Twain—and a friendly neighbor at that.

University of Illinois.

ERNEST BERNBAUM.

¹I have observed only one error of fact—on page 66, with respect to the authorship of the first American novel.

FOUR NEW LETTERS OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT AND HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS. Edited by Benjamin P. Kurtz and Carrie C. Autrey. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. 82 pp. \$1.50.

This modest volume ushers into print three unpublished letters of Mary Wollstonecraft and one of Helen Maria Williams, all of them addressed to Mrs. Ruth Barlow, wife of Joel Barlow, during the year 1794. They are only a small portion of a treasury of unpublished Barlowana now preserved at St. Helena, California, by Joel Barlow's descendants. The letters present no major discovery, but they do provide interesting footnotes for accounts of the careers and personalities not only of the writers but of Joel Barlow and his charming wife.

The first three letters are by Mary Wollstonecraft. Letter I, dated "Febry 3d" and assigned to 1794 on convincing evidence, indicates that Barlow aided her in securing material for her *Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution*, provides a basis for conjecture concerning Barlow's involvement in plans of the French Republic for the seizure of Louisiana from Spain during the winter of 1793-1794, gives us a glimpse at her initial happiness with Imlay, and makes it possible to correct the dates given by Kegan Paul for several of her letters to Imlay from Paris. Letter II, dated at Havre, April 27, 1794, discloses that Barlow and Imlay were involved in a new secret business adventure the nature of which has been the object of much conjecture but the returns from which seem eventually to have been very profitable to Barlow. Letter III, dated at Havre, May 20, 1794, sets the hitherto unknown date of Fanny Imlay's birth at May 14, 1794, and, like the preceding, is full of intimate personal detail.

Letter IV, conjecturally dated at Paris, April 6-16, 1794, is by Miss Williams. It reveals her uneasiness over the possibility of her not being able to marry her friend Stone and tells of her seeing Danton, Desmoulins, and other victims on their way to the guillotine. In the latter connection, it seems strange that in all Miss Williams had to say in her published letters about the fate of Danton and Desmoulins she should not have mentioned seeing them on their way to execution (see her *Memoirs of the Reign of Robespierre*, edited by F. Funck-Brentano, London, 1929, pp. 127-129). Yet there seems to be no doubt about the authenticity of the new letter.

There are, however, a number of errors in details into which the editors have fallen in their introduction, most of which are due to their following secondary sources of information: (1) The impression is given that Barlow's first trip to England was in 1791 (p. 19). It was, as is well known, in 1788. (2) The name George Rous has unaccountably

become George Borls; and, following C. B. Todd, Barlow's biographer, the editors have confused John and Joseph Warner in a list of Englishmen made Citizens of France (p. 20). The list is given in a letter from John Warner to Barlow of October 18, 1792, the original of which is now preserved in the Musée de la Co-operation Franco-Américaine de Blérancourt. (3) London is mistakenly given as the place from which Barlow reports dining with Miss Williams, who "has a party almost every night—30, or 40, or 50, chiefly English" (p. 36). The quotation is from a letter of July 9, 1802, from Joel Barlow at Paris to his wife at Plombières, where she had gone for her health during that summer. The original is in the Barlow collection in the Harvard College Library. During the peace interregnum of 1802 in the war between France and England many Englishmen were in Paris. (4) Miss Williams published eight instead of "four volumes of her own letters relating to the French Revolution" (p. 34). (5) Following Funck-Brentano, the editors leave out of their account Miss Williams's second visit to France from July, 1791, to April, 1792 (p. 35). This visit is the subject of the second volume of her letters. (6) The statement that "after his [John Hurford Stone's] divorce she [Miss Williams] assumed his name" (p. 35) is rather strange in view of the fact that some two months before the divorce she signed her name in the new letter itself "M. S." [Maria Stone]. (7) The approximate date of Miss Williams's release from prison was toward the end of November, 1793, instead of "toward the end of December" (p. 76). Although she wrote of her "two months imprisonment" (*Memoirs of the Reign of Robespierre*, p. 101) from October 12, the date of her arrest, she wrote more definitely in another place of the execution of her friend Rabaut Saint-Étienne as having taken place December 5, "a few weeks after our release from prison" (*ibid.*, p. 104).

In general, the editors seem to have fallen between two stools in their approach. The Introduction appears calculated to appeal to the general reader alone in recounting so fully the simple facts of the identification of the principal people involved in the correspondence and in tracing the descent of the letters through more than a century of the history of the Barlow family until they reposed "in a sun-gold valley of California" (p. 11). On the other hand, the notes with their meticulous accuracy, especially in working out the relation of the letters to historical events, seem addressed to the expert in literary history alone. The result is a rather incongruous mixture of the popular and the learned in the material of the volume as a whole.

The editors, however, are to be generally commended for achieving a readable essay and for skilfully weaving the letters into the pattern of the times.

It is hoped that the Barlowana at St. Helena may be made further available for the use of scholars.

Franklin and Marshall College.

M. RAY ADAMS.

OUR RUDE FOREFATHERS: *American Political Verse, 1783-1788*. By Louie M. Miner. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1937. x, 274 pp. \$3.00.

Confining herself to a short period, Professor Miner gives a careful account, with generous examples, of a large body of verse not otherwise easily accessible. She has drawn her material mainly from the periodicals of the different states, from Maine to Georgia—obviously a laborious task. She classifies it by subjects, the most important of course being the anarchy of the Confederation and the struggle toward the Constitution. The treatment is thorough and scholarly, supplying the historical setting for the extracts and indicating their exact provenance.¹

On the whole, however, the book is a compilation, covering rather than illuminating its period; compare, for example, its Chapter VII, "The Reign of Anarchy," with Parrington's more philosophical treatment of the same material in his Introduction to *The Connecticut Wits*. The verse in the present volume is mainly personal, local and ephemeral, bearing on petty politics; even with the careful commentary it is often too obscure or too uninteresting to follow; and the forest tends to be obscured by the trees. Partly because of the dulness of the material involved, but partly too because of the treatment, the book is not easily readable.

As a contribution to our poetical history it has some slight value. It shows that the verse—odes, ballads, songs, and satires, written in old forms or sung to old tunes—is obviously imitative; also (though this is less obvious) that in "a hard-hitting quality of phrase, a directness and point in attack, a tang to the idiom" it is "distinctly American." It shows that, here as in England, verse was much more employed for political discussion than at present. It shows that this verse was sadly lacking in literary value—as Professor Miner admits (p. 25).

As these are facts already known, at least not requiring for their demonstration an entire volume, the value must be sought mainly elsewhere. The book does "convey to readers of to-day the very form and color of the political scene during an important phase of our country's history." It shows also that many of the political problems of the

¹I have noted few corrections: on p. 13 the victory belonged to Cornwallis, as the source indicates, and was at Camden, *South Carolina*; on p. 162, for Windham read *Windham*.

1780's—inflation, “tyranny” in the courts, “Americanism”—were those still before us. Particularly in this aspect it is instructive.

Regarded as a contribution to political history, however, the book raises a problem of method. Since all the political issues were discussed in both verse and prose, since the prose is in general better and clearer than the verse, since at any rate one will throw light on the other, is it not a mistake to take the verse separately? Would it not be better to make the treatment frankly that of the political historian, with full exposition of the issues involved, and with the necessary illustration from contemporary material, whether in verse or in prose? For example, would not the subject of the introduction of a foreign episcopacy (pp. 63-70) be more clearly and successfully treated by the broader method?

To put much the same objection in another form: has not the author possibly begun intending a contribution to the history of poetry and ended by writing a somewhat one-sided chapter in the history of politics?

Cornell University.

F. C. PRESCOTT.

THE GERMANS IN AMERICAN LIFE. Edited by Rachel Davis-DuBois and Emma Schweppe. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1936. 180 pp. \$1.00.

FOUR LECTURES (Original and in Translation). Given at German Universities in February 1936. By James Taft Hatfield. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1936. 108 pp.

GERMAN INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION AND CULTURE. By John A. Walz. Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Foundation. 1936. 79 pp. \$.75.

In these days of the Nazi regime it is well for Americans to be reminded of what the German spirit and civilization have been and fundamentally are. The three volumes named above all serve to do this, at the same time that they make clear certain ways in which Germany has left its imprint on American life.

The Germans in American Life belongs to a series called “Building American Culture,” and is designed for students, in and out of schools, who wish a systematic guide in pursuing the subject announced in the title. The book is primarily factual, containing the most essential information regarding the extent of German immigration into this country, and the part that Germans have taken here in the fields of politics, education, science, art, literature, and music. The chapters are short but meaty, the discussions sensible. No fault is to be found with the work except a subtle overemphasis on the magnitude and importance of the German impact. In fairness to the study, however, it should be

pointed out that it sins less in this way than does Professor A. B. Faust's well-known *The German Element in the United States* (1909), which stresses every scrap of evidence which supports the view of a strong racial influence.

This overemphasis Professor Hatfield is especially careful to avoid. In none of his four lectures, which were designed for German audiences, is he tempted into polite but unscholarly generalizations. He begins "German Culture in the United States," in fact, by remarking on the insignificance of the "visible cultural influence of the large German population across the Atlantic," and he then devotes much attention to an explanation of why the understanding between the immigrants from Germany and the older English settlers has been so imperfect. He emphasizes in particular that the former have failed to understand and value properly the Puritan basis on which the original New England culture was erected. The fourth lecture deals with Longfellow, and does full justice to the poet as "a transmitter of German culture." Professor Hatfield writes with a freedom from the purely academic which is praiseworthy.

Professor Walz's work is also praiseworthy, and on the same score. Despite its brevity the study throws new light on the subject of German-American educational relations, pointing out, for the first time, the full extent of the German influence, not only on our universities, but especially on the lower public schools—from the kindergarten, of course, up. Incidentally, the statement with which Professor Walz ends his discussion no doubt reflects the view of thousands of men and women of German blood who today try to understand what is happening in the mother country: "The whole cultural life of Germany has developed a new aspect but the old German idealism is not dead; it is under a partial eclipse and sooner or later will appear again in a new form."

The University of Kansas.

JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

FRIEND ANTHONY BENEZET. By George S. Brookes. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. ix, 516 pp. \$5.00.

One wonders, as he finishes reading this life of Anthony Benezet, where a better or more saintly man ever lived and labored for human betterment. Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was his contemporary and lived in the same city with him, said: "Few men, since the days of the Apostles, ever lived a more disinterested life." Brissot, the distinguished Frenchman, asked: "Who was ever more virtuous than Benezet? Who more useful to society, to mankind?" Benjamin Franklin loved him and Patrick Henry was his friend. Next to William Penn he was the greatest Quaker in the Colony of Pennsylvania.

He was the son of a French Huguenot who fled from St. Quentin to London and in 1731 emigrated to Philadelphia with his family, Anthony then being fourteen. For forty years Anthony Benezet was one of the foremost schoolmasters in Philadelphia, during which period he trained many of the leaders in the Colony. During these years he became the foremost opponent in the Colonies to the slave trade, and he was the kindling influence which set Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp in England and J. P. Brissot in France against the trade in slaves. He was as devoted to the cause of the Indians as to that of the Negroes, and the peoples of both these races loved him with a rare devotion.

When the Acadians were expelled from Nova Scotia in 1775, Benezet became their friend and protector, and for a decade he was the main provider of support and sustenance for these long-suffering exiles, one of whom Longfellow has immortalized in *Evangeline*.

Benezet was one of the earliest advocates of peace and a most effective foe of intemperance. But far greater than any of the explicit contributions which this extraordinary man made to his city or to the causes of his generation was the quality of his life. One feels a sense of awe as he reads the story of this good man who lived almost without events a little more than a hundred and fifty years ago. He had good sense, virile powers of argument, a gift of style, extraordinary humility, unusual clarity of insight. He was always on the side of the weak. He was the incarnation of benevolence. He was an institution of kindness.

Haverford College.

RUFUS M. JONES.

THE YEMASSEE. By William Gilmore Simms. Edited by Alexander Cowie. New York, etc.: American Book Company. 1937. xlv, 406 pp. \$2.40.

HORSE-SHOE ROBINSON. By John Pendleton Kennedy. Edited by Ernest E. Leisy. New York, etc.: American Book Company. 1937. xxxii, 550 pp. \$2.40.

These two volumes are recent additions to the American Book Company's "American Fiction Series," "unabridged reprints of historically important . . . novels, mainly of the earlier periods. . . ." The publisher deserves commendation for the usefulness of the series and for the attractiveness of the format of the volumes; the general editor, Harry Hayden Clark, and the various editors of the separate volumes are to be congratulated on the helpful nature of the introductory material.

There are two conflicting critical attitudes towards the romances of William Gilmore Simms, and the rank among Simms's works that a critic gives *The Yemassee* is indicative of his stand on the question. One approach, that sanctioned by the biographer W. P. Trent, looks on Simms as a writer of a story for the story's sake, as a mere teller of

exciting tales. Another approach, one that seems to the reviewer decidedly more valid, recognizes Simms's often-expressed purpose of giving a deliberately realistic and representative portrayal of the people, manners, customs, and significant events in the history of South Carolina and, to a less extent, in the westward advance of the Southern frontier. To the former type of critic *The Yemassee* is Simms's best romance since, being the author's first, it is less weighted with the material concomitant to the author's more serious purpose. The latter type of critic finds Simms's best work in his Revolutionary Romances. Consequently the reviewer regrets the choice of *The Yemassee* to represent Simms's romances since it largely lacks those elements that make the author's works distinctive among historical romances.

Professor Alexander Cowie's critical introduction is a very useful study of Simms's work. He is alone among recent critics of Simms in making significant use of the large amount of material to be found in Simms's addresses and magazine writings. It seems to the reviewer, however, that much of his criticism of the Revolutionary Romances and Border Romances is invalidated by his failure to recognize Simms's realistic purpose.

There are, besides, various inaccuracies to be found in Professor Cowie's introduction, such as are likely to occur in accounts of a man so little studied as Simms has been. For example, it is highly questionable whether Simms's grandmother "encouraged the boy's natural interest in letters." Likewise, Simms began to study law before, not after, he was married. The *Cassique of Kiawah* was not "his last novel to be completed." The 1842 edition of *Beauchampe* contained the stories of both *Charlemont* and *Beauchampe*; consequently it is inaccurate to state that "Many years later he [Simms] returned to the same unhappy history and, in *Charlemont* (1856), reported the details of Colonel Sharpe's conquest of the heroine. . . ."

Professor E. E. Leisy has written an informative introduction to *Horse-Shoe Robinson*. The small amount of literary work by Kennedy to be discussed has enabled him to use some of his allotted span of pages in a well-conceived sketch of the development of the historical novel in America up to 1835, and in an account of the course of the Revolution in South Carolina that should prove useful to readers of the romance. The reviewer believes, however, that a fuller discussion of *Swallow Barn* and *Rob of the Bowl* would have added materially to the value of the essay.

Both editors are to be commended for their carefully prepared chronologies and bibliographies.

Winthrop College.

HAMPTON M. JARRELL.

BRIEF MENTION

MAKE IT NEW: Essays. By Ezra Pound. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1935. 407 pp. \$3.75.

This volume contains, in the words of the author, "a collection of reports (in the biologists' sense) on specific bodies of writing, undertaken in the hope, or with the aims, of criticism and in accordance with the ideogrammic method." All seven of them were written before 1920 (four were previously printed in periodicals) and are here collected with a brief introduction on the nature and functions of criticism. Only one of them directly concerns the student of American literature. This is an essay entitled "Henry James and Remy de Gourmont"—first published in the *Little Review*, August, 1918— which occupies almost one-fourth of the book. The criticism of James's works is a comprehensive one, dotted with penetrating comments for the reader who is willing to persevere through eighty pages of inconsecutive impressions and brilliant dogmatisms, adorned obtrusively with foreign phrases in the manner of Whitman. Pound's twofold thesis is that there was "emotional greatness in Henry James's hatred of tyranny," and that there was "titanic volume, weight, in the masses he sets in opposition within his work." The "tyranny" which he fought was the impinging of family pressure and the impinging of one personality on another; the "opposition" was the misunderstanding which results from racial differences, from essential Americanness, or Englishness, or Frenchness. Since he finds these most abundantly set forth in the novels of the author's early and late periods, he analyzes them most fully, eschewing the novels of the middle period as "cobwebby."

C. R. A.

EDGAR ALLAN POE. By Edward Shanks. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. x, 176 pp. \$2.00.

This brief commentary on Poe's life and works by Mr. Edward Shanks, an English novelist and poet, deserves no extended notice in *American Literature*. A much better work is the critical biography of Poe by Mr. Shanks's countrywoman, Dame Una Pope-Hennessy, which was published by the Macmillan Company in 1934. The following errors occur in Mr. Shanks's text. P. 48, "Thomas Wylkes White" should read "Thomas Willis White." P. 56, who ever heard of a ghost of an unborn child? Pp. 59 and 143, "Thomas Dunne English" should read "Thomas Dunn English." P. 63, "Mrs. Gore Nichols" should read "Mrs. Gove

Nichols." P. 90, "*The Journey to Xanadu*" should read "*The Road to Xanadu*." P. 121, "*Baltimore Saturday Visitor*" should read "*Baltimore Saturday Visiter*." P. 146, "shaped" should read "chafed." The book has no bibliography, no index, and a few footnotes.

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

THE ROMANTIC DECATUR. By Charles Lee Lewis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. 296 pp. \$3.00.

Appended to Professor Lewis's informal and scholarly biography of Stephen Decatur (1779-1820), hero of Tripoli and the War of 1812, is a section of twenty pages entitled "Songs and Poems" (pp. 238-257), which were inspired by the exploits and tragic death of this American naval officer. In most cases the authorship of the songs and poems has not been ascertained. One is ascribed to Samuel Woodworth, and the authors of the others have names that will mean little to most students of American literature but perhaps much to the antiquarian.

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

THE BANNED BOOKS OF ENGLAND. By Alec Craig. With a Foreword by E. M. Forster. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. [1937.] 207 pp. \$2.90.

Contains in Chapter IV a "Comparison with America," in which are presented a few episodes in the history of banning books in this country. The whole is not a very thorough study of its subject.

C. G.

WHITMAN. By Edgar Lee Masters. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. 342 pp. \$3.50.

A very poor biography—filled with erroneous statements—which no serious student of Whitman will need to read.

C. G.

DAS AMERIKANISCHE BUCHWESEN: *Buchdruck und Buchhandel, Bibliophilie und Bibliothekswesen in den Vereinigten Staaten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. By Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Ruth S. Granniss and Lawrence C. Wroth. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann. 1937. xii, 386 pp. R.M. 12.

The first section of this work, "American Book-Craft from the Beginning to the War of Secession," is by Mr. Wroth; the second, "American Book-Craft from 1860 to the Present," is by Mr. Lehmann-Haupt; the

third, "American Collectors and Libraries," is the product of the studies of Miss Ruth S. Grannis, librarian of the Grolier Club. Mr. Carl Speth, Jr., is the translator of such sections as were originally composed in English. The work is the first full-length treatment of its subject to appear and, while subject to the usual limitations of an extensive pioneer study, is nevertheless a very valuable survey which will be of great help to students of American literature and social history. The emphasis of the study is chiefly upon the printers of fine books, although the large publishing houses are also included.

C. G.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1701-1712. With Bibliographical and Other Notes by Clifford K. Shipton. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1937. xii, 710 pp. \$5.00.

This volume is the fifth in the set known as *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, a standard biographical work for students of Colonial history and literature. Thomas Prince, Joseph Sewall, and others of interest to literary students are among the subjects of the sketches in the present volume.

C. G.

THE ROAD TO REUNION, 1865-1900. By Paul H. Buck. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. xiv, 320 pp. \$3.25.

The Road to Reunion is not just another account of political Reconstruction in the South; it is the "history of how two bitter foes were reconciled, two rival societies harmonized. . . ." In this process of national integration, as Professor Buck points out, "political Reconstruction was not fundamental"; in fact, integration came about in spite of the leading politicians of the Republican party. *The Road to Reunion* is social history of the kind most valuable to the student of American literature. It supplies the indispensable background for the understanding of much of the literature written during the period, particularly the fiction dealing with the Civil War and the post-bellum South. Two of the thirteen chapters deal with the literature of the period: VIII, "The South Begins to Write," and IX, "The North Feels the Power of the Pen." Professor Buck has searched magazine files for relevant materials, and he has obviously read the novels and plays which he discusses. He has used this literary material with skill and judgment. Too often the social historian, when he turns to *belles-lettres* for source materials, forgets the nature and limitations of prose fiction. One of the best sections, pp. 228-235, is devoted to the little known writings of Northern authors

upon Southern themes. There are some errors in the spelling of proper names in Chapter VIII: "Beatty" for Beaty, "Baskerville" for Baskervill, and "Surrey" for Surry. A companion book, a narrative of sectional divergence in the years preceding the Civil War, would be a valuable complement to *The Road to Reunion*.

THE SAGA OF AMERICAN SOCIETY: *A Record of Social Aspirations, 1607-1937*. By Dixon Wecter. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. xv, 504 pp. \$4.00.

Most of the writings on this subject are by amateurs with inadequate training and many prejudices. Professor Wecter has done his work in the spirit of the modern historian. He has related the development of Society in the special sense of the word to that of American society in the larger sense. His book is thoroughly documented, and he has assimilated his materials. His point of view is national rather than provincial; he draws his material from Chicago and Denver as well as from Boston and New York. The earlier chapters are chronological in arrangement; the later ones deal with such topics as etiquette, clubs, the society page, sports, etc. There is a final chapter on "The Self-Justifications of Society." The book supplies a useful background for a study of the American novel of manners.

PULPWOOD EDITOR: *The Fabulous World of the Thriller Magazines Revealed by a Veteran Editor and Publisher*. By Harold Brainerd Hersey. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1937. x, 301 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Hersey has little to say about the history of the woodpulp magazines, but he gives a full account of the methods used in the making of such magazines today. He points out that the pulp magazines are read by all classes, especially the young and the unimaginative of all ages. He discusses the various types of such magazines: the Westerns, sex magazines, adventure stories, stories of aviation, etc. For many of these he gives the formula, to deviate from which would be fatal. He contends, however, that the pulp magazines are as well written as many of the smooth paper periodicals. He offers, in fact, using only pulp writers, to put out an issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* which would be better than any printed by that magazine during the past five years. The scholar who may wish to study the literary careers of those authors who have graduated from the pulps will have a difficult time of it, for the paper on which these magazines is printed is perishable and probably no library is attempting to make a large collection of them while they are obtainable.

A LETTER TO ROBERT FROST: *And Others*. By Robert Hillyer. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. 69 pp. \$2.00.

The seven letters of which this book is composed are written in heroic couplets and in a style which is charmingly colloquial and genial when not satiric. The book will delight most those who have studied in the English department at Harvard—there are admirable pen pictures of Professors Kittredge, Briggs, and Wendell—but it will please also those who, like Mr. Hillyer, do not admire the machine age or the literature which it has produced.

When poets laugh at metres, with applause,
Why punish citizens who laugh at laws?
All follies regimented are akin—
Free verse and Bolshevism and bad gin (p. 7).

One learns that Mr. Hillyer, who is a caustic critic, is no admirer of Eliot, Pound, Gertrude Stein, Faulkner, Wolfe, or even of Emily Dickinson.

Once irresistible, now merely coy,
Her whims, her verbal airs and graces cloy (p. 4).

Mr. Hillyer has the creative writer's impatience with source-hunters and philologists.

Our scholars, to whom every root is known,
Command all languages, except their own;
For confirmation, but consult the theses
That year by year bankrupt the college presses (p. 23).

The book is an excellent antidote to the two books reviewed below. The seven letters are addressed to Robert Frost, Professors C. T. Copeland and J. B. Munn, Peyton Randolph Campbell, Bernard DeVoto, the poet's son, and Queen Nefertiti.

AFTER THE GENTEEL TRADITION: *American Writers since 1910*. Edited by Malcolm Cowley. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. [1937.] 270 pp. \$2.75.

Mr. Cowley has brought together from the *New Republic* and other periodicals fourteen essays by twelve critics. The essays deal with Dreiser, Sinclair, Brooks, Sandburg, Lewis, Mencken, O'Neill, Cabell, Anderson, Jeffers, Dos Passos, Hemingway, Wolfe, Willa Cather, and Edna St. Vincent Millay. The emphasis is upon prose fiction rather than poetry or drama. Most of the essays are excellent. Besides the essay on Dos Passos, Mr. Cowley himself contributes a "Foreword: The Revolt against Gentility," a "Postscript: Twenty Years of American Literature," and "A Literary Calendar: 1911-1930." Mr. Cowley's interpretation of

recent literary history—he relies heavily upon Sinclair Lewis's acceptance speech before the Swedish Academy—seems more superficial than, for example, that given in Dr. Canby's *Seven Years' Harvest*, which appeared in 1936. The revolt against the genteel tradition is only one of many factors, most of which are here either ignored or inadequately treated.

THE BEST BOOKS OF THE DECADE, 1926-1935: *A Later Clue to the Literary Labyrinth*. By Asa Don Dickinson. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1937. xvi, 194 pp.

Mr. Dickinson, the Librarian of Brooklyn College, confesses "a weakness for all schemes to weigh imponderables and hold a tape-line to infinity." In 1924 he published *One Thousand Best Books* and four years later *The Best Books of Our Time, 1901-1925*. Aware of the "increasing public interest in essays at best book selection," he has undertaken to select the four hundred "best" books of the decade 1926-1935. Believing that in the multitude of counselors there is wisdom, he has based his selection upon no less than 102 "authorities." These include the *A. L. A. Catalog*, the *American Yearbook*, the *Book Review Digest*, and reading lists by Heywood Broun, William Lyon Phelps, John Dewey, Will Durant, Harry Hansen, Joseph Wood Krutch, and many others. Mr. Dickinson gives ten points to the book rated first on each list, but "To overcome the handicap of lack of time in which to gather endorsements the ratings of books published in 1935 are marked up twenty per cent; those of 1934, fifteen per cent," and so on. The ratings of 1929 books are cut down five per cent, those of 1928 ten per cent, and so on. The present reviewer has no better scheme to suggest, but he wonders how it happened that Pearl Buck should be represented by four books while Sherwood Anderson and Aldous Huxley have only one each and James Branch Cabell is omitted altogether. I wonder what the result would have been if Mr. Dickinson had asked some of his "authorities," who praised certain books a few years ago, what they think of them now. The literature of the decade is just beginning to come into perspective. While we are waiting for "His Royal Highness, Prince Posterity," to borrow Swift's phrase, to decide what books are of permanent importance, those who do not like Mr. Dickinson's selection may take their cues from Mr. Hillyer or Mr. Cowley.

THE BEST [AMERICAN] SHORT STORIES, 1937: *And the Yearbook of the American Short Story*. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. xxiv, 456 pp. \$2.50.

Of the twenty-nine stories which he reprints Mr. O'Brien regards the three following as the best: Edith Morris's "A Blade of Grass," I. V.

Morris's "Marching Orders" ("the most noteworthy short story of the year, and one of the five or six most important American stories of our generation"), and Lovell Thompson's "The Iron City." In his rating of the magazines from which the stories are taken, he gives first place to the *Southern Review*, from which he reprints four stories, and the *Atlantic Monthly*, represented by three. In his Introduction Mr. O'Brien makes a plea for the *novella*, which is not a novelette but "a story of sustained breadth which accepts all the limitations of the short story unities." He includes three examples of the type. He also has a word for the editors of magazines with large circulations: "Is it not really possible for you to value the intelligent response of your public to good stories a little more highly? . . . Why are you editors letting our good writers escape to Hollywood?"

HUDIBRAS IN THE BURLESQUE TRADITION. By Edward Ames Richards. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. x, 184 pp. \$2.50.

The discussion, in Part I, of Samuel Butler is based primarily upon the poet's writings apart from *Hudibras*. The book, however, is primarily a study of the relation of *Hudibras* to the burlesque tradition in the century and a half following its publication. Chapter VI deals with "Hudibras in America."

THE FIRST PRINTING IN KENTUCKY: *Some Account of Thomas Parvin and John Bradford and the Establishment of the Kentucky Gazette in Lexington in the Year 1787, with a Bibliography of Seventy Titles.* By Willard Rouse Jillson, Sc.D. Louisville, Ky.: C. T. Dearing Company. 1936. (Edition limited to 350 copies.) 57 pp. \$3.50.

Chapter I is based upon Dr. Jillson's article, "A Sketch of Thomas Parvin—First Printer in Kentucky," which appeared in the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for October, 1936. For the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of printing in Kentucky, he has reprinted the article with additional materials dealing with, or taken from, the *Kentucky Gazette*.

MANUAL OF METHODS OF REPRODUCING RESEARCH MATERIALS: *A Survey made for the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies.* By Robert C. Binkley, with the assistance of Dr. T. R. Schellenberg, Professor Miles Hanley, Miss Josephine McCarter, Miss Adeline Barry, and Many Others. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1936. xiv, 207 pp. \$3.50.

"An inquiry into the techniques of reproducing research materials," says Dr. Binkley, "is called for at the present time because there are com-

ing to light new processes and devices which, taken in their entirety, promise to have an impact on the intellectual world comparable with that of the invention of printing. The typewriter and the photostat were the precursors of the array of new devices, among which the planograph, or photo-offset, and the miniature film copy have the most interesting possible applications. . . . A few more inventions along the present line of technological development may result in rendering 'reprinting' a kind of simple addition to the functions of a library, as photostating has come to be. . . . Book and journal publishing, now taken for granted as the sole channels for the flow of an intellectual product, may be challenged by the consequences of these technological changes" (p. 2). This survey, of which a tentative edition appeared in 1931, has been revised and brought up to date. It covers in detail methods and costs of printing and many other methods of reproducing research materials, most of which are illustrated in the book. By the process of lithoprinting Edwards Brothers have embodied the results of the survey in an unusually attractive book.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERARY JOURNALISM IN AMERICA. By Edwin H. Ford. Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess Publishing Company. [1937.] iii, 68 pp.

A useful bibliographical manual for students and teachers interested in the interrelations of journalism and literature.

INTERPRETATIONS OF JOURNALISM: *A Book of Readings*. Edited by Frank Luther Mott and Ralph D. Casey. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1937. x, 534 pp. \$3.00.

"The purpose of this collection is to make the chief utterances of the past three hundred years on the subject of newspapers and the press easily accessible to all who are interested in journalism. There are certain recognized—in some cases even 'classic'—pronouncements upon journalistic subjects, of which one frequently says that they should be read by everyone who pretends to a knowledge of the newspaper as a social phenomenon and as a force in government, in groups, and in the lives of individuals; but because these pieces are scattered—some of them in obscure hiding places—they are not generally read, and we come to know of them vaguely by hearing them spoken of rather than intimately by careful reading. Many such essays, addresses, and papers, as well as certain less known but worthy pieces, are brought together in this volume" (Introduction, p. v).

AN ADVENTURE WITH A GENIUS: *Recollections of Joseph Pulitzer*. By Alleyne Ireland. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc. [1937.] 236 pp. \$2.50.

A new edition, by one of Pulitzer's secretaries of a book published in 1914 under the title *Joseph Pulitzer: Reminiscences of a Secretary*.

THE SUNPAPERS OF BALTIMORE. By Gerald Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H. L. Mencken, and Hamilton Owens. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. xii, 430, xvi pp. \$3.75.

Mr. Mencken and his collaborators have written an admirable history of the Baltimore *Sun*, which was founded in 1837.

A MANUAL FOR WRITERS OF DISSERTATIONS. By Kate L. Turabian. Chicago, Ill.: Distributed by the University of Chicago Bookstore. 1937. vi, 61 pp. (Pamphlet.)

"This manual condenses the uniform standards in matters of style for dissertations to be submitted to the University of Chicago" (p. 1). It is based largely upon the tenth edition of *A Manual of Style*, published by the University of Chicago Press.

AN EXHIBITION OF ONE HUNDRED AMERICAN FIRST EDITIONS PARALLELING THE HISTORY OF MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE, 1837-1937. South Hadley, Mass.: Williston Memorial Library, Mount Holyoke College. [1937.] (Pamphlet.) \$.30.

Contains an interesting Preface by Van Wyck Brooks.

A CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN FIRST EDITIONS OF WRITINGS BY T. S. Eliot: *Exhibited in the Yale University Library 22 February to 20 March, 1937*. Compiled by Donald C. Gallup. New Haven [Conn.: Yale University Library]. 1937. 42 pp. (Pamphlet.)

THE SPEECH OF EAST TEXAS. ("American Speech Reprints and Monographs," No. 2.) By Oma Stanley. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. x, 137 pp. \$2.50.

A Columbia University dissertation dealing with the common speech of the white residents of East Texas.

INDIAN PLACE-NAMES IN ALABAMA. By William A. Read, Ph.D. ("University Studies, Number 29.") Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1937. xviii, 84 pp. \$1.50.

LITTLE LION: *Mieke*. By Brand Whitlock. Introduction by Allan Nevins. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated. 1937. viii, 42 pp. \$1.00.

"These pages were written by Brand Whitlock amid all the toils, the anxieties, and the heart-tearing sights and sounds of his duties as our wartime Minister to Belgium. To him and his wife, deprived as they were of children, this first dog . . . was an unfailing source of companionship and pleasure. Those who read the essay as carefully as it deserves will find that, much as it tells us of Mieke, it tells still more of the brave, sensitive, and devoted man who stood as a symbol of American aid and protection to seven million people from the invasion of Belgium until the entrance of the United States into the World War" (Introduction, pp. vii-viii).

LETTERS IN CANADA, 1936. Edited by A. S. P. Woodhouse. [Toronto, Canada: The University of Toronto Press. 1937.] 249 pp.

An admirable bibliographical and critical survey, reprinted from the *University of Toronto Quarterly* for April and July, 1937.

INDIANA IMPRINTS, 1804-1849: A Supplement to Mary Alden Walker's "Beginnings of Printing in the State of Indiana," published in 1934. ("Indiana Historical Society Publications," Vol. XI, No. 5.) By Douglas C. McMurtrie. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1937. 86 pp. \$.75.

AN ORIGIN FOR "DR. HEIDEGGER'S EXPERIMENT"

LOUISE HASTINGS
Indiana University

IN *A Practical System of Rhetoric; or, the Principles and Rules of Style* (Portland, 1829) the author, Samuel Phillips Newman, included the following sketch, which if not written by Hawthorne, could very easily have been a source for "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment." Although the narrative contains many parallels to Hawthorne's later tales, I have confined my comparisons as much as possible to his earlier fiction. In other words, I have attempted to find an appropriate place for it somewhere between his Gothic tales and such mature pieces as "Roger Malvin's Burial" and "The Gentle Boy." Perhaps this simple, even amateurish, bit of writing will help to explain his growth, indicating that at college he did not limit his expression to the luridness of "Alice Doane's Appeal," but that he had already begun to plant the seeds for his later art.¹

The First and Last Dinner

Twelve friends, much about the same age, and fixed by their pursuits, their family connexions, and other local interests, as permanent inhabitants of the metropolis, agreed, one day when they were drinking wine at the Star and Garter at Richmond,² to institute an annual dinner among themselves under the following regulations:—That they should dine alternately at each others' houses on the *first* and *last* day of the year; and the *first* bottle of wine uncorked at the *first* dinner should be recorked and put away, to be drunk by him who should be the last of their

¹ Elizabeth Chandler Lathrop notes his rapid development, "A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances of Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853," *Smith College Studies*, VII, 14 (July, 1926). There is no reason to believe that Hawthorne did not seriously begin his writing career before the Lonely Chamber isolation. In the *Spectator* he gives an account of an examination at Mr. Archer's School, which he attended, when the "specimens of writing were fine, and showed great improvement." At Bowdoin he once wrote that he had made progress on his novel (Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*, Boston, 1885, I, 124).

² A tavern forms the setting for scenes in *Fanshawe*, "An Old Woman's Tale," and "My Kinsman, Major Molineaux." The scenes in *Fanshawe* have a connection with Hawthorne's life at Bowdoin. *Fanshawe*, too, shows an early interest in England; later, London was to be the background for "Wakefield."

number; that they should never admit a new member; that, when one died, eleven should meet, and when another died, ten should meet, and so on; and that, when only one remained, he should, on these two days, dine by himself, and sit the usual hours at his solitary table; but the first time he had so dined, lest it should be the only one, he should then uncork the *first* bottle, and in the *first* glass, drink to the memory of all who were gone.

Some thirty years had now glided away, and only ten remained;³ but the-stealing hand of time had written sundry⁴ changes in most legible characters.⁵ Raven locks had become grizzled; two or three heads had not as many locks as may be reckoned in a walk of half a mile along the Regent's Canal⁶—one was actually covered with a brown wig⁷—the crow's feet⁸ were visible in the corner of the eye—good old port and warm Madeira carried it against hock, claret, red burgundy, and champagne—stews, hashes, and ragouts, grew into favour—crusts were rarely called for to relish the cheese after dinner—conversation was less boisterous, and it turned chiefly upon politics and the state of funds, or the values of landed property⁹—apologies were made for coming in thick shoes and warm stockings—the doors and windows were more carefully provided with list and sandbags—the fire is in more request—and a quiet game of whist filled up the hours that were wont to be de-

³ Ten of the most miserable are the guests at "The Christmas Banquet." Cf. n. 27, below.

⁴ One instance of Hawthorne's use of obsolete diction. To illustrate the use of the phrase "all and sundry," *N. E. D.* cites a passage from "A Rill from the Town Pump" (*The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Boston, 1909, I, 166). This edition is hereinafter referred to merely by volume and page in the citations from Hawthorne's work.

⁵ This and many other personifications of Time run throughout his tales. In "Time's Portraiture," which might be termed a culmination of these reflections, Hawthorne says, ". . . and, generally, before parting, he invites his friends to drink champagne,—a wine in which Time delights, on account of its rapid effervescence" (XII, 124). *Spectator*, Vol. I, No. 1, contains many remarks on the passing of time, particularly the essay "The End of the Year." Dr. Heidegger's friends fancy the "sad inscriptions which Father Time had been so long engraving on their brows" to be smoothed away (I, 264).

⁶ More infelicitous puns than this the mature Hawthorne used. The references to English food and English place-names are not unlikely by a youth who read English magazines and such English writers as Scott. See "Books Read by Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1828-1850," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXVIII, 65-87 (Jan., 1932). Since the Regent's Canal was completed in 1820, this tale was probably written sometime between that date and its publication in Newman's *Rhetoric*.

⁷ The wig is a frequent property in the tales. See "An Old Woman's Tale" (XII, 116); "Dr. Bullivant" (XII, 86); "My Kinsman, Major Molineaux" (III, 624); "Wakefield" (I, 159).

⁸ The Widow Wycherly's "crow's foot had indeed vanished" ("Dr. Heidegger's Experiment," I, 266).

⁹ In "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" Mr. Gascoigne discusses politics while Mr. Medbourne calculates possible earnings from absurd speculations. In "The Christmas Banquet" Hawthorne includes a politician among the guests. The politician and the man of wealth became character types in his fiction.

voted to drinking, singing, and riotous merriment.¹⁰ Two rubbers, a cup of coffee, and at home by eleven o'clock, was the usual cry, when the fifth or sixth glass had gone round after the removal of the cloth. At parting, too, there was now a long ceremony in the hall, buttoning up great coats, tying on woollen comforters, fixing silk handkerchiefs over the mouth and up to the ears,¹¹ and grasping sturdy walking canes¹² to support unsteady feet.¹³

Their fiftieth anniversary came,¹⁴ and death had indeed been busy. Four little old men,¹⁵ of withered appearance and decrepit walk, with cracked voices, and dim, rayless eyes, sat down by the mercy of heaven,¹⁶ (as they tremulously declared,) to celebrate, for the fiftieth time, the first day of the year, to observe the frolic compact,¹⁷ which half a century before, they had entered into at the Star and Garter at Richmond. Eight were in their graves!¹⁸ The four that remained stood upon its confines. Yet they chirped cheerily over their glass, though they could scarcely carry it to their lips, if more than half full,¹⁹ and cracked their jokes, though they articulated their words with difficulty, and heard each

¹⁰ In the third transformation scene of "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" the apology for old age becomes satire (I, 267).

¹¹ So, too, is the attention of Dr. Heidegger's guests directed to their attire. Cf. the way in which Hawthorne notes the ancient garb of returned dead in "Alice Doane's Appeal" (XII, 290) and in "An Old Woman's Tale" (XII, 113).

¹² This property, used in "An Old Woman's Tale," became common in Hawthorne's fiction. Among the earlier tales it is in "Dr. Bullivant," "The Gray Champion," "Young Goodman Brown," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," "Sir William Phips," and "The Wedding Knell."

¹³ Hawthorne often describes his characters as walking with a feeble totter. See "Alice Doane's Appeal" (XII, 293) and "An Old Woman's Tale" (XII, 114). Note, too, the movement of the characters in "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment."

¹⁴ Two lovers are reunited after fifty years in "An Old Woman's Tale." More significant, Dr. Heidegger's rose, a token of his love for Sylvia Ward, is half a century old.

¹⁵ Four men form a group in "An Old Woman's Tale" (XII, 116). So, too, in "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" four guests gather in the host's study.

¹⁶ Hawthorne uses "by the wrath of Heaven" as a parenthetical statement in "The Gentle Boy" (I, 86). Something of Hawthorne's factitious fatalism appears in these sentences, the fatalism of "The Haunted Mind" and of "Wakefield." The same unqualified acceptance of death is in "The Hollow of the Three Hills," there being "a doom appointed" to the characters.

¹⁷ Dr. Heidegger's celebration is characterized with "frolicsomeness," as the guests become younger. "Frolic compact," here has an ironical suggestion, since death reduces the number of guests each year. Wakefield, "almost repenting of his frolic," i.e., his mad separation from his wife, contemplated his return home.

¹⁸ "The Friends whom he loved, and among whom he hoped to have passed in peace the remainder of his days, are no less changed. The hand of Time has been upon them, and all are altered, and many are in the Grave. Does he hope still to find in the hearts of the remainder the ardour of their ancient affection? . . . He stands solitary and deserted amidst the relics of departed joys, and looks to the Grave as his only resting place" (*Spectator*, Vol. I, No. 1). Similar reflections run through this youthful bit of journalism. The early tales contain many discussions of death.

¹⁹ A bit of whimsicality typical of Hawthorne.

other with still greater difficulty. They mumbled, they chattered, they laughed, (if a sort of strangled wheezing might be called a laugh,) and as the wine sent their icy blood in warmer pulses through their veins, they talked of their past as if it were but a yesterday that had slipped by them²⁰ and of their future as if it were but a busy century that lay before them.

At length came the *last* dinner; and the survivor of the twelve, upon whose head four score and ten winters²¹ had showered their snow, ate his solitary meal. It so chanced that it was in his house, and at his table, they celebrated the first. In his cellar, too, had remained, for eight and forty years,²² the bottle they had then uncorked, recorked, and which he was that day to uncork again. It stood beside him. With a feeble and reluctant grasp he took the "frail memorial" of a youthful vow; and for a moment memory was faithful to her office. She threw open the long vista of buried years; and his heart travelled through them all: Their lusty and blithesome spring,—their bright and fervid summer,—their ripe and temperate autumn,—their chill, but not too frozen winter.²³ He saw as in a mirror,²⁴ one by one the laughing companions of that merry hour, at Richmond, had dropped into eternity. He felt the loneliness of his condition,²⁵ (for he had eschewed marriage, and in the veins of no living creature ran a drop of blood whose source was in his own;)²⁶ and as he drained the glass which he had filled, "to the memory of those who were gone," the tears slowly trickled down the deep furrows of his aged face.

He had thus fulfilled one part of his vow, and he prepared him-

²⁰ The episodes in Dr. Heidegger's study increase in liveliness also. Inversely, the wine at "The Christmas Banquet" cast the revellers into deeper and deeper melancholy.

²¹ When Gervase Hastings "had numbered fourscore years" complete, he again was a guest at "The Christmas Banquet."

²² The young author is apparently inconsistent with foregoing events.

²³ Spring comes, remarks Hawthorne in the *Spectator*, "But the lost vigor of Man can revive no more. He must go down to the silent grave" (Vol. I, No. 4, Sept. 11, 1820). "Summer is fast departing from us, and Autumn comes 'in russet pride'" (*Spectator*, Vol. I, No. 1, Aug. 21, 1820). "But May, or her mirthful spirit, dwelt all the year round at Merry Mount, sporting with the Summer months, and revelling with Autumn, and basking in the glow of Winter's fireside" ("The Maypole of Merry Mount," I, 70). Cf. pp. 76-77.

²⁴ Dr. Heidegger's mirror is not a figure of speech but a reality. Dr. Bullivant had such a magic mirror, too. The mirror figures prominently in the later Hawthorne stories.

²⁵ *Spectator*, Vol. I, No. 1, contains an essay, "On Solitude," in which isolation is condemned. For other early expressions of the theme of isolation see "The Hollow of the Three Hills" (I, 229); *Fanshawe* (XI, 93, 199); "Graves and Goblins" (XII, 77); and "The Wedding Knell" (I, 41 ff.).

²⁶ Hawthorne signed a twelve-year marriage wager of "a barrel of the best old Madeira wine" with Jonathan Cilley on Nov. 14, 1824 (Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, New York, 1893, pp. 47-48). *Fanshawe* is a celibate (pp. 96, 199), as is also Mr. Ellenwood of "The Wedding Knell."

self to discharge the other by sitting the usual number of hours at his desolate table. With a heavy heart he resigned himself to the gloom of his own thoughts—a lethargic sleep stole over him—his head fell upon his bosom—confused images crowded into his mind—he babbled to himself—was silent²⁷—and when his servant entered the room alarmed by a noise which he heard, he found his master stretched upon the carpet at the foot of the easychair²⁸ out of which he had slipped in an apoplectic fit.²⁹ He never spoke again nor once opened his eyes, though the vital spark was not extinct till the following day. And this was the

LAST DINNER!

The following words from this story are favorites through Hawthorne's earlier tales and many of them appear in "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment": metropolis, solitary, glided, raven locks, grizzled, withered, decrepit walk, tremulously, mumbled, chattered, wheezing, feeble, memory, fervid, merry hour, trickled, deep furrows, vow, desolate, heavy heart, gloom, bosom, babbled. Parentheses and short quotations, two other characteristic modes of expression, here appear. In fact, the diction throughout the sketch is peculiarly Hawthorne's and seems to me to be one of the best evidences that the story is his.

The tale is included among the exercises appended to Chapter One, "On Thought as the Foundation of Good Writing," to illustrate the brief discussion of "descriptive writing." Of the six selections in the group of exercises for the first chapter, this one alone is anonymous. The others are by Sir Matthew Hale, William Ellery Channing, Henry Mackenzie, James Adair, and Greenwood.

Throughout the volume there is evidence that Newman was making an especial effort to produce a rhetoric that had a real and contemporary interest. His quotations are not confined to the classic English writers, but include passages from magazines, from orations, and from American authors then living and writing. To demonstrate literary taste, Newman prints an example by Dr. Jesse Appleton, president of Bowdoin from 1807-1819, another by John

²⁷ "The Christmas Banquet" concludes with a similar penumbral effect. Endings to "The Gray Champion," "Young Goodman Brown," and "The Haunted Mind" are like this also.

²⁸ Dr. Heidegger sits in an "arm-chair," as does Judge Pyncheon.

²⁹ The episode bears close resemblance to that describing the death of Judge Pyncheon in *The House of Seven Gables*. See also the conclusions of "The White Old Maid" and "The Christmas Banquet." A character sitting in a chair at a table and drinking wine is a repeated, persistent idea with Hawthorne.

T. Kirkland, president of Harvard from 1810-1828, and a third by Levi Frisbie on the occasion of his inaugural as Alford Professor at Harvard in 1817. It is of interest to note that Frisbie's father had taken Newman's father into his home and fitted him for Phillips-Exeter Academy. A number of anonymous examples appear, and that some of these might be the work of Newman's students is not inconceivable.³⁰

In 1820 Newman became Professor of Ancient Languages at Bowdoin College and in 1824 he was transferred to the new chair of Rhetoric and Oratory, which he filled until 1839. During Hawthorne's senior year (1824-1825) there was no class instruction in rhetoric, but listed among the "Exercises during the year" are "Private declamations of each class, and public Declamations of the three upper classes. Compositions in English of the two upper classes." Listed among the "Lectures" are: "On Rhetoric and Oratory delivered to the Senior class once each fortnight during the year."³¹ Hawthorne then would have listened to Newman's lectures during his senior year.³²

Of Hawthorne's college days George Parsons Lathrop relates:

In writing English, too, he won a reputation, and Professor Newman was often so struck with the beauty of his work in this kind that he would read portions in the evening to his own family. Professor Packard says: "His themes were written in the sustained, finished style that gives to his mature productions an inimitable charm. The recollection is very distinct of Hawthorne's reluctant step and averted look, when he presented himself at the professor's study and submitted a composition which no man in his class could equal."³³

Newman, whom Dr. Daniel Goodwin in an address to the alumni in 1873 described as "gentle," "the faithful friend, the classi-

³⁰ Two other quotations suggest Hawthorne. "The rays of the setting sun were just gilding the grey spire of the church" (p. 161). "The attentions of a respectful and affectionate son to his mother are thus described by an anonymous writer," Newman writes concerning the second example: "They are the native courtesies of a feeling mind, shewing themselves amidst stern virtues and masculine energies, like gleams of light on points of rocks" (p. 221).

³¹ *Catalogue of Bowdoin College*, Feb., 1825. To Professor Randall Stewart and Mr. Norman Pearson I am indebted for this and other information. Professor S. F. Davidson first suggested to me that this story might be the work of Hawthorne rather than a source for "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment."

³² "His Latin and English exercises were specially commended by his teachers; one of them certainly, Prof. Newman, being a competent judge" (Nehemiah Cleaveland, *History of Bowdoin College*, Boston, 1882, p. 303). ³³ *The Life of Hawthorne*, XII, 465.

cal scholar, the skillful and patient teacher, the accomplished Christian gentleman; beautiful, delicate,"³⁴ would be a man not incompatible with one side of Hawthorne's nature. Commenting upon "The First and Last Dinner" in his *Rhetoric*, Newman writes in his 1829 edition:

In examining the passage of descriptive writing, (Ex. 6), let the student enquire 1. What is the object or scene described? 2. Are the circumstances well selected? 3. Is the scene so represented as to be brought fully and distinctly before the mind?³⁵

But in his edition of ten years later the schoolmaster becomes the literary critic in a paragraph of appreciation:

This example of descriptive writing is justly admired. The only point to which it is designed to direct the attention of the student, is the selection of circumstances. Let any one after reading the extracts, especially the second and third paragraphs, notice with what distinctness and fulness the scene described is brought before his view—how, as it were, he is placed in the midst of the little group, and sees them and hears them and is made acquainted with their peculiarities. This, which in another part of this work is called truth to nature, is evidently effected by the skillful selection and arrangement of circumstances, and constitutes the amplification of descriptive writing. In some instances, especially where it is desirable that the description should be bold and striking, the enumeration of circumstances is less full and minute. But on this point, good sense and good taste must decide.³⁶

True, the story, praised by Newman, is, on the surface, an obvious treatment of an obvious theme; but a close comparison of it with "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" has shown me the plausibility of its being Hawthorne's own.³⁷ Similarities in the plots of the two narratives are worth noting. Friends drink together, with a host, a solitary type, officiating. Three periods of life are described, the earlier composition depicting the more easily conceived idea of

³⁴ *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1900), X, 123.

³⁵ P. 33. In the place of this comment the first edition (1827), which did not contain "The First and Last Dinner," referred the student to examples in John Pierpont's compilation *The American First Class Book*. Pierpont's 1835 edition, apparently merely a reprint of the first (1823) edition, did not contain "The First and Last Dinner." The narrative was first used by Newman in his second edition (1829).

³⁶ P. 221.

³⁷ Evidence fails to show that Hawthorne owned a copy of Newman's *Rhetoric*. His reading lists from the "Charge Books" of the Salem Athenaeum do not include Newman's text, either.

decline to old age, but the pseudo-scientific tale presenting the scenes in ascending order toward youth. "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" is an intensification of the middle period described in the first story, when four friends celebrate the fiftieth anniversary. To build a secondary series from this one period of an initial series is typical of Hawthorne's tenacious mind. He has heightened situations, adding import to them, elaborated characters, made the most of satirical possibilities, written another story; but in the original are his own fictional motifs, his own diction, and something of his methods. "The First and Last Dinner" could very well be one of those very compositions which Hawthorne brought shyly to his professor's door for criticism.

MELVILLE'S COMIC ARTICLES ON ZACHARY TAYLOR

LUTHER STEARNS MANSFIELD

Williams College

HERMAN MELVILLE'S authorship of a series of seven unsigned comic articles entitled "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack,'" published July 24 to September 11, 1847, in the humorous weekly *Yankee Doodle*, is established by a chance reference in Evert A. Duyckinck's diary. Under heading of October 5, 1847, Duyckinck wrote:

The Historical Society tonight unearthed a characteristic letter from Gen Washington to a friend, dated New York 5th Nov 1782, commissioning a pair of leather breeches with the particular injunction "I shall thank you for reiterating my request that they be made *roomy in the seat*." As C[ornelius] M[athews] says this was in keeping with the American statesman's idea of enlarging the area of freedom. The letter reminds one of Herman Melville's Old Zack Epistles in *Yankee Doodle*. . . .¹

No other article or series in *Yankee Doodle* for 1847 has "Old Zack" in the title; the anecdotes are related in the form of letters from Zachary Taylor's Mexican War camp; Anecdote III, on the subject of the general's pants, is obviously the passage Duyckinck had in mind.

Yankee Doodle, which struggled vainly for a year to become the American *Punch*, first appeared October 2, 1846. Although Duyckinck and his friends had contributed occasionally from the beginning,² it was not until Cornelius Mathews became editor of

¹ This diary, containing entries from May 29 to Nov. 8, 1847, is in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library.

² Letters from Evert A. Duyckinck to his brother George, then in Europe, Sept. 15, Sept. 30, Oct. 8, Nov. 30, and Dec. 15, 1846, name George G. Foster, Richard Grant White, and Duyckinck himself as the permanent editorial board, and list Charles F. Hoffman, Cornelius Mathews, Parke Godwin, Duncan Pell, John L. H. M'Cracken, John Keese, and Mrs. Caroline M. S. Kirkland as regular and Samuel Lover, William Allen Butler, and Ralph Hoyt as occasional contributors. These letters and all others referred to in this article are in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library. N. P. Willis and Horace Greeley are also named as contributors by Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), p. 425, but I have found no reference to them in this connection anywhere in the Duyckinck correspondence. The New York

the magazine with the fortieth number (July 10, 1847) that they assumed complete control. Duyckinck, very much pleased, wrote to his brother:

Yankee Doodle . . . by the way appears this week under the direction of Mathews—Fraetas in his destitution having come back a prodigal to the home of wit humor entertainment and intellectual feasting—the Tetractys. I gave him a new motto—General Taylor's at Buena Vista "A little more grape Captain Bragg."³

Henceforward Duyckinck's library became the meeting place of the chief contributors, gathered to make plans for the comic weekly. One of these assemblies, at which Melville was present, Duyckinck pictured for his brother:

. . . Mathews has taken hold of Yankee Doodle. I think I told you something of it in my last. I wish you could have shared in the laugh last night he had here with Typee [Melville] over the woodcuts of No 41. . . . *That* print of the Buena Vista Alley! . . . See that figure of General Taylor. Fastidious might object to the drawing but Vigor and Amusement cry bravo! to the noble work. See the breadth of beam, the amplitude of honor exaggerated by contrast with the thin shanks of Captain Bragg, the comical gentleman scoring the game. Mr Polk I fear is the Slight Poke of Natural history. Then Santa Ana and his Generals. These belong to that class of engravings where a certain line in art once passed the farther you go in one direction the better—the worse they are, the better they are—The literary matter is really good in the inverse ratio of the woodcuts. Mathews hand you will detect chiefly in the squibs—Jerry's [J. B. Auld's] in the Bowling Green Fountain Correspondence—The Babe in the Woods illustrative of Greeley's recent visit to the Copper District by [Charles Wilkins] Webber (C Wilkins Eimi of the Whig Review)—The Dictionary of Love part of a MSS [*sic*] little volume prepared for Ladies Magazine circulation by [Thomas] Delf—The Elephant is to be Seen by [Lemuel] Bangs, the city reporter of the Morning News and Herman Melville will probably in some shape or other take care of the sea serpent.⁴

Public Library copy of *Yankee Doodle* came from E. A. Duyckinck, who initialed in pencil many of the articles of the first volume (containing the first twenty-five numbers).

³Letter to George L. Duyckinck, June 30, 1847. Apparently Mathews did not take charge as soon as Duyckinck had expected. The Tetractys was a club of some ten years' standing, of which Mathews, William Alfred Jones, Russell Trevett, Jedediah Blakney Auld, and both the Duyckincks were members.

⁴Letter dated July 14-15, 1847.

The group continued the magazine until the year was completed (October 2, 1847). No article treating the sea serpent was published, and none in which Melville in any way made use of his sailor experiences. He did, however, contribute the seven Taylor articles and probably others, since Duyckinck named him, along with Mathews and Bangs, as particularly unfortunate not to have received any money for his hard work on the staff of *Yankee Doodle*.⁵

By midsummer, 1847, General Zachary Taylor had won the admiration of the American public by his picturesque personality and force of character; personal and anecdotal comment on the military hero was interspersed in newspaper accounts of the progress of the Mexican War. The group which now made up the contributors to *Yankee Doodle*, as the letters quoted above show, manifested great interest in the general and his activities. Articles and cartoons dealing with Taylor had appeared frequently before Cornelius Mathews became editor;⁶ with the change of management and the adoption of the new motto, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg," any Taylor material became distinctly apropos. In the first few issues under the new regime appeared several short articles and three full-page cartoons.⁷ Melville's contributions, however, were the longest and most important articles on the Mexican War hero.

⁵ See E. A. Duyckinck's letter to G. L. Duyckinck, Oct. 6, 1847. Melville is also mentioned as having contributed "some capital articles" in J. B. Auld's letter to G. L. Duyckinck, Sept., 1847.

⁶ One of the most interesting articles was Charles Fenno Hoffman's "Postscript (Official Correspondence)," *Yankee Doodle*, I, 22 (Oct. 17, 1846), a group of three comic letters, two from Secretary of War William L. Marcy, giving advice and directions to Taylor, and the general's reply, written from Monterey. Hoffman represented the cabinet officer as addressing Taylor familiarly as "Dear Zach." The manuscript of this article is preserved with Hoffman's letters in the Duyckinck Collection.

Full-page cartoons, all dealing with Taylor as a presidential possibility, appeared in the issues of *Yankee Doodle* for April 24, May 1, May 8, May 22, May 29, and June 12, 1847.

⁷ Alleged letters from General Taylor conveying his best wishes and authorizing the use of the new motto were printed in *Yankee Doodle*, II, 141-142 (July 17, 1847); Cornelius Mathews was the author of a letter, "General Taylor to Henry Clay," II, 191 (Aug. 21), which Duyckinck praised in writing to his brother, Aug. 19, 1847, as "a timely and telling exhibition of the relative limitations of the two men."

The cartoon described in the quotation given above from Duyckinck's letter of July 14-15, 1847, appeared in the issue of July 17; one by Read, entitled "Simplicity of Old Zack's Habits," showing the hero seated before his tent busily patching a shirt, July 31; one by F. O. C. Darley, "Lord Palmerston and Old Zack," representing the American as defying the English lord, Aug. 14, 1847.

All seven installments of Melville's "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack'" were prefaced with a subheading which announced that the anecdotes were "Reported for Yankee Doodle by his Special Correspondent at the Seat of War." There is, however, no indication that Melville had any direct information from Taylor's camp;⁸ apparently, like many other periodical writers of the day, he was largely dependent on newspaper accounts for his knowledge of the man, and was manufacturing the anecdotes. His readers were probably as well aware as he that there was nothing "authentic" about his material. Factual accuracy would hardly be expected, certainly not demanded, of articles appearing in *Yankee Doodle*. Taylor was good copy; the anecdotes served to illustrate his virtues and his humanity.

In keeping with the affectation of a "Special Correspondent," a copy of General Taylor's allegedly official authorization was published in the first article,⁹ with the announcement that the original letter might be inspected by the curious at the publication office daily from nine o'clock to three-thirty. The first article printed, in addition, two anecdotes; one showed Taylor's courage in daring to pull a burning fuse from a large shell which had fallen without exploding near a group of officers, while his subordinates galloped off to safety; in the second "Old Zack" was represented as a man of simple habits who did his own washing and mending.¹⁰

The second article, presenting a single anecdote, representative of Melville's style throughout the series, is here given in full:

ANECDOTE, NO. III.

OLD ZACK's insensibility to bodily pain is almost equal to his utter indifference to danger. The following little incident will illustrate what we mean. The morning preceding one of his battles, a mischievous young drummer boy came up to the orderly, who, just without the tent, was holding the General's horse ready accoutred for mounting, and offered to relieve him a few moments at the duty. The offer was ac-

⁸ The woodcuts published in *Yankee Doodle*, both before and after Mathews became editor, may have suggested some of Melville's subject matter, though Read's cartoon (July 31, 1847) was obviously meant to illustrate Melville's anecdote of the preceding week. The anecdotes are palpably fictitious, though they present truthfully Taylor's "rough and ready" character as Melville and his friends understood it.

⁹ *Yankee Doodle*, II, 152 (July 24, 1847).

¹⁰ This anecdote was the subject of Read's cartoon "Simplicity of Old Zack's Habits" the following week, July 31, 1847.

cepted, and off went the orderly leaving the lad in his place. What now does the young rascal do, but cunningly insert a sharp iron tack, point upwards, into the august saddle of the hero of Palo Alto. Shortly after, the orderly returned to his post, and the General sprang into his saddle and galloped off. He did not dismount for several hours, during all of which time, according to the experience of school boys, the tack must have been within the closest possible vicinity of a rather sensitive part. But, wonderful to relate, the illustrious ZACK never betrayed the slightest consciousness of the presence of what an ordinary man would have deemed no small annoyance. But at evening when he dismounted at the door of his tent, he was most unexpectedly made aware of what must have seemed to him, at the time, a base and pitiful trick of the enemy. The tack caught in the seat of his inexpressibles, and as he sprang to the ground, would not let go, but left the greater part of the garment upon the saddle. Though valiant as Cid, the old hero is as modest as any miss. Instantly muffling up with his coat tails the exposed part, he hurried into his tent, violently and most perfectly enraged at the occurrence.

The outrage was at once imputed to some lurking Mexican spy, concealed in the camp, and as soon as Major BLISS could prepare it, the following proclamation was forthwith made by sound of trumpet:

PROCLAMATION

"The abominable insult offered to the American nation in the diabolical outrage upon the person of the Commanding General calls for the most active measures to discover and condignly punish the author. He is strongly suspected to be one of the Mexican rancheros, observed prowling in the vicinity of the camp yesterday. Any one, whether officer or private, who will apprehend the offender and bring the scoundrel to the General's quarters shall have his name honorably mentioned in the next dispatch to the War Department."

The drummer-boy, however, never was found out. But no sooner did Secretary MARCY receive the dispatch announcing the circumstances to Government, than a generous sympathy prompted him at once to address an unofficial and very friendly letter to the old hero, condoling with him upon the occurrence. He suggested, as a piece of friendly advice, also, that the General had better keep dark about the matter, since he (Secretary MARCY) knew by experience that any thing touching one's inexpressibles was calculated to provoke vulgar mirth. With his customary straight-forwardness, however, Old ZACK announced his resolution not to disguise or suppress the fact—and to the utter consternation of his military family, BARNUM's letter audaciously

begging the torn garment for exhibition at his Museum here, was promptly and favorably answered. The public may therefore rely upon soon having a peep at the inexpressibles in which Old ZACK has *so often cased his valiant legs!*

Note.—Yesterday YANKEE DOODLE forwarded to BARNUM the following draught of a placard for the occasion:

“PRODIGIOUS EXCITEMENT!!!!!!

OLD ZACK’S PANTS!!!

GREAT SIGHTS AT THE AMERICAN MUSEUM!!!

OLD ROUGH AND READY!

UP TOWN EMPTIED OF ITS INHABITANTS!

TOM THUMB FLOORED!

The Proprietor of the American Museum has the honor to announce to the American public that at vast expense and trouble he has succeeded in regulating an arrang[e]ment whereby the identical sheep-greys worn by Old Rough and Ready at the engagement of Resaca de la Palma, will be exhibited for three days in a glass case. Also, in a sealed vial, the poisoned Mexican tack taken from the old hero’s saddle, and which came near being his death.

Certificates from Major BLISS, GEN. BRAGG, and other distinguished officers of the army will be shown proving the articles genuine.

Take notice: The exhibition will certainly close upon the third day
Admittance twenty-five cents, &c. &c. &c.”¹¹

The third article, though using the same general title, in lieu of anecdotes presented “‘Gen. Taylor’s Personal Appearance,’ or Old Zack Physiologically and Otherwise Considered. By a Surgeon in the Army in Mexico.”¹² Based on generally-known facts, this also, there is every reason to believe—in spite of the by-line—was Melville’s work. There is a reference to the popular pseudo-science of the day, which fascinated many of Melville’s contemporaries (Poe and Whitman among them) in the remark that Taylor’s face was a “physiognomical phenomenon, which Lavater would have crossed the Atlantic to contemplate.”¹³

¹¹ *Yankee Doodle*, II, 167 (July 31, 1847).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 172 (Aug. 7, 1847).

¹³ See Edward Hungerford, “Poe and Phrenology,” *American Literature*, II, 209-231 (Nov., 1930) and “Walt Whitman and his Chart of Bumps,” *ibid.*, II, 350-384 (Jan., 1931).

Melville’s references to the pretensions of physiognomy (of which the above is the earliest I have found) usually appear as ridicule. Lavater and his system are mentioned in the descriptions of the five-and-twenty kings and of Saturnia in *Mardi* (London: Con-

Anecdote IV, which comprised the fourth article,¹⁴ revealed General Taylor's tenderness and compassion by printing his letter of commiseration to General Santa Ana on the evening after the battle of Buena Vista—a copy of which had been secured from the modest hero only by appealing to his sense of duty to history.

The first anecdote of the fifth installment¹⁵ recounted the general's anger at the pun made by his Negro servant, Sambo, when a Mexican shell fell into the pie on the dinner table so as to deposit the pan on Taylor's head: "I 'spect you go now, Massa, lick the Mexicans, you armed *cap a pie*—cause aint you got the hot pie for a cap, ha ha!" Anecdote VI, published in the same article under the heading "Infamous Plot to Obtain Possession of the General," showed Old Zack righteously indignant at the receipt of a letter from Peter Tamerlane B—m (P. T. Barnum), tentatively opening negotiations for a personal appearance in a cage at the American Museum in case Santa Ana, "the better speculation," did not accept a similar offer from the showman.¹⁶

How the military hero, in an effort to keep warm one chilly night, had fearlessly walked through the flames of a steamboat oven was the subject of Anecdote VII published the following week.¹⁷ This installment was filled out with another short anecdote, a letter from Zachary Taylor, in reply to a query from *Yankee*

stable and Co., 1922), I, 294; II, 227. In his 1849 Journal (preserved in the Harvard University Library in the collection given by Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf) Melville noted, Nov. 7, his attendance at the Royal Lyceum Theatre in London, where one of the current plays was James R. Planché's *Not a Bad Judge*, which presented Lavater as an amateur detective. Apparently his interest in physiognomy was thus reawakened, for Nov. 21 he noted the purchase of a copy of Lavater's book. Concluding his attempt to read the meaning of the Sperm-Whale's brow, in *Moby-Dick* (London: Constable and Co., 1923), II, 83, Melville made a final pronouncement on the theories of Lavater: "Physiognomy, like every other human science, is but a passing fable."

¹⁴ *Yankee Doodle*, II, 188 (Aug. 14, 1847).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 199 (Aug. 21, 1847).

¹⁶ Under the heading "Great Treat in Anticipation—Queen Victoria and Mr. Barnum," *Yankee Doodle*, II, 189 (Aug. 14, 1847), was published an alleged letter from Barnum to the British sovereign requesting her personal appearance at the American Museum and promising her the wardrobe left by Joyce Heath, the negress that Barnum claimed had once been nurse of George Washington.

Melville had represented Barnum as securing for exhibition purposes the shell from which Taylor had pulled the burning fuse, the torn pants, the pie pan which fell on Old Zack's head, and other articles.

Material for several short squibs in *Yankee Doodle* during Aug. and Sept., 1847, was supplied by Barnum's negotiations for the American appearance of Jenny Lind.

¹⁷ *Yankee Doodle*, II, 202 (Aug. 28, 1847).

Doodle, in which he stated his political platform by drawing a picture of the stars and stripes.

The series was concluded two weeks later with a general account of Old Zack's table manners and habits about camp, and the suggestion that true admirers of the general would much gratify him by ordering a local haberdashery to send to his Mexican headquarters "a box of their most substantial brown roundabouts, large over the back and free in the arms" to replace the garments the soldier had so generously appropriated for exhibition purposes and as mementos to his friends.¹⁸

The editor in his undated preface to the bound volume of *Yankee Doodle* included the "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack'" in his enumeration of the articles of which he was especially proud, claiming that they had been "copied everywhere, confided in and enjoyed heartily, even by the venerable old hero himself, (as we know by private advices from the Camp)."¹⁹ They were possibly repeated orally; they may have been copied in minor periodicals published in remote places; but there is no indication that they enjoyed a wide popularity.²⁰ The reference to General Taylor's knowledge of them is to be interpreted as humorous fabrication, much like the anecdotes themselves.

Of literary merit in the "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack'" there is little. They are important chiefly as showing the range of Melville's interests, his keen awareness of the life of his time, and his knowledge of the current humorous conventions. In themselves hastily written hack work, they appear to point the way toward the political comment of *Mardi*²¹ and the satirical or comic temper of *Pierre*.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229 (Sept. 11, 1847). No instalment appeared in the issue of Sept. 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. iv. This preface was probably written in Oct., 1847.

²⁰ A thorough search has shown that none of the leading New York newspapers copied them, though they did publish original and borrowed material of this sort.

²¹ The fact that only the "portly warrior" could quiet the political mob at the Great Central Temple of Vivenza (*Mardi*, II, 231) may be an indication of Melville's faith in the integrity and common sense of Zachary Taylor.

²² William Braswell in "The Satirical Temper of Melville's *Pierre*," *American Literature*, VII, 424-438 (Jan., 1936), has presented an interesting and reasonable argument "that a demoniac comic spirit within Melville was responsible for some of the curious features of the novel."

HENRY TIMROD'S ANCESTRESS, HANNAH CAESAR

RUPERT TAYLOR
Clemson College

THE *Evening Star* of Washington, D. C., for Feb. 11, 1884,¹ under the heading "Special Correspondence of the Philadelphia Press. New York, Feb. 10," gave an account of an interview with Judge T. J. Mackey of South Carolina, in the course of which occurred an allusion to Henry Timrod as being an octoroon. The same paper the next day printed a denial by Rollin H. Kirk.² The correspondence between George W. Bagg and Paul Hamilton Hayne indicates that Bagg let the matter drop despite Hayne's advice and that Hayne sent him some proof that the statement was false.³ The rumor continued as oral gossip and investigators from time to time have come in contact with it.

A more specific form of the rumor states that in the course of some legal proceedings at Charleston, S. C., an ancestress was called a person of color. A typical version of the story is the following, furnished by a correspondent who prefers not to be named:

About 1785 Mrs. Hannah Caesar kept a small shop in Charleston. Some robbers broke into her shop, knocked her in the head and robbed it. They were captured and she identified them in court. They were convicted and sentenced to be hanged. General C. C. Pinckney, defending, moved arrest of judgment on the ground that the principal witness against the parties was a free person of color and not entitled to testify under the laws of the State. The attorney-general asked for time to investigate the matter. It was then Friday and the Court gave him until Tuesday to refute the claim. The newspaper that reported this much of the matter did not report the finding of the court on the attorney-general's reply. His reply contained an affidavit from several representative white men living on Wadmalaw Island who swore that

¹ Clipping enclosed in a letter from George W. Bagg to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Feb. 12, 1887, in Paul Hamilton Hayne MSS, Duke University Library.

² Clipping enclosed in letter by Bagg to Hayne, Feb. 21, 1884 (Paul Hamilton Hayne MSS, Duke University Library).

³ Notes 1 and 2 and unsigned draft of letter in Hayne's autograph, dated Feb. 26, 1884, to George W. Bagg (Paul Hamilton Hayne MSS, Duke University Library). The data for these three notes were furnished by Professor Jay B. Hubbell of Duke University.

they had long known the mother and sisters of Hannah Brown, now Hannah Caesar, and had always regarded them as white. The court granted a new trial, as shown by subsequent events. A few days later testimony was being given by a woman for a defendant. Before she finished testifying the attorney-general moved to exclude her testimony on the ground that she was a free person of color. He used language something like this: "Your Honor excluded the testimony of my witness, Hannah Caesar, on the same ground. I now ask that this defendant's witness be measured by the same yardstick and that her testimony be excluded." The witness spoke up: "My mother was as white as you are." The attorney-general replied: "I grant you that but it is a well-known fact in this town that she was openly living with a free person of color at the time you were born." The Court excluded her testimony. That is all there is to it.

This version shows that it is based on newspaper reports of the case and that the rumor itself is based on the genealogy of Timrod that makes his mother, Thyrza, the daughter of Charles Prince and Sarah Faesch. This Sarah Faesch was the daughter of John Faesch by Sarah, the daughter of Hannah Caesar.

The robbery occurred on February 24, 1786, not 1785, as the quoted version states. The legal record of the case has disappeared and cannot be located. The only direct knowledge obtainable at present is contained in the reports of the case in the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*. Examination of these several reports shows that the version quoted above is inaccurate in many details.

The case came to trial on Friday, June, 9, 1786, and was thus reported in the paper for Saturday, June 10:

Edward Kimberley, Thomas M'Guire, and James Dayley were tried for robbing Mrs. Hannah Caesar, and convicted capitally; but General Pinckney, counsel for one of the prisoners, entered objections to the indictment, which will be argued on Tuesday next, in arrest of judgment. An account of this trial in our next.

The details of the trial were given in the issue for Monday, June 12:

On Friday came on in the court of General Sessions, before the Hon. Judges Burke and Grimke, the trial of Edward Kimberley, Thomas M'Guire, and James Dayley, for robbing Mrs. Hannah Caesar in her dwelling-house.

John Levy was called and sworn.

Mr. Read appeared as assistant council to the Attorney-General. Previous to this witness being examined, he wished to observe to the court, that this man stood before their honors and the jury, in the character of an accomplice in the fact which was charged upon the prisoners at the bar; now as it was material that he should give a full, faithful account of this transaction, it would be necessary to observe that in cases where a person who had been an accomplice, and was admitted state's evidence, if on the trial he held back wilfully any circumstances within his knowledge, he then forfeited any claim to grace and favor, and stood open to prosecution. This practice had prevailed in England, in the celebrated case of Margaret Caroline Rudd, who had been admitted an evidence for the crown, on the express condition that she told the whole truth relative to forgeries committed by the Perreaus; but it coming out in the evidence on the trial that she had only informed Sir John Fielding of one bond being forged, when, in fact, nine had been forged and uttered, the court therefore, refused to admit her testimony, and she was soon after tried for her life. He wished to understand from the court, whether in case the present witness did not give satisfactory evidence which certainly was in his power, the court would accept a mode of conduct similar to the applicable precedent that he had recited?

By the Court. We will have the witness understand that he stands an independent witness; and may give his evidence with freedom. It is contrary to our wishes that any man shall speak here under the influence of fear. It was formerly the practice in this country to discharge those witnesses who were accomplices, and we see no cause to alter it.

Levy then deposed, that he was at Maguire's house, in company with Daly, Kimberley, and one Dawson. In the course of conversation Dawson mentioned that he knew Hannah Caesar possessed 600 or 700 l. which might be taken from her without detection; that he did not chuse to go with them himself; but he expected to have part of it as the reward of his information. The expedition being determined upon, Maguire undertook to provide implements necessary for the purpose such as pistols, a lanthorn, &c. On Friday morning the day fixed on for perpetrating the robbery, as the prisoners and himself were in the street, Hannah Caesar passed by, on which Daly said, "there she goes, little does she think what will happen to her at night!" They parted for that time, and in the evening met at the house of Mrs. Sullivan, who keeps a grog-shop in King Street, where the witness and Kimberley lodged; here they caroused until it grew so late that Mrs. Sullivan urged them very much to break up; this proposal was greatly resented, by Maguire, who

asked her how she would like it, if when she came to his grog-shop, and wanted another bowl, she should be refused. Not being capable of answering this *home* question, she gave them more liquor, and went to bed. When it was midnight, they left Sullivan's, and went to Mrs. Caesar's, whose house they entered without any difficulty, the doors being mostly open; but previous to their going up stairs it was agreed that Daly and this witness should rummage the house while Kimberley and Maguire kept a look out below. When they came into the room where the prosecutrix lay, they looked into her bed, and perceiving she was fast asleep, began to hunt about for money; but without success. Maguire now came up, and upbraided them for concealing their plunder; they, however, satisfied him of their innocence, and he then went and awoke Mrs. Caesar, who asked what they wanted, and whether they meant to rob her; they did not suffer her to remain ignorant of their errand, demanding her money, with horrid denunciations of mischief against her person if she refused to discover where it was deposited, the old woman positively denying that she possessed any wealth whatever, they had recourse for information to a negro that was in the room, who told them that his mistress kept her money in a bag, tied with a string to her neck; this they tore from her, and found in it about twelve dollars, mostly in small money; and Daly took a ring from the old woman's finger, but meeting with some difficulty in taking off another, he tore it from her hand with his teeth. Finding themselves disappointed in getting money, Daly and Maguire grew outrageous; they took Mrs. Caesar out of bed, covered her with a cloth, and bundling up such things as were portable, carried them to Sullivan's house, where Daly and Maguire took what they thought proper, and left the remainder for Kimberley and this witness.

Some papers were then produced of the witness's writing, whilst in confinement, which went to contradict his present testimony, but he very satisfactorily excused himself on account of threats and promises at different times made use of by the prisoners.

Mrs. Hannah Caesar shewed a scar on her hand to the jury, occasioned by Daly's biting her, as before described.

Mrs. Sullivan was called in behalf of the prisoners. She deposed that she was well acquainted with John Levy, and knew him to be a person who would readily forswear himself; to prove this she mentioned an instance of a man winning some money from her mulatto servant, and on expressing her vexation at this, Levy advised her to trump up an account against the man for money lent, and liquors drank, which he would swear to have been contracted within his knowledge. She agreed to this iniquitous proposal, but a difficulty arising at the justice's, the

project was laid aside. Being asked if she did consider herself in this affair as bad as Levy? She readily replied, *O yes, every bit as bad*. Mr. Read then asked her several questions, which she answered in a manner that tended to corroborate and strengthen Levy's testimony.

After a short consultation the jury found all three prisoners guilty.

The hearing of the motion for arrest of judgment had been set for Tuesday, June 13, but the Court did not reach it until Thursday, June 15. The account of it was printed in the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* for Saturday, June 17:

On Thursday morning Maguire, Daly, and Kimberley, were brought up to the bar of the Court of General Sessions, to receive sentence of death, for robbing Mrs. Hannah Caesar, in her dwelling house, on the 24th of February last.

General Pinckney, as counsel for the prisoners, moved in arrest of judgment, that it was not expressed in any part of the indictment that the taking was from the person, without which necessary distinction the indictment could not be sustained.

News arriving that a fire had broken out, the Court adjourned until yesterday morning at nine o'clock, when Mr. Holmes was heard on the same side; the Attorney General replied; after which the court adjourned until this morning at nine o'clock, when the judges will deliver their opinions.

Just as the Court was about to adjourn, Mr. Read said, that on the trial of the men for robbing Mrs. Hannah Caesar, he called her as an evidence to prove the robbery, but objections were made against her being sworn, because she was a mulatto, which exception the court admitted. Since that time he had been to Wadmalaw, the place of her nativity, and brought from thence two persons, who knew her mother and sisters to be white people, and he intended to have moved the Court that they might be examined to prove this, but as it was not proper to do so until the pleadings in arrest of judgment were ended, in order to relieve them from the necessity of attendance, which was very inconvenient, their affidavits had been taken before a magistrate; these affidavits he hoped the Court would allow to be recorded in justice to Mrs. Caesar, who had descendants that might be injured by her being considered to be of mixed blood; her granddaughter, in particular, was married in Europe to a person of noble blood. The affidavits were read, which recited that they knew Hannah Brown, afterwards Hannah Caesar, and always understood her mother to have been a white woman. The Court ordered the affidavits recorded.

Cohen and Morris were condemned to die, and Downing and Routh⁴ were branded in the hand.

This morning the three prisoners were informed by the Court that as General Pinckney was out of town they were remanded for a week.

Thus the decision of the court in the matter of arrest of judgment because of alleged defect in the indictment was postponed for a week; that is, until Saturday, June 24. The opinion of the Court was not delivered until Tuesday, June 27. It was reported in the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* for Wednesday, June 28.

On Tuesday the Court of General Sessions delivered their opinion relative to the indictment of Maguire, Kimberley, and Daly, that the indictment was defective, the prisoners were therefore remanded to prison until next Sessions, when they will be again indicted. The grand jury also found a bill against them for a riot in the prison.

The next bit of information concerning any of the prisoners is contained in the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* for Monday, October 9.

Thomas M'Guire, one of the gang that robbed the houses of Mrs. Glover and Mrs. Hannah Caesar, who broke out of gaol on the 4th inst. was taken up last night near the Exchange; he had in his possession a bay horse which is supposed to have been stolen.

The same paper for October 14 reported the action of the Grand Jury as to the re-indictment:

A true bill was found against Dailey, M'Guire and Kimberley, for robbing Hannah Caesar, and they are to be re-tried.

On October 19 appeared the following report of the re-trial:

Yesterday Dailey, Kimberley, and Macquire were tried at the Court of General Sessions for robbing Hannah Caesar, and found guilty but recommended for mercy by the jury.

On Monday, October 23, the following appeared:

This being adjournment day, the Court of General Sessions passed sentence of death on Sanders, Maguire, Kimberley, Daily, for robbing Hannah Caesar; and Sanders for horsestealing; to be executed on Friday se'ennight.

⁴This item relates to another case entirely.

On November 3 appeared this item:

Daily, Kimberley, Maguire, and Sanders, the four men that received sentence of death, at the last court of General Sessions, have all received pardon, on condition of their quitting this state in ten days.

The pardon itself is to be found entered in *Miscellaneous Documents*, Vol. W. W., p. 314, now kept on the shelves of the South Carolina Historical Commission in the War Memorial Building at Columbia, South Carolina. It gives no further information about the case, and states that the pardon was granted on the recommendation of the jury for mercy.

One other item, taken from the trial of another case, has a bearing on the problem. On the same day on which the men were re-indicted, and reported in the same issue of the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, a man was on trial for theft. In the course of the trial objection was made to a witness on the ground that she was a mulatto. The story, as reported, runs:

In a trial for theft, Mr. Bay called for the evidence of a Mrs. X [name given in full in the report, but not given here for obvious reasons], to which Mr. Attorney-General objected on account of her being a mulatto, whose father was known to be a negro. (Here he was interrupted by the woman in question, who exclaimed, "My mother was a white woman, but who can tell who my father was.") There was no distinction, as the laws relative to negroes, mulattos or mustizoes plainly expressed between such of the latter classes, whether their fathers were white and the mothers black, or the fathers black and the mothers white, they were not capable of sitting as jurors or giving evidence, except against persons of their own color or degree. He had no objection to Mrs. X—— as to her credibility, but he conceived himself bound in duty to make this opposition to her admissibility, especially as he was authorized by a recent precedent, that of Hannah Caesar, whose testimony was not admitted on M'Guire's trial. He could prove the marriage of Cole, a free negro, with Mrs. X——'s mother.

Judge Heyward overruled the objection for the reason given by the proposed witness. To allow Cole's marriage would render it necessary to prove the legality.

Judge Grimke. In this case the mother is evidence of the color, for although she lived with a negro, yet she might have other connections. —Let the evidence proceed.

The version of the rumor quoted in the first paragraph is entirely wrong in stating that the trial of the three thieves was continued in order to hear evidence concerning the race of Hannah Caesar. The newspaper report shows that Hannah Caesar was disqualified and that the trial proceeded without interruption to the end. The three men were convicted on the testimony of an accomplice who had turned state's evidence. After the jury had returned its verdict and before the Court had given sentence—there may be and often is some interval—the attorney for the defense, General Pinckney, moved arrest of judgment because of defective indictment. This constituted a new proceeding, which was set for the following Tuesday. It did not, however, come before the court until the following Thursday and was then interrupted by the fire. The pleadings in arrest of judgment were completed the next day, Friday, and the court reserved judgment until the following morning. The next morning the Court informed the prisoners that since their attorney was out of town—his presence was required in the Court when judgment should be given—the decision would have to go over for another week. Even then there was some additional delay, but the Court finally gave decision that the indictment was defective. It remanded the prisoners to jail to await the action of the next Grand Jury which would meet at the Fall Term. After the first disqualification as a witness, the race of Hannah Caesar was at no time an issue in the trial. This must be kept clear, for the misinterpretation concerning the continuance of the legal matters has led to a second misinterpretation; that is, that the Court after hearing testimony and argument on both sides finally decided that Hannah Caesar was a mulatto. Such was not the case. Apparently, as in the case of Mrs. X——, the matter was discussed without the calling of witnesses. Otherwise, the paper would have given the details, since it gave other details elsewhere.

The person originally responsible for the quoted version, having his thoughts directed by these two misinterpretations and coming upon the dispute over the admissibility of Mrs. X——'s testimony at the October Term in another case and the reference to disqualification of Hannah Caesar as a precedent, has misinterpreted the circumstances and the precedent claimed. The law forbade the testimony of a mulatto against a white person. Mrs. X—— was

challenged on the ground that she was a mulatto because her mother had lived with a Negro man—that is, she was supposed to be a mulatto and the Court was asked to disqualify her on that ground. In other words, a person supposed to be a mulatto would be disqualified unless and until proved white. The reference to the disqualification of Hannah Caesar as a precedent implies that this is what happened in her case. Even if the person disqualified were later proved white, the disqualification on suspicion would still remain as a precedent. So this reference to the disqualification of Hannah Caesar under the circumstances, if it proves anything, proves that she was disqualified because the charge was made that she was a mulatto and evidence to prove the contrary was not immediately at hand.

This same person's admiration for General Pinckney has, moreover, led him to assume that the General's making the charge proves it true. He has overlooked the fact that General Pinckney was a lawyer—and a lawyer of the eighteenth century when less delicacy was exercised—and that, in accordance with the lawyer's code that concedes an attorney the right to take advantage of any apparently fair circumstance to aid a client, he was doing everything he could, if not to strengthen the case of his clients, at least to weaken the case against them. He had accepted the responsibility of defending three men who belonged to a gang of thieves and robbers who had been troubling Charleston for some time. The prosecution called only two witnesses: Hannah Caesar, the victim, and John Levy, the accomplice, who turned state's evidence. Pinckney, by charging that she was a mulatto, succeeded in having her disqualified and thus kept her testimony from the jury. He called his only witness, Mrs. Sullivan, merely to discredit Levy and thus weaken the effect of his story on the jury. He had a very poor case. The jury returned a verdict of guilty in spite of his efforts.

After the jury had returned a verdict of guilty and the pleadings in the motion in arrest of judgment on the ground of defective indictment had closed—at a time when all the legal proceedings were ended and there was before the court no issue of the case—Read addressed the Court, recalled the fact of Hannah Caesar's disqualification on the ground of being a mulatto, stated that he had gone to Wadmalaw Island and brought back to Charleston two

people who knew her family with the idea of having them testify before the court but had let them return after having made depositions, and asked that the Court hear the depositions and order them recorded. The race of Hannah Caesar was not an issue before the Court in any way. Read asked that they be heard and recorded "in justice" to Hannah Caesar and her descendants. They were heard and ordered recorded for the reason he had given. Under such circumstances they became documents of fact about which there was no dispute and belonged to the same category as an affidavit of parentage, date and place of birth that an individual today may present to his local authorities and have recorded in lieu of the legal registration of birth that was not practiced in his community at the time he was born. The acceptance of the affidavits and the recording of them indicate the Court's acceptance of her status as white.

There remains the question as to why Hannah Caesar was ever alleged to be a mulatto. Since the minutes of the Court of General Sessions and the original papers in the case have disappeared, no absolutely certain answer can be given to it. Unless one desires to accuse General Pinckney of thorough unscrupulousness, it is to be assumed that he had some ground, however slight, for making his challenge. When it is remembered that he was defending men for what was at that time a capital crime punishable by death, and also that opinion, as represented by several articles that appeared contemporaneously in the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, was beginning to feel that death was too severe a penalty for many of the crimes for which it was then the punishment—when all this is remembered, perhaps it may easily be understood that he would feel no compunction in making the most of what might be open to doubt. Some grounds for his charge may, perhaps, be found in the will of a man who signed himself Doctor Ceser. The will is recorded in Charleston Wills, Vol. 7, pp. 186 f. and reads:

Will of Doctor Ceser of South Carolina in St. Paul's Parish Practitioner of Phisick.

All my effects to be sold and turn'd into money out of which I desire my lawful debts may be paid.

Item I give my wife Lilly (at this time slave to Captain John Norman) Ten Pounds to be paid her out of my estate by my Exors for her own Proper use forever.

I also give my daughter Lucy twenty pounds to be paid her by my Exors as Above.

Item I will that all the Rest of my Estate be put to use for the Benefit of my Daughter Hannah at this time Slave to the Above Said John Norman to be applied either to Purchasing her freedom or to Supply Anny of the Necessitys at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter named and in case my said Daughter Hannah should ever Obtain her freedom then I will that whatever be left of that part of my Estate given for her use be put into her own hands as her Property's forever after she comes to the Age of Eighteen Years but if she should die before she have her freedom or has any issue free born then that part of my Estate to be Applied to the use of my Two grandchildren Namely Peggy and Ceser at the Discretion of my Exors. Lastly I nominate and appoint my two friends James Baker and Andrew Way Exors of this my last will and Testament for my above said wife and Children.

Doctor Ceser

Benj. Chappell

Joshua Clark

Recorded 17th of May 1754

This will is undated but it was proved in 1754. At the time the will was made, the daughter Hannah was under eighteen. The interval of time from 1754 to 1786 is sufficiently long for someone who had known Doctor Ceser and his family to have mistaken his daughter Hannah for the Hannah Caesar who was robbed and who was the ancestress of Timrod, especially since Wadmalaw Island and St. Paul's Parish were then both in Colleton County. Unfortunately, the records of Colleton County prior to 1865 were destroyed during the War Between the States, and no information concerning the two families is obtainable from records of the county in which they lived. The Hannah Caesar who was robbed is shown by the affidavits to have been Hannah Brown before she became Hannah Caesar. In 1767 as Hannah Caesar she deeded slaves in Charleston to her daughter Sarah Caesar and her granddaughter Rebecca Caesar (Charleston Wills, 1765-1769, pp. 11-12). A woman under eighteen in 1754 could hardly have become a grandmother in 1767. Thus the existence of one of the slaves in the estate of Sarah Faesh, the daughter of Hannah Caesar, shows that the woman of that name who lived in Charleston in 1767 and deeded the slaves was her mother and not the daughter of Doctor Ceser. The other Hannah Ceser was the Negro or mulatto.

The question may occur to some, Why did the affidavits state only that the mother and sisters of Hannah Caesar, formerly Hannah Brown, were white? The answer may be that these were the only members of the family known to the witnesses. The race of the mother would be stressed in accordance with the principle observed by Judge Grimke in his decision concerning Mrs. X———, and the race of the sisters as partial evidence concerning the race of the father not known to the deponents.

Despite the affidavits submitted by Read in June, 1786, gossip continued and has continued. The material here presented, and the interpretation put on the ascertainable facts, should be enough to settle the matter for all but that type of mind which, unfortunately, seems born to believe evil or which, obsessed with the idea of miscegenation, leaps eagerly to seize upon any hint of tainted blood in any one who has achieved prominence.

THE UNITED STATES TWIST

Some Plot Revisions by Henry Cuyler Bunner

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WHILE some recognition has been accorded Henry Cuyler Bunner¹ for his contribution to the technique of the short-story,² no study of his work has pointed out the specific nature of that contribution.

Though examination of a writer's original compositions furnishes a basis for determining the degree of his expertness, nevertheless the process involves a certain amount of synthesis of his particular principles of technique. Bunner has provided a more direct means for appraising his talent in story writing by his "*Made in France*."³ These adaptations from Guy de Maupassant's short-stories enable us to gauge Bunner's skill by direct comparison with the work of an acknowledged master of the short-story. Instead of viewing Bunner's original stories in relation to the general field of the short-story in an attempt to deduce the nature of his contribution thereto, it is possible to ascertain exactly what Bunner thought should be done with a plot or a character by studying the specific revisions he made in these adaptations of stories written by a recognized author.

It should be borne in mind that in these transcriptions Bunner was remodeling the work of one whom he considered "the best of story-tellers since Boccaccio wrote down the tales he heard from women's lips."⁴ In this very tribute may be found the problem that Bunner had to face when he attempted something more than a mere translation of the Frenchman's tales. A problem, because the stories which Bunner could adapt for proper-moraled America were written by Maupassant with the same technique as those others with

¹ 1855-1896.

² "Another who did much to advance the short story toward the mechanical perfection it had attained to at the close of the century was Henry Cuyler Bunner. . ." (Fred Lewis Pattee, *American Short Stories*, New York, 1925, p. 27). See also Brander Matthews, *The Historical Novel and Other Essays* (New York, 1901), pp. 165-189.

³ H. C. Bunner, "*Made in France*," *French Tales Retold with a United States Twist* (New York, 1893).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

which the Frenchman's name is more generally connected and which were written *con amore*. In the latter type of story the incident described required little or no structural framework to sustain the interest of the normal reader. Maupassant's skill lay in his ability to select an incident that contained a story and in reporting that incident with economy of detail.⁵ Maupassant declared that his stories were finished before he sat down to write them.⁶ And when he turned for his subject-matter to material different from his "usual theme—not to say obsession," as Boyd aptly characterizes it,⁷ he generally chose an aspect of life that permitted the same kind of ironic irreverence for humankind, and still employed the same technique of direct narration. As a substitute for the spice of the risqué tale, Maupassant invested these other stories with an indigenous flavor and a raciness to intrigue the French readers. His characterizations of Norman peasants have been acclaimed for their accuracy and distinctiveness.⁸ The dialects and idiosyncrasies of the provincials, as well as of the Parisians, the sounds and smells of localities in various parts of France, all were flashed across the pages of his short-stories with a vividness that challenged the attention and held the interest of the French reader almost as much as his erotic tales.

But whatever Maupassant substituted for ribaldry when he wrote the more decorous story, the result was no different in structure. It was largely an expansion of an anecdote or incident, the chief power of which lay in his manner of relating it; placing it in an appropriate setting and in a sequence that would sustain interest; emphasizing with stronger force its irony.

However, as Bunner himself pointed out, this feature of Maupassant's well-behaved story was "so finely French that you have got to get the French language right into your bones to feel all its delicacy and force."⁹ Consequently Bunner had to do something with this type of short-story that would make up for the loss of that Maupassant-French touch. We proceed now to an examination of some of these transcriptions.

⁵ "In the sheer gift of narrative lay all of Maupassant's power and charm, not in the work of stylistic revision" (Ernest Boyd, *Guy de Maupassant*, New York, 1926, p. 244).

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸ "It is surely by his Norman peasant that his tales will live; he knows this worthy as if he had made him, understands him down to the ground, puts him on his feet with a few of the freest, most plastic touches" (Henry James, *Partial Portraits*, London, 1919, p. 268).

⁹ "Made in France," p. 8.

I

In "Les Prisonniers"¹⁰ Maupassant tells how a young French-woman captured a squad of Prussians. One winter night while her father is in the near-by town and her husband away in the army, six enemy soldiers, lost, tired and hungry, are fed by Berthine and her mother. Fatigued, the Prussians go to sleep on the floor, the women retiring to the upper story of the little cottage. Soon shots are heard that seem to be outside, but we learn later that the young woman fired a gun out of an upstairs window. Berthine rushes down and advises the Germans there are about two hundred French soldiers outside in the forest that surrounds the cottage, and lets her guests hide in the cellar to avoid discovery. After they have descended she bolts the trap door and laughs silently.

Upon her father's return later that night she tells him of her quarry. He goes back to the town and returns at last with the volunteer town-militia, two hundred strong, led by the commandant, a draper. The Germans refuse to reply to questions directed at them through the trap door. The citizen-soldiers amuse themselves in the meantime by dashing past a vent-hole in the cellar through which the prisoners can fire. A fat baker, taunted into participation in the game, is shot in the thigh.

The commandant finally orders a plumber-soldier to rig a conduit from the pump down through a hole made in the trap door. After several hours of pumping, the Germans, flooded and freezing, finally surrender. They are marched back into town, and the wounded baker is borne in on a mattress.

The commandant is decorated for having captured a Prussian advance guard, and the baker is given a medal for having been wounded by the enemy.

This story had a direct appeal to the normal anti-German feelings of the French reader. Amusement was provided not only by the predicament in which the Germans were placed but also by the Teutonic mispronunciation of French words. "Oufrez!" the corporal demands of Berthine after she has trapped him in the cellar. "Che n'oufre pas," she mocks. "Che me rents," he advises later when he is ready to surrender.

Neither of these natural aids was available to Bunner when he

¹⁰ In *Toine* (Paris, 1903), pp. 107-135.

rewrote the story for Americans. Bunner wrought these significant changes in his version of the story, "A Capture":¹¹

Berthine is unmarried.

While she is talking to the Prussians, her mother fires the shots out of the upstairs window, thereby lending greater plausibility—as far as the Germans are concerned—to her statement that the French soldiers are approaching the house and that her cellar would therefore be a good hiding place.

Bunner not only has the baker-boy shot when he runs past the vent-hole but also has the fellow's gun go off as he falls, its muzzle pointing at the vent-hole, followed by an exclamation from the cellar.

Berthine is kept in the center of the stage by being permitted to suggest flooding the captives into submission.

Bunner's Prussian corporal is found to have been shot by the baker-boy's stray bullet and is considered by the surgeon too seriously wounded to be moved. He is left behind while the other prisoners are marched into town.

Berthine is honored by the town in numerous ways and is the recipient of many gifts. In addition she is the subject of a quarrel between the mayor and the wounded baker. A friend suggests that they let her decide which of the two she will marry. When the mayor arrives at the cottage in his open carriage with liveried attendants, prepared to address a formal offer of marriage to her father, the footman's pompous announcement of the mayor's arrival is met by the father's enraged criticism of the town for having cost him his daughter. He informs the mayor that Berthine and all her gifts have gone with "that cursed Prussian who was to have died and didn't."

Whereas Maupassant was apparently interested only in telling how a woman captured six soldiers and concluding with an ironic implication regarding reward in war, Bunner saw greater possibilities in the material and took advantage of the situation to fashion a well-knit tale. His addition of the incident with the Prussian corporal permits Bunner to achieve an ending that carries its own quip about reward in war.

¹¹ Pp. 94-116.

II

The narrator of "Le Rosier de Madame Husson"¹² is stranded in Gisors when his train's locomotive breaks down. He visits a college chum, whom he has not seen for a dozen years and who is now a doctor, an epicure, proud of his wife, and enthusiastic about the town and its ancient history. Maupassant gives a lengthy account of breakfast at this friend's table and of the table-talk.

The doctor later takes the narrator through the town, pointing out places of historical interest, and explaining that the town takes pride in its history and its celebrities. In the course of the tour they see a drunken man, and after watching his convolutions, which Maupassant describes with convincing detail, the doctor refers to the drunkard as one of "Madame Husson's rose-winners." The doctor then explains that that is a term applied to a drunkard, and has its origin in an old story. He tells the story:

Old Madame Husson, a virtuous lady, occupied herself with good deeds. After consulting the Abbé she proposed to crown virtue in the town. She ordered her maid, a straight-laced old woman, to investigate all the girls for the purpose of discovering a candidate for the prize. The only information the maid gathered about the town-girls was unfavorable gossip. Investigation in adjoining villages still yielded no eligible maiden. Finally the maid suggested Isidore, the son of a widowed fruit-seller, as the only one fit for the crown. This young man of over twenty-one had such a reputation for chastity that girls would amuse themselves by openly proposing assignations. After consulting the Abbé about the substitution of a male candidate, and being assured that virtue is sexless, Mme. Husson made arrangements with the mayor for the ceremony.

On the day of Isidore's coronation there was a military parade, a religious procession, and a banquet at which the mayor delivered a beautiful speech and presented Isidore with the purse of five hundred francs. The banquet lasted several hours, during which Isidore ate and drank as he had never done before. And he joined in the many toasts that were given. At last, escorted back to his mother's shop, left there in the early evening's darkness amid the odor of fruits and vegetables, and stirred by the wine inside of him, he counted his money over and over, excitedly.

¹² In *Le Rosier de Madame Husson* (Paris, 1900), pp. 1-47.

Upon her return to the shop, Isidore's mother found him gone. The police failed to find him. The next day it was learned that he had gone to Paris. Finally, after a week, Isidore was found on a doorstep in Gisors, drunk and filthy. He was cleaned, preached to, and seemed repentant. But he soon reappeared on the streets, hopelessly drunk. He became a driver of coal wagons and gained a reputation for drunkenness that spread to other towns, where he was spoken of as the rose-winner of Mme. Husson.

"Un bienfait n'est jamais perdu," is the narrator's concluding line.

In "The Prize of Propriety"¹³ Bunner omits all the introductory circumstantial details with which Maupassant invests his tale, and the equally circumstantial epilogue as well. He goes directly to the principal action of the story and begins with a description of the doctor who tells the story, and of the town of Gisors.

Bunner presents a fuller description of Mme. Husson, to motivate her donation of the prize. Similarly, the reason for the maid's failure to find an acceptable female candidate becomes apparent when Bunner delineates her for us.

The selection of Isidore for the prize, the arrangements for the festival, and the parade, are set forth by Bunner in much the same manner as Maupassant did. However, Isidore is also presented with the freedom of the town, enclosed in a silver casket, both gifts purchased by popular subscription, in addition to the other honors set forth in the original version.

Another detail, minor in consequence, though important in answering a question of plausibility that is apt to come to the reader's mind, is handled differently by Bunner. The story requires Isidore to be alone when he returns from the banquet. Maupassant gets the mother out of the way by having her celebrate with a luncheon at the home of her sister after having followed the procession as far as the banquet tent. Certainly the mother had as much right, under the circumstances, to attend the banquet as any of the townspeople. Furthermore, the banquet lasted six hours. Could the "luncheon" have taken as long, too? Bunner keeps the mother away from her shop after the banquet by having her go from house to house, accompanied by a band of friends, to show her son's

¹³ Pp. 24-40.

wreath and to receive the congratulations of her neighbors. Mention is also made of a plan to close the festivities with a grand sere-nade to the mother.

Instead of having Isidore return from Paris in one week, an accomplished drunkard, Bunner keeps him there long enough for the erstwhile paragon of sobriety to have time to establish the habit firmly. Bunner also has Isidore indulge in a number ofsprees in Gisors with attendant window-smashing and similar manifestations of confirmed alcoholism.

Bunner's Isidore is finally ordered to leave the town. He marches into the council-chamber and asks the city fathers what action they propose to take concerning the freedom of the town which had been presented to him with the prize of propriety. He remains the town's drunkard until he dies, and the town pays the doctor's bill.

Here is social irony worthy of Maupassant. Bunner has built toward the logical conclusion for such an incident by providing a *prop* therefor earlier in the story in the shape of the freedom of the town.

III

In "Dennis,"¹⁴ Bunner's version of the similarly-titled story,¹⁵ he again takes full advantage of every detail to achieve clearly motivated action. An otherwise faithful servant's assault upon his master, which is the basic action of the story, is rendered plausible by an adjustment of details of the original version and the addition of one detail. The master, an apothecary, is also the patentee of a gargle in Bunner's story. The servant being otherwise unable to prevent his master from leasing the patent on low royalties, finally attempts to do so by the attack. The patent, of little significance in the telling of the story, pops out with logical opportuneness when the exigencies of the plot require it. And Dennis halts his attack when the master shrieks that he has not yet accepted the new royalty offer. Maupassant leads us to believe robbery may have been Denis's motive.¹⁶ If so, why would he not have searched for money after sufficiently disabling the master despite the latter's statement that the package he had received that day did not contain money? And

¹⁴ Pp. 42-57.

¹⁵ "Denis," in *Miss Harriet* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 177-190.

¹⁶ "Oh! moi, si j'avais eu le premier capital, j'aurais fait fortune. Seulement mille francs, et je tenais mon affaire."

even if the explanation is that the servant may have been the victim of a temporary insanity, Bunner provides a concrete factor that would drive him to such a phrenetic display of faithfulness.

Bunner also heightens the humor in the ending by the transposition of a few lines to another of the characters.

Because there is no definite plot movement in "Menuet,"¹⁷ Bunner cannot revise the plot or motivation in his adaptation, "The Minuet,"¹⁸ without doing violence to the spirit of the original. To a story of this type—sentimental reminiscences over an old experience in a quaint garden—there can be no real ending neatly packed and sewed up, as in a story that has a definite plot movement. It is simply a matter of fluffing the loose ends inherent in such a story in a manner that will conceal their condition and give the whole thing an appearance of completeness. Bunner diffuses his sentimental observations throughout the body of the story, whereas Maupassant's are prominently placed at the beginning and at the end. Elaborating upon the romantic descriptive detail, Bunner's conclusion—which is the same in kind as Maupassant's but different in the degree of its sentimentality—becomes as inevitable as that of a more formally constructed story.

Toward the close of the story Maupassant's narrator muses sentimentally over the probable fate of the aged couple that danced the minuet for him in that quaint garden long ago. Bunner's narrator having actually learned, through devious sources, that they had died some years past and still had no headstones, now seeks to do some kindness for them.

The concluding line given by Maupassant to his narrator,¹⁹ which might be construed as an abashed apology by the author for having indulged in such sentimentality, is omitted both in substance and form by Bunner. Bunner concludes, *in propria persona*, in a different vein:

I shall do what Kernochan asked me to, but not until Spring, when I shall lay upon the tomb of the two old people a bunch of violets that grow in a certain old-fashioned garden I know of, so that I, too, may have a part in this old-time friendship.

¹⁷ In *Contes de la Bécasse* (Paris, 1932), pp. 17-19.

¹⁸ Pp. 60-74.

¹⁹ "Vous trouverez cela ridicule, sans doute?"

In handling "Mon Oncle Sosthène,"²⁰ Bunner could not afford to have as much fun as Maupassant at the expense of a character who "got religion," and of another who suffered thereby, by merely "reporting" an incident. Bunner was therefore forced to arrange the details of his version, "Uncle Atticus,"²¹ in a definite surprise-ending plot movement, whereas Maupassant could reveal in the expository portion of the story what the reader might expect.²² Bunner places before us a sequence of scenes from which we may fairly flatter ourselves by being able to guess the fate of the nephew's ambition of inheriting his uncle's wealth, whereas Maupassant could content himself with the bald statement in the closing paragraph that the nephew has been disinherited.²³

In "A Pint's a Pound"²⁴ Bunner again found that he had to change a detail in the original, "Une Vente,"²⁵ to render the story fit for the America of 1893. With this change he also improves the plot motivation while retaining the odd flavor of the tale, the principal action of which is the immersion of a lady in a barrel of water in order to determine her weight.

While we are not prepared to state that a sufficiently inebriated Norman husband would not barter his wife away by the cubic meter to a bosom friend because the husband develops a spontaneous need for a thousand francs, yet we believe Bunner rendered his version more comically plausible to the American reader and made the farcical aspects of the incident less broad by substituting the lady's fiancé as the vendor; by giving him lines that contain one well-known form of drunken expression: self-reproach for being "that drunk and shif'less and wuthless, that I ain't fitten to marry no respectable woman," which, coupled with the desire to take another girl to a ball, convinces the mentally tormented fellow it's not right for him to marry his betrothed "and get drunk and break her heart, and I wish't I was dead."

The two cronies having decided, by the time they had finished a second bottle, that "it wasn't no ways right that Sairey Oreanna

²⁰ In *Les Sœurs Rondoli* (Paris, 1904), pp. 115-131.

²¹ Pp. 118-138.

²² "Tu verras que ce gredin-là me fera du mal un jour ou l'autre. Je le sens." Mon oncle disait vrai. Et voici comment l'accident se produisit par ma faute.

²³ ". . . mais le pis, c'est qu'il vient de tester, oui, de tester et de me déshériter, monsieur, en faveur du père jésuite."

²⁴ Pp. 76-92.

²⁵ In *Le Rosier, etc.* (Paris, 1900), pp. 129-145.

should be left without no man at all to marry her," the other chap offers to do the alcoholically-logical thing: marry Sairey Oreanna.

These portions of the conversation illustrate how subtly and logically Bunner gets the transaction completed instead of employing the blunt offer of sale contained in the Maupassant version.

IV

It should be borne in mind that in transcribing Maupassant's stories in "*Made in France*" Bunner combed through a great number of them to find material not of the usual Maupassant shade. But Bunner did read these other stories and saw Maupassant at his very Maupassant-best. In *Short Sixes*,²⁶ first published in 1890, before "*Made in France*," Bunner applied the Maupassant technique to American subjects in a series of original short-stories. These were followed in 1894 by *More Short Sixes*.²⁷

Irony was Maupassant's forte. He was concerned chiefly with the sardonic implications of an incident, generally leaving its structure as he found it without expending much effort upon technical revision. However, he was sure to make his irony strong, and the most telling place for irony in a short-story is its ending. In this respect Maupassant was a technician. He built toward the ending to effect maximum derision at the foible he was mocking.²⁸

It was this type of story that Bunner emulated in his *Short Sixes* series, except that, as Professor Brander Matthews has pointed out, Bunner's are filled with "brisk fun and hearty comicality."²⁹ In these the humor is "not biting, not saturnine, not boisterous."³⁰ In other words, the Maupassant technique was naturalized in America by Bunner. Bret Harte and the other local colorists had done much to advance the short-story form in this country; nor should Edgar Allan Poe's contribution be overlooked. But Bunner took the Maupassant economy of detail; the lightly shaded, but impressive, descriptive technique; the art of creating a greater implication by a deft touch; the fashioning of endings that are surprising; and with the addition of his own Anglo-Saxon insistence upon logic, manifested by motivation of character-action and plot-movement,

²⁶ New York, 1924.

²⁷ New York, 1917.

²⁸ See his famous "The Necklace," "A Piece of String," "The Beggar," "A Coward."

²⁹ *The Historical Novel and Other Essays* (New York, 1901), p. 182.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

wrought something that ultimately evolved into an article none the less indigenous to the American short-story field: the short-short with the surprise ending. The surprise skilfully kept from the reader, but not jarring him too much when he comes upon it and thinks back to the sign-posts that had been carefully placed along the midst of the story.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A NEWLY DISCOVERED LETTER FROM JOEL BARLOW TO HIS WIFE, FROM ALGIERS

EZRA KEMPTON MAXFIELD
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JOEL BARLOW was the United States Consul to Algiers between the years 1795 and 1797. In the latter part of this period the bubonic plague had broken out with virulence and Barlow was occupied in nursing sick Americans and seeing those well enough to travel safely on board vessels which would convey them back to their families. The following letter, which has been in the possession of successive generations of Barlow's descendants in Western Pennsylvania, has recently come to my attention, and I am indebted to Mrs. E. W. Sawhill and Miss Anica Baird, of Washington, Pennsylvania, for the use of it. I think it should have a special interest to students of early American literature because of the circumstances under which it was written. Barlow believes himself in great danger and addresses what he thinks will be his last communication to his wife, then living in Paris. Being in this frame of mind, he is not only especially tender in his expression of affection, but frank in making known his wishes respecting the disposal of their joint property, the extent of which we are also interested to know. Incidentally we are favored with an exposition of Barlow's democratic views which, as everyone knows, were once regarded as decidedly radical, if not socialistic.

My dearest life & only love,

I run no risque of alarming your extreme sensibility by writing this letter; since it is not my intention that it shall come into your hands unless & untill by some other channel you shall have been informed of the event which it anticipates as possible. For our happy union to be dissolved by death is indeed at any moment possible, but at this time there is an uncommon degree of danger that you may lose a life which I know you value more than you do your own. I say I *know* this, because I have long been taught from our perfect sympathy of affection, to judge your heart by mine; and I can say solemnly & truly [*sic*], as far as I know myself, that I have no other value for my own life than as a means of continuing a

conjugal union with the best of women, the wife of my love, my first, my last, my only love.

I have told you in my current letters that the plague is raging with considerable violence in this place. I must tell you in this, if it should be your fortune to see it, that a pressing duty of humanity requires me to expose my self, more than other considerations would justify, in endeavouring to save as many of our unhappy citizens as possible from falling a sacrifice, and to embarque them at this cruel moment for their country. Though they are dying very fast, yet it is probable that my exertions may be the means of saving a number who otherwise would perish. If this should be the case, & I should fall instead of them, my tender generous friend must not upbraid my memory by even *thinking* that I did too much. But she cannot help it,—I know she cannot. Yet, my dearest love, give me leave, since I must anticipate your affliction to lay before you some reflections which I am sure would occur to you at last, but which ought to strike your mind at first, to mingle with and assuage your first emotions of grief.—You cannot judge at your distance, of the degree of risk I am taking nor of the necessity of taking it; and I am convinced that were you in my place you would do more than I shall do. You would do more than I shall do. For your kind in-tripid [*sic*] spirit has more courage than mine, and always had. Another consideration,—many of these persons have wives at home as well as I; from whom they have been much longer separated and under more affecting circumstances, having been held in a merciless and disappointing slavery. If their wives love them as mine does me (a thing which I cannot believe, but have no right to deny) ask these lately disconsolate, and now joyful families, whether I have done too much.—

Since I write this as though it were to be the last poor demonstration of my affection to my lovely friend, the partner of my life, I have much to say; and it is with difficulty that I can steal an hour from the fatigues of business to devote to this grateful, painful task. But tell me,—(you cannot tell me),—where shall I begin, & where shall I end? how shall I put an eternal period to a correspondence which has given me so much comfort? with what expression of regret shall I take leave of my happiness? with what word of tenderness, of gratitude, of counsel, of consolation shall I pay you for what I am robbing you of, the husband whom you cherish, the

friend who is all your own? But I am giving vent to more weakness than I intended. This, my dear, is a letter of business, not of love; and I wonder I cannot enter upon it, & keep to my subject. Enveloped is my last will, made in conformity to the one I left in the hands of Doctor Hopkins of Hartford, as you may remember. The greater part of my property now lying in Paris, I thought proper to renew this instrument, that you might enter immediately on the settlement of your affairs without waiting to send to America for the other paper. You will likewise find enclosed a schedule of our property, debts & demands, with explanations, as nearly just as I can make it from memory, in the absence of my papers. If the French Republic is consolidated & her funds rise to par, or near it, which I believe they will do soon after the war, the property noted in this schedule may amount to a capital of about 120,000 dollars besides paying my debts, which sum vested in the American funds, or mortgages equally solid, would produce something more than 7,000 dollars a year perpetual income. If the French should fund their debt anew at the half its nominal value (which is possible) so the part of your property now vested in those funds should diminish in proportion, still taking the whole together, it will not make a difference of more than one-third; and the annual income may still be near 5,000 dollars. Events unforeseen by me may however reduce it considerably lower. But whatever the value may be of what I leave, it is bequeathed simply and wholly to you.

Perhaps some of my relations may think it strange that I have not mentioned them in this final disposition of my effects, especially if they should prove to be as considerable as I hope they may. But, my dearest love, I will tell you my reasons; and I hope you will approve them. For if I can excuse myself to you in a point in which your generous delicacy would be more likely to question the propriety of my conduct than in most others, I am sure my arguments will be convincing to those whose objections may arise from their interest. *1st.* In a view of justice and equity, whatever we possess at this moment is a joint property between ourselves, and ought to remain to the survivor. When you gave me your blessed self, you know I was destitute of every other possession as of every other enjoyment. I was rich only in the fund of your affectionate economy and the sweet consolation of your society. In our various struggles and disappointments while trying to obtain a moderate

competency for the quiet enjoyment of what we used to call the remainder of our lives, I have often been rendered happy by misfortunes; for the heaviest we have met with were turned into blessings by the opportunities they gave me to discover new virtues in you, who taught me how to bear them. I have often told you, since the year 1791 the period of our deepest difficulties, and even during that period, that I never had been so easy & contented before. And I have certainly been happier in you during the latter years of our union than I was in the former years. Not that I have loved you more ardently or more exclusively, for that was impossible; but I have loved you better; my heart has been more full of your excellence and less agitated with objects of ambition, which used to devour me too much. I recall these things to your mind to convince you of my full belief that the acquisition of the competency which we seem at last to have secured is owing more to your energy than mine: I mean the energy of your virtues, which gave me consolation and even happiness under circumstances, wherein, if I had been alone, or with a partner no better than myself, I should have sunk. These fruits of our joint exertions you expected to enjoy *with me*; else I know you would not have wished for them. But if by my death you are to be deprived of the greater part of the comfort you expected, it would surely be unjust and cruel to deprive you of the remainder, or any portion of it, by giving even a part of this property to others. It is yours in the truest sense in which property can be considered; and I should have no right, if I were disposed, to take it from you.

2dly. Some of my relations are rich enough; and though among thirty or forty nephews & nieces & their children, the greater part of whom I have never seen, and from whom I have had no news for seven or eight years, there may be some necessarily who would be proper objects of particular legacies, yet it would be impossible for me at this moment to know which they are. It was my intention, and still is if I live to go to America, to make discriminations among them according to their wants, and to give them such relief as might be in my power, without waiting to do it by legacy. Now, my lovely wife, if by my death this task, and the means of performing it, should devolve on you, I need not recommend it; our joint liberality would have been less extensive & less grateful to the receivers [*sic*] than yours will be alone. Your own relations, in the

same degrees of affinity, are few in number. I hope I need not tell you that in my affections I know no difference between yours & mine. I include them all in the same recommendation, without any other distinction than what may arise from their wants & your ability to do them good.

If Colonel Blackden & his wife (or either of them, being left by the other) should be in a situation otherwise than comfortable, I wish my generous friend to render it so, as far as may be in her power. We may have had more powerful friends than they, but never any more sincere. *He* has the most frank & loyal spirit in the world, and *she* is possest [*sic*] of many amiable and almost heroic virtues.

Mary Woolstonecraft [*sic*],—poor girl! you know her worth, her virtues & her talents; and I am sure you will not fail to keep yourself informed of her circumstances. She has friends, or at least *had* them, more able than you will be to yield her assistance in case of need. But they may forsake her for reasons which in your enlightened and benevolent mind would rather be an additional inducement to contribute to her happiness.

Excuse, my dearest wife, my being so particular on a subject which, considering to whom it is addressed, may appear superfluous; but I do it rather to show that I agree with you in these sentiments, than to pretend that they originate on my part. With this view I must pursue them a little farther. One of the principal gratifications in which I intended & still intend to indulge myself, if I should live to enjoy with you the means of doing it, is to succour the unfortunate of every description as far as possible;—to encourage merit where I find it, & try to create it where it does not exist. This has long been a favorite project with me; but having been always destitute of the means of carrying it in to effect to any considerable degree, I have not conversed with you upon it so much as I wish I had. Though I can say nothing that will be new to you on the pleasure of employing ones [*sic*] attention and resources in this way, yet some useful hints might be given on the means of multiplying good actions from small resources; for I would not confine my pleasure to the simple duties of charity in the beggar's sense of the word. *1st.* Much may be done by advising with poor persons, contriving for them, and pointing out the objects on which

they can employ their own industry. *2dly*. Many persons and families in a crisis of difficulty might be extricated & set up in the world by little loans of money, for which they might give good security, and refund within a year; and the same sum might then go to relieve a second, and a third; and thus a douzen [*sic*] families might be set on the independent footing of their industry in the course of a douzen years by the help of fifty dollars, and the owner lose nothing but the interest. Some judgement would be necessary in these operations, as well as care and attention in finding out the proper objects. How many of these are to be found in prisons,—thrown in & confined for years for small debts, which their life & liberty would enable them to discharge in a short time! Imprisonment for debt still exists as a stain upon our country as well as most others. France indeed has set us the example of abolishing it; but I am apprehensive she will relapse from this, as I see she is inclined to do from many other good things which she began in her magnanimous struggle for the renovation of society. *3dly* with your benevolence, your character & connexions, you may put in motion a much greater fund of charity than you will yourself possess. It is by searching out the objects of distress or misfortune and recommending them to their wealthy neighbours in such a manner as shall excite their attention. I have often remarked to you (I forget whether you agree with me or not) that there is more goodness at the bottom of the human heart than the world will generally allow. Men are as often hindered from doing a generous thing by an indolence either of thought or action, as from a selfish principle. If they knew what the action was, where & when it was to be done, and how to do it, their obstacles would be overcome. In this manner one may bring the resources of others into contribution, and with such a grace as to obtain the thanks both of the giver & receiver. *4thly* the example of one beneficent person like you in a neighbourhood or a town could go a great way. It would doubtless be imitated by others, extend far, and benefit thousands whom you might never hear of.

I certainly hope to escape from this place and return to your arms. No man has stronger inducements to wish to live than I have. I have no quarrel with the world; it has used me as well as could be expected; I have valuable friends in every country where I have

put my foot, not excepting this abominable sink of wickedness, pestilence and folly, the city of Algiers; I have a pretty extensive and dear-bought knowledge of mankind; a most valuable collection of books; a pure & undivided taste for domestic tranquility [*sic*], the social intercourse of friends, study & the exercise of charity; I have a moderate but sufficient income, perfect health, and unimpaired constitution; and to give the relish to all enjoyments and smoothe [*sic*] away the asperities that might arise from unforeseen calamities, I have the wife that my youth has chosen & my advancing age has cherished, the patern [*sic*] of excellence, the example of every virtue, from whom all my joys have risen, in whom all my hopes are centered.

I will use every precaution for my safety, as well for your sake as mine. But if you should see me no more, my dearest friend, you will not forget I loved you. As you have valued my love, and as you believe this letter is written with an intention to promote your happiness at a time when it will be forever out of power to contribute to it in any other way, I beg you will kindly recieve [*sic*] the last advice I can give you, with which I am going to close our endearing intercourse. Submitting with patience to a destiny that is unavoidable, let your tenderness with me soon cease to agitate that lovely bosom; banish it to the house of darkness & dust with the object which can no longer be benefitted by it; transfer your affections to some other worthy person who shall supply my place in the relations I have borne to you. It is the living, not the dead, to be rendered happy by the sweetness of your temper, the purity of your heart, your exalted sentiments, your cultivated spirit, your individual love. Happy man of your choice! Should he know & prize the treasure of such a wife! Oh, treat her tenderly, my dear sir; she is used to nothing but unbounded love & confidence. She is all that any responsible man can desire; she is more than I have merited or perhaps you can merit. My resigning her to your charge, though but the result of uncontrollable [*sic*] necessity, is done with a degree of cheerfulness, a cheerfulness inspired by the hope that her happiness will be the object of your care, & the long continued fruit of your affection.

Farewell, my wife; and though I am not used to subscribe my letters addressed to you, your familiarity with my writing having

always rendered it unnecessary, yet it seems proper that the last characters that this hand shall trace for your perusal should compose the name of your most faithful, most affectionate & most grateful husband—

JOEL BARLOW.

ON USING JOHNSON'S AMERICAN FIRST EDITIONS AND
OTHER SOURCES

LYON N. RICHARDSON

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THE PURPOSES of the bibliographer and of the literary historian are not identical, though they often run parallel and often cross. The remarks which follow spring largely from historical researches in the novel of the later nineteenth century. The points mentioned are those rising in the mind of one who, for historical purposes, uses *Merle Johnson's American First Editions*, third edition, revised by Jacob Blanck (1936), and certain other books. Because Johnson's book is highly valuable and will be used as a standard library reference work for years to come, I have thought it pertinent to take certain of his listings as the basic text for the observations.

In most cases, the comments on the items selected from Johnson's work do not imply that these entries are wrong; but ancillary material is supplied which throws more light on the circumstances of publishing, or recounts facts historically relevant—and in a few instances contradictory to Johnson.

Historians must keep in mind that the year of publication on a title-page does not necessarily date the actual year of issue. The illustrations I have chosen from the nineteenth century indicate the common practice of serializing works in magazines during the first three-quarters of the year. The serials were then issued as books in time for the all-important Christmas trade. The financial significance of the Christmas season to novelists and publishers can hardly be overemphasized: no less an authority and beneficiary than William Dean Howells has mentioned it. But to date a book accurately in late autumn was to age it lamentably. Consequently such late

literary publications were frequently dated as of the approaching year, or left undated, and thus they remained comparatively fresh through two Christmas seasons. This practice explains such items as Aldrich's *The Story of a Bad Boy*, Allen's *A Kentucky Cardinal* and *Aftermath*, Fawcett's *The House at High Bridge*, Howells's *An Imperative Duty* and *Tuscan Cities*, James's *The Portrait of a Lady*, Mitchell's *The Adventures of François*, Pyle's *The Rose of Paradise*—and perhaps Bellamy's *Miss Ludington's Sister* and Harte's *In the Carquinez Woods*. For the historian to give the printed date of publication is one thing; but if he allows himself the latitude of using these dates after some such phrase as "appeared in" he will, in most of the above cases at least, be slightly inaccurate.

On rare occasions, of course, original serialization has been given novels after the books were printed. Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne: Free Quaker* is a case in point, for, as stated in Johnson's bibliography, after some copies of the book were printed, a decision was made to issue the novel serially in a magazine. Book publication was delayed, but copies have appeared dated 1896 as well as 1897. The article in the *Dictionary of American Biography* fails to note the edition of 1897, with title leaf tipped in, mentioning only the edition of 1898. But a query arises, as noted hereinafter, whether Eggleston's *The Graysons* is a case somewhat similar, or an error on the part of Johnson and of B. M. Fullerton.

Historians are sometimes misled by works giving the serial date of publication without comment. Two cases of dates of serialization are given below in the item devoted to Howells's *Annie Kilburn*. Authors listed in editions of *Who's Who in America* sometimes give dates of serialization. A comparison of Johnson's bibliography of Hamlin Garland with the article in *Who's Who in America* suggests a possible illustration.

While Johnson's method of occasionally listing subsequent editions is understandable, one must not assume in these cases that there were no intermediary editions. It would be easy to make such false assumptions. Illustrative instances given below are noted in Howells's *Italian Journeys* and Parkman's *The Discovery of the Great West*.

In a few cases I have noted errors in Johnson's work: the birth years of Freeman and Harte, the publication date of Fawcett's

Ellen Story, the title of James's *Notes on Novelists*. Some cases of conflicting authority and other discrepancies are given. But I have also selected items from his bibliography for the purpose of correcting other sources in error.

Finally, though Johnson on rare occasions gives foreign publication dates (see his Emerson items), one must not assume that he has listed all cases of prior publication in England. Various circumstances, especially the copyright status between the United States and Great Britain, were such as to lead a considerable number of well-known American authors to publish certain of their books first in England, and many British authors to publish certain of their books first in America. Louisa M. Alcott's *Aunt Jo's Scrap-Bag* is an illustration of prior publication in England. I. A. Brussel's *Anglo-American First Editions 1826-1900. East to West* (1935) and *Anglo-American First Editions. Part Two: West to East, 1786-1930* (1936) may with profit be carefully studied. For instance, Brussel notes 1842 for the London edition of Emerson's *Man the Reformer*; Johnson lists 1841.

In each of the selected items below, the initial listing of name, title, place of publication, and date is taken from Johnson's third edition, revised by Blanck.

Aldrich, Thomas Bailey. *The Story of a Bad Boy*. Boston, 1870.—Ferris Greenslet, in *The Life of Thomas Bailey Aldrich* (1908), pp. 89-92, notes the story as written in 1868, serialized in *Our Young Folks* early in 1869, and issued as a book in the autumn of 1869 with date 1870; it "speedily ran through some eleven editions."

Allen, James Lane. *A Kentucky Cardinal*. New York, 1895.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1895 [1894], indicating actual issue in 1894 with date 1895. The story ran as a serial in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for May and June, 1894. J. H. Nelson, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, gives 1894. Grant C. Knight, in *James Lane Allen and the Genteel Tradition* (1935), p. 97, gives 1894. Professor Knight informs me that the publishing date was Oct. 1, 1894, but that the book may have been issued a few weeks later, as the earliest review he has found was in the *Philadelphia Press* of Dec. 1, 1894; earliest copies are undated; earliest dated copies, 1895.

———. *Aftermath*. New York, 1896.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1896 [1895], indicating appearance in 1895 with date 1896. Nelson, *op. cit.*, gives 1895. Knight, *op. cit.*, gives 1895; he informs me the publishing date was Nov. 11, 1895, but that the book was dated 1896.

Bellamy, Edward. *Dr. Heidenhoff's Process*. New York, 1879.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1880. A copy at Western Reserve University bears copyright date of 1880.

———. *Miss Ludington's Sister*. Boston, 1885.—This book was reviewed in the *Overland Monthly* for Aug., 1884, p. 223, in the *Nation* for Aug. 28, 1884, p. 182, and listed in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for Sept., 1884, p. 641.

Cooke, John Esten. *Justin Harley*. Philadelphia, 1875.—John O. Beaty, in *John Esten Cooke, Virginian* (1922), p. 135, also gives 1875. But *The American Catalogue* lists [1874], and the *Publisher's Weekly* of Aug. 8, 1874, ran a half-page advertisement offering the book for sale.

Eggleston, Edward. *The Graysons*. New York, [1887].—B. M. Fullerton, in *Selective Bibliography of American Literature 1775-1900* (1932), also gives [1887]. However, *The American Catalogue* lists 1888, and the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* carried the novel as a serial, Nov., 1887-Aug., 1888. Is this a rare case of serialization after book publication?

Fawcett, Edgar. *Ellen Story*. New York, 1878.—This is definitely an error. *The American Catalogue* lists 1876, and the book was reviewed in the *Galaxy* for Aug., 1876, pp. 282-284.

———. *The House at High Bridge*. Boston, 1887.—The book was copyrighted in 1886. *The American Catalogue* lists 1887 [1886], indicating actual publication in 1886 with date 1887. A review appeared in the *Literary World* for Oct. 30, 1886, pp. 363-364.

Fuller, Henry Blake. *The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani*. Boston, [1890].—*The American Catalogue* listing, [1891], is evidently not a first edition. A notice in the *Forum* for Feb., 1892, p. 815, states that this work was first published in Chicago in 1890, and was subsequently printed by a Boston publisher. Professor Knight informs me he has a copy published by Joseph George Cupples, Boston, 1890, carrying an announcement that it is the third edition.

Harte, Francis Bret. *In the Carquinez Woods*. London, 1883.—Johnson also records "American edition, Boston, 1884." *The American Catalogue* lists 1884 [1883], indicating appearance in 1883 with date 1884. The *Nation* for Sept. 20, 1883, pp. 255-256, reviews the book as printed by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston; the book was also reviewed in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for Dec., 1883, p. 158, and in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* of the same month, p. 313. Harte was American consul at Glasgow at this time, having left America in 1878, never to return.

Howells, William Dean. *Annie Kilburn*. New York, 1889.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1889 [1888], indicating appearance in 1888 with

date 1889. The story was serialized in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, June-Nov., 1888, and was reviewed in the *Literary World* for Feb. 2, 1889, p. 35. The date 1888, given by Delmar Gross Cooke, in *William Dean Howells: A Critical Study* (c. 1922), p. 260, and by Mildred Howells, in *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (1928), II, 404, refers to the serial issue. Miss Howells informs me that the first edition in the Willis Collection, now owned by J. M. Howells, of Kittery, Maine, is dated 1889.

———. *An Imperative Duty*. New York, 1892.—This date is confirmed by the copy in the Willis Collection. *The American Catalogue* lists 1892 [1891], indicating appearance in 1891 with date 1892. The novel ran as a serial in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, July-Oct., 1891. It was reviewed in the *Literary World* for Dec. 5, 1891, p. 470. The date 1891, given by Delmar Gross Cooke, *loc. cit.*, and by Mildred Howells, *loc. cit.*, refers to the serial issue. The date 1893, given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, is obviously wrong.

———. *Italian Journeys*. New York, 1867.—Johnson also lists a "Revised edition, Boston, 1901." It may be fitting here to recall a "New and Enlarged Edition" copyrighted by Howells in 1872 and published the same year by R. Osgood and Co.

———. *Tuscan Cities*. Boston, 1886.—Confirmed by a copy in the Willis Collection. *The American Catalogue* lists 1886 [1885], indicating appearance in 1885 with date 1886; the book was reviewed in the *Nation* for Nov. 12, 1885, p. 410.

James, Henry. *Daisy Miller*. New York, 1879. *An International Episode*. New York, 1879.—*Daisy Miller* appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, June-July, 1878, and *An International Episode* ran in the same magazine, Dec., 1878-Jan., 1879. *The American Catalogue* lists 1879 for both titles. LeRoy Phillips, in *A Bibliography of the Writings of Henry James* (1930), lists 1879 [1878] for both titles.

———. *The Portrait of a Lady*. Boston, 1882.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1882 [1881], indicating appearance in 1881 with date 1882. The Boston edition of the book was reviewed in the *Literary World* for Dec. 17, 1881, pp. 473-474.

Mitchell, Silas Weir. *The Hill of Stones and Other Poems*. Boston, 1883.—Charles W. Burr and Arthur Hobson Quinn, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, list *The Hill of Stones* as appearing in 1882. *The American Catalogue* lists 1883 [1882], indicating appearance in 1882 with date 1883.

———. *Hugh Wynne: Free Quaker*. New York, 1897 (1896).—Mr. Johnson explains that the 1896 copies of the book were withheld when, after printing, a decision was made to issue the work serially in the *Cen-*

tury Illustrated Monthly Magazine, Nov., 1896-Oct., 1897. Burr and Quinn, *op. cit.*, fail to note any separate edition before 1898, but in his invaluable *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey*, p. 312, Quinn enters the date (1897)—the first authorized edition with the title-pages tipped in—and on p. 319 records appearance in 1896.

———. *The Adventures of François*. New York, 1898.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1898 also. Burr and Quinn, *op. cit.*, give 1899. The story was serialized in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, Jan.-Sept., 1898, and reviewed in the *Literary World*, Nov. 26, 1898, p. 400, and in other magazines in Jan., 1899.

Parkman, Francis. *The Discovery of the Great West*. Boston, 1869.—Johnson also notes the work "reissued, Boston, 1879, as *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*." James Truslow Adams, in the *Dictionary of American Biography* lists this as the eleventh edition.

Pyle, Howard. *The Rose of Paradise*. New York, 1888.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1888 [1887], indicating appearance in 1887 with date 1888. This was reviewed in the *Nation* for Dec. 15, 1887, p. 486.

Saltus, Edgar Everston. *The Truth About Tristrem Varick*. Chicago, 1888.—*The American Catalogue* lists 1888 also. An undated copy at the Western Reserve University Library, published by Belford, Clarke & Co., Chicago and New York, bears copyright date of 1886, and the title includes an apostrophe before the first letter of *Tristrem*.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *A Dog's Mission*. New York, 1881.—*The American Catalogue* lists [1881]. The Western Reserve University Library has two copies of the book. The earlier, undated, was published by Fords, Howard, & Hulbert, copyrighted by the author in 1880, and printed at the University Press, John Wilson & Son, Cambridge. The later copy, undated, copyrighted in 1881, was published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Riverside Press. The copies differ in cover and title-page; the cover of the earlier carries the figures of a butterfly and flower, and the later, the figure of a bird. The complete title of both is *A Dog's Mission; or, the Story of the Old Avery House. And Other Stories*.

One may note certain items in Johnson's third edition which are under dispute or erroneous. Thus Wm. J. Henneman, in an article in *Reading and Collecting* for Jan., 1937, p. 13, takes issue with Johnson's comments regarding George Washington Cable's *Kincaid's Battery*, Richard Harding Davis's *The Lion and the Unicorn*, and Robert Gruntal Nathan's *There Is Another Heaven*, though the years of issue remain unchanged. Also, the review in *American*

Literature for March, 1937, p. 108, records a few typographical and factual errors.

There are other discrepancies. Both *The American Catalogue* and *Who's Who in America* spell Edgar Fawcett's *The Confessions of Claud* without the final *e* Johnson adds to the proper name. Johnson's listing of Henry James's *Notes on Novelists with Some Other Notes*, New York, 1914, is given as *Notes on the Novelists*, a contraction with the addition of *the*. B. M. Fullerton, *op. cit.*, lists Rowland Evans Robinson's *Uncle 'Lisha's Shop*; Johnson drops the initial apostrophe.

Johnson's listing of eight titles by "Paul Creyton"—John Townsend Trowbridge—reminds me of the misprint "Greyton" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

In listing vital statistics, Johnson gives the birth year of Mary Eleanor Wilkins Freeman as 1862, following tradition. Biographers have had a difficult time establishing a date more consonant with facts. When her stories first appeared they were regarded in the light of being the precocious work of youth. But she attended Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary in 1870-1871, and the carefully prepared article by Elizabeth Deering Hanscom in the *Dictionary of American Biography* places her birth in the year 1852. Johnson fails to give vital dates of Francis Bret Harte. Certainly the older encyclopaedias, the Library of Congress cards, the *New Standard Encyclopedia* (1931), and *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (1935) are in error in giving 1839 as the year of Harte's birth. The problem has been carefully presented by George R. Stewart, in *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* (1931), who has set the year 1836, which date is being adopted by recent carefully-edited books.

"GRACE GREENWOOD" PARODIES TYPEE

WILLARD THORP
Princeton University

I HAVE encountered a further instance of the contemporary vogue of Melville's *Typee* which will supplement Mr. C. R. Anderson's "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo*" published in the issue of *American Literature* for March, 1937. To the *Saturday Evening Post* of October 9, 1847 (p. 1) "Grace

Greenwood" (Sara Jane Lippincott), the journalist and poetess, contributed a group of parodies of thirteen well-known authors of the day (including herself) under the title "Copyright, Authors, and Authorship."¹ The eighth of these is "Letter from the Author of 'Typee.'" It is significant proof of Melville's sudden fame that this parody of his style should be included here among these imitations of the most popular writers of the day, only a little more than a year after the publication of his first book.

The text of Melville's supposed contribution to the cause of copyright legislation reads as follows:

My dear Sir—The subject to which you have called my attention, is one which has hitherto occupied my thoughts but little. My own authorship was an impromptu affair, and as far as my experience goes, I have nothing about which to complain; my book having met with a sale beyond my expectations. But it is my *belief* that *poets* are not properly esteemed and recompensed in our country. In the pride of our Christian civilization, we might learn a lesson from the savages in this respect, as in many another; and in this connection, I will give a brief account of the way they manage these matters in Typee.

I had not been long in the valley when I was presented in form to an interesting young gentleman, whom I understood to be *the* poet. He was the handsomest Typee I had yet seen; rather short and slight, with delicate hands and feet, soft, waving, brown hair, a voluptuous mouth, a full dark eye, with a laughing devil-may-care expression; in short, a veritable Polynesian Tom Moore.

One afternoon, while stretched upon the mats, taking my luxurious *siesta*, Kory-Kory ran in, shouting, "Clingy Lingy," (the poet's name,) "makee rimeel" and hoisting me on his back, trotted up to the "charmed circle," who were listening to the wild chantings of our Improvisatore. I might edify you with a critique on this literary performance, had I

¹In order to induce her readers to believe that these poems, stories and letters are the work of the authors whose initials are attached to them, "Grace Greenwood" did not sign her name at the end of the series and included the parody of her own style. When she republished the parodies in *Greenwood Leaves* (First Series, Boston, 1850, pp. 283-308), the secret was out. The titles of the parodies are as follows: "A Call for a Convention," by J. G. W[hittier]; "A Touching Incident," by J. R. C[handler]; "To a Young Poet," by W. C. B[ryant]; "A Tale of Horror," by E. A. P[oe]; "A Song," by G. P. M[orris]; "Night's Revelings," by H. W. L[ongfellow]; "Poet-Dreams," by F. G. H[alleck]; "Letter from the Author of 'Typee,'" "A Sketch," by N. P. W[illis]; "Letter from New York," by L. M. C[hild]; "Warblings," by Kate Carol (Frances Sargent Osgood); "A Fragment," by L. H. S[igourney]; "Letter from the West," by Grace Greenwood. Two parodies, not printed in the *Post*, were added in *Greenwood Leaves*: "Apollo in America," by O. W. H[olmes] and "A Fable from the Burmese," by Fanny Fern (Sara Payson Willis).

understood a word of it; as it was, I could only judge of its merits by the amount of divine *afflatus* expressed in the countenance of the bard. He was sufficiently impassioned; the inspiration shone through his tattooed visage like the light of a candle through a half-ripe pumpkin, carved by infant sculptors, in the form of "the human face divine."

The effect upon his audience, the female part especially, was most striking. They shouted and danced and slapped each other's shoulders, with the finest poetical enthusiasm conceivable. The demonstrations of the lady-like Fayaway were more subdued. She stood with her small hands crossed on her heaving bosom, and smiled bewitchingly, or melted into tears. But at the close of the performance, she impulsively caught from her own head, a wreath of white flowers, and crowned the troubadour, amid "a tempest of applause!"

At that moment, had the Typees possessed a *Bois de Boulogne*, I should have begged the loan of one of their superannuated muskets, and invited the minstrel thither *sans ceremonie*. As it was, I fear I was wicked enough to wish him in—America, dependent on those same fine talents for support.

I afterwards found that this gentleman had great and peculiar privileges; he was tabooed to any extent; could repose with perfect safety in the hostile bosom of the Happar Valley. He had a choice lodge, well stocked with the finest mats and tappa. He was abundantly supplied, by voluntary taxation, with luscious poee-poe, the sweetest oils and the most exhilarating arva. He was allowed to choose for his bride the prettiest maiden in the valley, and to change his wife every new moon, if so inclined. *The* place of all the world for your Shelleys and Byrons were Typee. In festivals and public processions I observed that his bardship took precedence of valiant chiefs and venerable divines; and for a reason, I think, the poet being created by Heaven, priests and warriors by circumstance. I have no doubt, furthermore, but that as those of his *genus* are given to epicurism, the choice bit is awarded him when an enemy is dished up. I also ascertained that no man was allowed to play critic in Typee, unless himself a poet. The body-servant of the bard was pointed out to me, a poor devil of a fellow, who though of most aristocratic connections, had been degraded to his present position for an impromptu but cutting review, produced upon one of Clingy Lingy's improvisations.

I should have included this account in my work, but for the fear that on hearing of such a Paradisean state of things, our entire squad of poets would immediately emigrate to Typee.

Respectfully, yours,

H. M.

WHITMAN'S EARLIEST SIGNED PROSE:
A CORRECTION

ROLLO G. SILVER
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In Mr. Joseph Jay Rubin's announcement of his important Whitman discovery,¹ there is a statement which, I think, ought to be corrected. Mr. Rubin, in his note about the *Card*, believes that it is "the earliest signed Whitman prose yet discovered."² This however, is not true. Although the *Card* is the earliest published appearance of Whitman's signed prose known at present, a manuscript located by Professor Emory Holloway remains the earliest signed prose yet discovered.³ This manuscript, recording the minutes of the Smithtown Debating Society, was written and signed by the secretary, Walter Whitman, three years before the appearance of the *Card*.

"THE CHAMBERED NAUTILUS": ITS SCIENTIFIC
AND POETIC BACKGROUNDS

NELSON F. ADKINS
Washington Square College, New York University

This is the ship of pearl, which, poets feign,
Sails the unshadowed main,—
The venturous bark that flings
On the sweet summer wind its purpled wings
In gulfs enchanted, where the siren sings,
And coral reefs lie bare,
Where the cold sea-maids rise to sun their streaming hair.

After John Greenleaf Whittier had finished reading for the first time Dr. Holmes's "The Chambered Nautilus," he is said to have remarked quietly that the poem was "booked for immortality."¹ Such, indeed, has been the verdict of subsequent generations of Americans. If the men of Holmes's day, taught in a school of homiletics, valued the verses chiefly for their moral instruction,

¹ "Whitman in 1840: A Discovery," *American Literature*, IX, 239-242 (May, 1937).

² *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³ Emory Holloway, "Schoolmaster Whitman," *New York Herald Tribune*, XCV, 32, 557, sec. VII, p. 18 (Jan. 5, 1936).

⁴ J. T. Morse, *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Boston, 1896), I, 225.

modern critics have seen in the poem an "artistic completeness"² which has made it one of the most perfect examples of didactic verse that America has produced. Even Holmes himself joined in the general enthusiasm, not only declaring "The Chambered Nautilus" "a favorite poem of mine, though I wrote it myself";³ but having the tiny shell which it celebrates engraved on his bookplate. In later years as he looked back on the writing of the poem, he recalled how he "was filled with a better feeling—the highest state of mental exaltation and the most crystalline clairvoyance, as it seemed to me, that had ever been granted to me."⁴

However much Holmes may have felt "The Chambered Nautilus" to be the spontaneous product of his imagination, the poem, when analyzed, reveals itself as the meeting ground of a number of scientific, philosophical, and literary tendencies, some of which antedate by many years the composition of this poem. Myth early mingled strangely with science in equipping the little nautilus with oars and sail. The ancient Greeks were familiar with a shell-fish which, they insisted, was "furnished with a membrane which serves it for a sail."⁵ The English lexicographer, Edward Phillips, in the 1706 edition of his *New World of Words*⁶ wrote of "the Nautilus or Sailer," as a "Shell-fish, that swims like a Boat with a Sail." Science was later to distinguish between at least two species of this fish—the argonaut or paper nautilus and the common, pearly, or chambered nautilus—both endowed with miraculous sailing powers. "The shell of the Argonaut," asserted Peter Mark Roget⁷ in 1834, is exceedingly thin, and almost pellucid, probably for the sake of lightness, for it is intended to be used as a boat. For the purpose of enabling the animal to avail itself of the impulses of the air, while it is thus floating on the waters, nature has furnished it with a thin membrane, which she has attached to two of the tentacula; so that it can be spread out like

² S. M. Crothers, *Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Autocrat and His Fellow-Boarders* (Boston, 1909), p. 7.

³ Morse, *op. cit.*, I, 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 226.

⁵ See H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (New York, 1854).

⁶ *The New World of Words: or, Universal English Dictionary*, published in London.

⁷ In *Animal and Vegetable Physiology Considered with Reference to Natural Theology* (London, 1834), I, 265-267. This book was "Treatise V" of the famous "Bridgewater Treatises." The work in the course of the next thirty years passed through many editions. An edition, for example, published in Philadelphia in 1839, is marked "Second American, from the Last London Edition." This is the work which Holmes refers to in his original prefatory note to "The Chambered Nautilus" as it appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* (I, 468): "If you will look into Roget's Bridgewater Treatise, you will find a figure of one of these shells, and a section of it."

a sail to catch the light winds which waft the animal forwards on its course. While its diminutive bark is thus scudding on the surface of the deep, the assiduous navigator does not neglect to ply its tentacula as oars on either side, to direct, as well as accelerate its motion. No sooner does the breeze freshen, and the sea become ruffled, than the animal hastens to take down its sail, and quickly withdrawing its tentacula within its shell, renders itself specifically heavier than the water, and sinks immediately into more tranquil regions beneath the surface.

The same writer asserted that the common or chambered nautilus "is provided with a similar sailing apparatus," but differs from the paper nautilus in being divided into chambers.

The animal at certain periods of its growth, finding itself cramped in the narrow part of the spire, draws up that portion of the mantle which occupied it, thus leaving a vacant space. The surface of the mantle which has receded immediately begins to secrete calcareous matter, which is deposited in the form of a partition, stretching completely across the area of the cavity. As the animal proceeds to increase in size, and to occupy a wider portion of the external shell, the same necessity soon recurs, and the same expedient is again resorted to. It withdraws its mantle from the narrower into the wider part of the shell; and then forms a second partition, at a little distance from the first, corresponding to the space left by the receding of the mantle. This process is repeated at regular intervals, and produces the multitude of chambers contained in polythalamous shells, of which the living animal occupies only the largest, or that which continues open.⁸

Thus a popular scientific treatise of the first half of the nineteenth century—a work well known to Holmes—described the two species of nautilus. Needless to say, scientists, only a few years later, were to discredit utterly the fabulous sailing powers of the nautilus, asserting them to be but the vagaries of the poetic mind, with no foundation in fact.⁹ Nor have the poets generally, with their usual disregard of scientific exactness, attempted to distinguish between the two species of this shell-fish. "I have now and then found a naturalist," wrote Holmes in 1882, "who still worried over the distinction between the Pearly Nautilus and the Paper Nautilus,

⁸ No doubt the interest in the nautilus was much stimulated during the early nineteenth century by the researches of Sir Richard Owen, who in 1832 published his famous *Memoir on the Pearly Nautilus*.

⁹ For a summary of the modern skeptical attitude toward the sailing powers of the nautilus, see the article on the nautilus in the Eleventh Edition of *The Encyclopædia Britannica*.

or Argonauta. As the stories about both are but mere fables, attaching to the Physalia, or Portuguese man-of-war, as well as to these two molluscs, it seems over-nice to quarrel with the poetical handling of a fiction sufficiently justified by the name commonly applied to the ship of pearl as well as the ship of paper."¹⁰ It was, indeed, sufficient that both species should serve the poet a similar romantic and didactic purpose.

But who were the poets who Holmes asserts at the outset of "The Chambered Nautilus" sang of the "ship of pearl"—that "venturous bark" which "sails the unshadowed main"? The question is, indeed, a puzzling one; and if the truth be told, the poet in his opening lines was probably referring rather to the general romantic tradition of the sailing nautilus, than to any well-known writers who had found inspiration in the legend. The investigator in search of poetic treatments of the theme will at once recall Alexander Pope's famous couplet:

Learn of the little nautilus to sail,
Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.¹¹

But far less widely known are the poems on the nautilus by Hartley Coleridge and Edward W. Barnard. To the gifted but capricious son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge we owe the dainty lines "To the Nautilus," which begin:

Where Ausonian summers glowing,
Warm the deep to life and joyance,
And gentle zephyrs, nimbly blowing,
Wanton with the waves that flowing
By many a land of ancient glory,
And many an isle renown'd in story,
Leap along with gladsome buoyance,
There Marinere
Do'st thou appear,
In faery pinnace gaily flashing,
Through the white foam proudly dashing,
The joyous play-mate of the buxom breeze,
The fearless fondling of the mighty seas.¹²

¹⁰ Holmes's note on the poem in the "New and Revised Edition" of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, published in 1883. The preface to this edition is dated "Beverly Farms, Mass., August 29, 1882."

¹¹ *Essay on Man*, III, 178-179.

¹² *Poems by Hartley Coleridge, With a Memoir of His Life by His Brother* (London, 1851), I, 61-62.

With a similar lightness of poetic touch, Edward Barnard begins "The Launch of the Nautilus."¹³

Up with thy thin transparent sail,
Thou tiny mariner!—The gale
Comes gently from the land, and brings
The odour of all lovely things
That Zephyr, in his wanton play,
Scatters in Spring's triumphant way.

Later on in the poem he continues:

Then lift thy sail!—'Tis shame to rest
Here on the sand, thy pearly breast.
Away! thou first of mariners:—
Give to the wind all idle fears;
Thy freight demands no jealous care,—
Yet navies might be proud to bear
The wondrous wealth, the unbought spell,
That load thy ruby-cinctured shell.

Mr. Bayard H. Christy has recently discovered another significant nautilus poem¹⁴ appearing in an American magazine in 1851; and yet a fourth poem on the shell-fish¹⁵ may have antedated Holmes's verses.

But the poet has not only seen in the legend of the nautilus an opportunity to release his romantic fancy; he has also viewed it as

¹³ For a brief sketch of Edward William Barnard (1791-1828), a clergyman of the Church of England, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I am familiar with his poem on the nautilus as it was reprinted in *The Juvenile Poetical Library; Selected from the Works of Modern British Poets, for the Use of Young Persons*. This work was edited by Mrs. Alaric Watts, and published by Longmans, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839. The poem occupies pages 201-203.

¹⁴ "The Nautilus and the Ammonite" by G. F. Richardson in the *Family Visitor*, II, 419 (May 15, 1851). See Mr. Christy's note entitled "The Ship of Pearl" in *American Literature*, IX, 245-247 (May, 1937).

¹⁵ In *The Children's Book of Instruction and Amusement* (London, 1858), pp. 141-142. From the anonymous and ephemeral character of the book, one would infer that much of the material (prose and verse) making up the volume had first appeared elsewhere. The poem, called "The Nautilus," begins thus:

See the nicely fashioned boat
O'er the billowy waters float:
With quick oars dashing in the spray,
Her dext'rous rowers cut their way;
Or, with high mast and swelling sail,
Prepare to fly before the gale!

a means of giving moral instruction. It is important to observe that this tendency to find in the nautilus food for moral reflection is not an accidental phenomenon. It is rather the direct result of the teachings of the eighteenth-century deists. These men, rejecting in large part the religious authority of the Bible, saw in Nature a complete revelation of divine truth—so perfect that man's reason needed no other written word to set forth God's mysteries. By the early nineteenth century it had become almost a commonplace for popular books dealing with natural history to stress the deistic implications of the physical universe. Peter Mark Roget in his *Animal and Vegetable Physiology* closed his work with a chapter in which he asserts that the facts which he had set forth "clearly point to one Great and only Cause of all things."¹⁶ Indeed, the scientists at Harvard, during the early years of Holmes's professorship, had fully accepted this interpretation of the universe. Louis Agassiz, the friend of Holmes, in concluding Part I of his *Principles of Zoölogy*¹⁷ states his belief that "To study, in this view, the succession of animals in time, and their distribution in space, is therefore to become acquainted with the ideas of God himself."¹⁸ In 1849 the Swiss scientist, Arnold Guyot, delivered at Harvard a series of lectures on "comparative physical geography in its relation to the history of mankind." These lectures, originally delivered in French, were translated into English by Professor Cornelius C. Felton (later President of Harvard), and published under the title *The Earth and Man*.¹⁹ Near the close of the series Guyot asserts: "It is with the whole life and the whole intellect that we should study the work of Him who is life and intellect itself."²⁰

From such a belief it is only a step to an allied conception that not only nature as a whole but each and every particle making up the physical universe may teach spiritual and moral truths. And so nature for the modern man has become "a storehouse . . . of met-

¹⁶ II, 625. In fact, "The Bridgewater Treatises" were partly written to serve a religious purpose. The entire title of the series was "The Bridgewater Treatises on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Creation."

¹⁷ This work, written in collaboration with Augustus A. Gould, was published by Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln in 1848. Mr. Christy has mentioned the friendship between Agassiz and Holmes, and the possibility that Agassiz made Holmes acquainted with "The Nautilus and the Ammonite." The supposition seems to me highly possible, but does not, I believe, explain the entire origin of the poem.

¹⁸ P. 206.

¹⁹ Boston, 1849.

²⁰ P. 309.

aphor";²¹ and the universe is seen to swim "in an ocean of similitudes and analogies."²²

The vast opportunities for metaphorical interpretation inherent in the legend of the nautilus may readily be seen. Pope saw its allegorical possibilities, as did Hartley Coleridge, who thus gives a moral turn to the concluding stanza of "To the Nautilus":

Lame is art, and her endeavour
Follows nature's course but slowly,
Guessing, toiling, seeking ever,
Still improving, perfect never;
Little Nautilus, thou shewest
Deeper wisdom than thou knowest,
Lore, which man should study lowly:
Bold faith and cheer
Small Marinere,
Are thine within thy pearly dwelling,—
Thine, a law of life compelling
Obedience, perfect, simple, glad and free,
To the great will that animates the sea.

Similarly Edward Barnard veers into metaphor near the close of his poem:

A heart is there to nature true,
Which wrath nor envy ever knew,—
A heart that calls no creature foe,
And ne'er designed another's woe;—
A heart whose joy o'erflows its home
Simply because sweet spring is come.
Up, beauteous Nautilus!—Away!
The idle muse that chides thy stay
Shall watch thee long with anxious eye,
Over thy bright course delighted fly;
And, when black storms defend the main,
Cry welcome to the sands again!
Heaven grant that she through life's wild sea
May sail as innocent as thee:
And, homeward turned, like thee may find
Sure refuge from the wave and wind.

²¹ Odell Shepard, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Representative Selections, With Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes* (New York [1934]), p. xlv.

²² See Holmes's own prefatory note to his poem in the *Atlantic Monthly*, I, 468 (Feb., 1858).

Finally, although the influence on Holmes of American transcendentalism was admittedly small, one should not fail to mention two passages, which the poet must have known, from the works of Emerson. "I cannot greatly honor minuteness in details," wrote Emerson in *Nature* (1836), so long as there is no hint to explain the relation between things and thoughts; no ray upon the *metaphysics* of conchology, of botany, of the arts, to show the relation of the forms of flowers, shells, animals, architecture, to the mind, and build science upon ideas."²³ And as if to exemplify this theory as it applies to conchology, Emerson some years later introduced into his essay "Compensation" the following passage, strangely anticipatory of Holmes's "The Chambered Nautilus": "Evermore it is the order of nature to grow, and every soul is by this intrinsic necessity quitting its whole system of things, its friends and home and laws and faith, as the shellfish crawls out of its beautiful but stony case, because it no longer admits of its growth, and slowly forms a new house."²⁴

²³ *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Centenary Edition (Boston, 1903), I, 67.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 124. "Compensation" appeared originally in the first series of *Essays* (1841).

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

A New Edition of William Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*. Margaret A. Gerber (Wisconsin).

The Early Life of James Russell Lowell to 1848. Irving Burack (Brown).

A Critical and Variorum Edition of Melville's *Billy Budd*, from the Original Manuscripts, and General Significance of the Work. F. B. Freeman (Harvard).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

The Growth of American Periodical Criticism, 1835-1860. E. Current-Garcia (Harvard).

Science in American Literature, 1890-1900. H. H. Waggoner (Ohio State).

Utopian Elements in American Literature. James L. McAndrew (Catholic). H. H. Eddy (Harvard) has released this subject.

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

Cultural Beginnings and the Rise of the Theater, German and American, in Eastern Iowa (Davenport), 1836-1863. Joseph S. Schick (Chicago), 1937.

Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England History: A Study of Sources. Edward Dawson (Vanderbilt), 1937.

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

A Henry David Thoreau Bibliography: 1908-1937. *Bulletin of Bibliography*. William White (Southern California). Mr. White also has in progress, "Ralph Waldo Emerson: A Bibliographical Supplement, 1908-1937."

An Edition of the Collected Poems of William W. Lord. Thomas O. Mabbott, Random House. Dr. Mabbott would like to hear of any pamphlets, poems in magazines, or manuscripts, or letters of Dr. Lord.

Chesterton in America. Cyril Clemens, Webster Groves, Mo., wishes to hear from anyone who heard Chesterton on his visits to America in 1922 and 1932.

Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

[BRADFORD, WILLIAM] Gee, Clarence S. "The Bradford Manuscript." *Church History*, VI, 136-144 (June, 1937).

A history of the MS of William Bradford's *Of Plimoth Plantation*.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Adams, Randolph G. "Notes and Queries." *Colophon*, II, 602-610 (Autumn, 1937).

Various bibliographical notes concerning Franklin. A Franklin MS dealing with books sent by him to the Library Company of Philadelphia (1755) is printed for the first time (pp. 606-607).

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Rockefeller, George C. "New Jersey Printing before 1800." *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, LV, 295-297 (Oct., 1937).

"Philip Freneau . . . issued the Monmouth Almanac in 1795 A revised edition of his poems was issued by Freneau, covering the years 1768-1794."

[LEWIS, RICHARD] Carlson, C. Lennart. "Richard Lewis and the Reception of His Work in England." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 301-316 (Nov., 1937).

Lewis was a poet of Colonial Maryland.

[TYLER, ROYALL] Forsythe, Robert S. "'The Algerine Captive,' 1802." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 389-390 (May 29, 1937).

Gives some facts about the novel and its author.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Goodhue, A., Jr. "The Reading of Harvard Students, 1770-1781, as Shown by the Records of the Speaking Club." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXII (April, 1937).

Reading of native authors was limited almost entirely to political orations and magazines. "Only one American poet, Freneau, appears in the records."

Howard, Leon. "The Influence of Milton on Colonial American Poetry." *Huntington L. Bull.*, No. 9, pp. 63-89 (April, 1936).

Between thirty-five and forty Colonial verse-writers were unquestionably affected by Milton's works—primarily by *Paradise Lost* and, among the shorter poems, by "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."

Jones, Howard M. "Desiderata in Colonial Literary History." *Trans. Col. Soc. of Mass.*, XXXII, 428-439 (Nov., 1936-April, 1937).

Kraus, Michael. "America and the Utopian Ideal in the Eighteenth Century." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 487-504 (March, 1936).

"America presented to the European imagination materials with which airy castles could be built. . . ."

II. 1800-1870

- [BOKER, G. H.] Bradley, Sculley. "Poe on the New York Stage in 1855." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 353-354 (Nov., 1937).

The MS of a play *The Bankrupt* by Boker contains a reference to Poe and may be "the earliest American play to make use of the type of detective conceived by Poe."

- [COOPER, J. F.] Adkins, Nelson F. "James Fenimore Cooper in France, 1830-1832." *N. & Q.*, CLXXIII, 222-224 (Sept. 25, 1937).

Records of Cooper's residence in France, drawn from Mrs. Emma Willard's *Journal and Letters* (1833) and N. P. Willis's *Hurry-Graphs* (1851).

- Spiller, Robert E. "War with the Book Pirates." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 1736-1738 (Oct. 30, 1937).

Irving and Cooper were two enterprising American business men who made writing a lucrative profession by having their works first published in England.

- [EMERSON, R. W.] Braswell, William. "Melville as a Critic of Emerson." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 317-334 (Nov., 1937).

Melville's annotations in three volumes of Emerson bought in the early 1860's and in 1870.

- Dow, Blanche H. "A New Emphasis in American Thought." *Catholic World*, CXLV, 65-71 (Oct., 1937).

America "must produce the thinker, the mind trained in the knowledge of the past, skilled in the processes of applied thought, and ready and willing to make the union between his learning and his living." Introduces remarks on Emerson's "American Scholar."

- [FOSTER, S. C.] Howard, John T. "History Bunked." *Western Penna. Hist. Mag.*, XX, 57-61 (1937).

A discussion of the birthplace of the song-writer.

- [HAYNE, P. H.] McKeithan, Daniel M. "Paul Hamilton Hayne and The Southern Bivouac." *Univ. of Texas Stud. in Eng.*, XVII, 112-123 (July, 1937).

Summaries of four essays by Hayne published in the *Bivouac*: "Confederate War-Songs," "Ante-Bellum Charleston," "The Defense of Fort Wagner," and "Charles Gayarré."

- [HERBERT, H. W.] Henderson, Robert W. "The Godolphin Arabian. Is It a Herbert Translation?" *Book Buyer*, III, 18 (Dec., 1937).

The author presents evidence that Henry W. Herbert (Frank Forester) was not the translator of Eugene Sue's romance *The Godolphin Arabian*, published in New York in 1845.

[HOFFMAN, C. F.] Taylor, Anthony. "American First Editions: Charles Fenno Hoffman 1806-1884." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 2312 (Dec. 18, 1937).

[HOLMES, O. W.] Linn, Irving. "Dean Swift, Pope Innocent, and Oliver Wendell Holmes." *Philol. Quart.*, XVI, 317-320 (July, 1937).

Several passages in *Over the Teacups* depend directly upon Swift's fantasy "Meditation on a Broomstick."

[IRVING, W.] See the second item under *Cooper, J. F.*

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Anonymous. "Evangeline Again." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 14 (Oct. 25, 1937).

In Louisiana Acadians are planning to recreate Longfellow's *Evangeline* in celebration of its ninetieth anniversary.

[MELVILLE, H.] See the first item under *Emerson, R. W.*

Forsythe, Robert S. "Herman Melville in Tahiti." *Philol. Quart.*, XVI, 344-357 (Oct., 1937).

A checking with external evidence of Melville's account of his stay in Tahiti during the latter part of 1842.

[POE, E. A.] See the item under *Boker, G. H.*

Friedman, William F. "Edgar Allan Poe, Cryptographer." *Signal Corps Bull.*, No. 97, pp. 41-53 (July-Sept., 1937); No. 98, pp. 54-75 (Oct.-Dec., 1937).

Reprinted from *American Literature*, VIII, 266-280 (Nov., 1936), with additional data in amplification of some of the statements contained in the original article, together with the actual cryptograms.

Mabbott, Thomas O. "Poe and Ash Upson." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 330-331 (May 8, 1937).

Relates how Poe once befriended a young printer's devil, who probably worked for the poet in the office of the *Broadway Journal* in 1845.

Whitt, Celia. "Poe and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*." *Univ. of Texas Studs. in Eng.*, XVII, 124-131 (July, 1937).

This study points out "specific borrowings from *The Mysteries of Udolpho* found in 'The Assignation'."

[SNELLING, W. J.] Flanagan, John T. "William Joseph Snelling, Forgotten Critic." *Philol. Quart.*, XVI, 376-393 (Oct., 1937).

Snelling, author of *Tales of the Northwest* (1830) and *Truth; A New Year's Gift for Scribblers* (1831), has been completely ignored by students of our national criticism despite the fact that "years before Poe flayed the Broadway literati . . . he indicted American poets almost in toto for a want of discipline."

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Glicksberg, Charles I. "Walt Whitman and Bayard Taylor." *N. & Q.*, CLXXIII, 5-7 (July 3, 1937).

Presents evidence that Smithers in Taylor's *John Godfrey's Fortunes* is a caricature of Whitman.

Hubbell, Jay B. "A Lanier Manuscript." *Library Notes* (Duke University), II, 2-3 (Nov., 1937).

Revision of "the first of two poems entitled 'Rose Morals,'" which Bayard Taylor criticized.

[TICKNOR, GEORGE] Doyle, Henry G. "George Ticknor." *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, XXII, 3-37 (Oct., 1937).

Consists of three parts: (1) a biographical sketch of Ticknor, fully documented; (2) a reprint of Ticknor's pamphlet *Lecture on the Best Methods of Teaching the Living Languages*, first published in Boston in 1833; (3) notes by Mr. Doyle on the lecture.

[TUCKER, GEORGE] Helderman, L. C. "A Satirist in Old Virginia." *Am. Scholar*, VI, 481-497 (Autumn, 1937).

After a discussion of Prof. George Tucker's *Letters from Virginia* (1816), a satire on the social and economic life of Old Virginia, the charges made by Tucker and similar critics of the South are considered by the author.

[WHITMAN, WALT] See the first item under *Taylor, Bayard*.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Hawley, Charles A. "Correspondence between John Greenleaf Whittier and Iowa." *Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics*, XXXV, 115-141 (April, 1937).

An account of the relations between the poet and the Quaker college at Salem, Iowa, named after him in April, 1868. Six letters of Whittier are given.

—— "Whittier and Iowa." *Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics*, XXXIV, 115-143 (April, 1936).

Whittier's editorial work for the *National Era* marked the beginning of his interest in the Quakerism and anti-slavery sentiment of Iowa.

Powell, Desmond. "Whittier." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 335-342 (Nov., 1937).

An attempt to revive interest in the poet.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Gatke, R. M. "Ketturah Belknap's Chronicle of the Bellfountain Settlement." *Oregon Hist. Quart.*, XXXVIII, 265-299 (Sept., 1937).

Frontier life in Oregon from 1847 to 1868.

Hoole, William S. "Two Famous Theatres of the Old South." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXVI, 273-277 (July, 1937).

Brief account of two Charleston theaters which flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Orians, G. Harrison. "Lafitte: A Bibliographical Note." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 351-353 (Nov., 1937).

Bibliographical information concerning an early nineteenth-century novel, *The Memoirs of Lafitte*.

Ward, Samuel D. "New York City in 1842." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quart. Bull.*, XXI, 111-117 (Oct., 1937).

From the diary of a Boston, and later a Chicago, business man (1821-1905).

Wyatt, Edward A., IV. "Schools and Libraries in Petersburg, Virginia, Prior to 1861." *Tyler's Quart. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XIX, 65-86 (Oct., 1937).

Also mentions several lecturers.

III. 1870-1900

[ALLEN, J. L.] Clemens, Cyril. "An Unpublished Letter from James Lane Allen." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 355-356 (Nov., 1937).

The letter, addressed to R. W. Gilder, is dated Dec. 8, 1888, and deals with the author's connections with the *Century*.

[CABLE, G. W.] Pabody, E. F. "Mark Twain's Ghost Story." *Minnesota Hist.*, XVIII, 28-35 (March, 1937).

The story, heard by the writer of the article, is summarized, together with other details of the Mark Twain—George W. Cable lecture tour in Minnesota in 1884-1885.

[CHAPMAN, J. J.] Howe, M. A. D. "Letters from John Jay Chapman." *Harper's Mag.*, CLXXV, 363-370 (Sept., 1937).

A selection of letters of this recently deceased essayist and poet to Owen Wister, Mrs. James T. Fields, and others, chiefly on literary and critical matters.

———"More Letters of John Jay Chapman." *Harper's Mag.*, CLXXV, 530-538 (Oct., 1937).

Wilson, Edmund. "John Jay Chapman." *Atlantic Month.*, CLX, 581-595 (Nov., 1937).

An excellent biographical study of "one of the most interesting Americans and one of the most remarkable prose writers of his generation."

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Blanck, Jacob. "Mark Twain's 'Sketches Old and New'." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 1740-1741 (Oct. 30, 1937).

A paragraph in Jane Stuart Woolsey's *Hospital Days* (New York, 1868, p. 77) by mischance was inserted in the first state of the first edition of Mark Twain's *Sketches Old and New* (Hartford, 1868, p. 299). Also, page 84 of *Hospital Days* perhaps inspired a passage in Chapter XXIII of Mark Twain's *Following the Equator*.

See the item under *Cable, G. W.*

Verdaguer, Mario. "Humorismo inglés e ironía yanqui." *La Razón* (Panama), V, 2 (July 3, 1937).

Biographical sketch, stressing Mark Twain's triumph in England. [DICKINSON, EMILY] Blackmur, R. P. "Emily Dickinson: Notes on Prejudice and Fact." *Southern Rev.*, III, 325-347 (Autumn, 1937).

Develops the thesis that much of the greatness which contemporary critics find in Emily Dickinson's poetry has been assumed. Examined critically, her poetry is often good and occasionally great, but it is always fragmentary, and indicative of the fact that "she never undertook the great profession of controlling the means of objective expression."

Pattee, Fred L. "Gentian, Not Rose: The Real Emily Dickinson." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLV, 180-197 (April-June, 1937).

A reappraisal of the work of Emily Dickinson, deploring the myths that have grown up around her. Much of her work has been too highly praised; its future may well depend on an adequate and unbiased editor.

[HARRIS, J. C.] Gavigan, Walter V. "Two Gentlemen of Georgia." *Catholic World*, CXLV, 584-589 (Aug., 1937).

Discusses briefly the Catholicism of J. C. Harris and R. M. Johnston.

[HEARN, LAFCADIO] Van Briessen, Fritz. "Lafcadio Hearn: Dekadent? Aesthet? Exotist?" *Englische Studien*, LXXI, 372-383 (June, 1937).

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Rankin, Daniel S. "William Dean Howells: 1837-1920." *Commonweal*, XXVI, 597-598 (Oct. 22, 1937).

An appreciation of Howells's self-critical essays and autobiographical books.

[JOHNSTON, R. M.] See item under *Harris, J. C.*

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Graham, Philip. "A Note on Lanier's Music." *Univ. of Texas Stud. in Eng.*, XVII, 107-111 (July, 1937).

A study in support of the writer's theory that "Lanier was primarily a musician"; that "his poems had had their genesis in music rather than in idea"; and that "poems were to him compositions of descriptive music."

See the second item under *Taylor, Bayard*.

[MOODY, W. V.] McKeithan, D. M. "A Note on William Vaughn Moody's 'An Ode in Time of Hesitation'." *Am Lit.*, IX, 349-351 (Nov., 1937).

A consideration of the actual facts back of the poem.

[PORTER, W. S.] Hubbell, Jay B. "Charles Napoleon Bonaparte Evans, Creator of Jesse Holmes the Fool-Killer." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXVI, 431-446 (Oct., 1937).

A biographical sketch of Evans, who founded the *Milton* (N. C.) *Chronicle* in 1841, and who was also the creator of Jesse Holmes the Fool-Killer, mentioned by O. Henry at the beginning of his story "The Fool-Killer." The article contains extracts from the Jesse Holmes letters, reprinted from rare issues of the *Chronicle*.

[STOCKTON, FRANK] Werner, William L. "The Escapes of Frank Stockton." *Essays in Honor of A. Howry Espenshade* (1937), pp. 21-45.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Curti, Merle. "Dime Novels and the American Tradition." *Yale Rev.*, XXVI, 761-778 (June, 1937).

Dime novels—especially those dealing with the American Revolution—have played an important role in shaping popular attitudes in America. They have glorified democratic institutions and have fostered nationalism by depicting America most favorably.

Robbins, L. H. "'Deadeye Dick' Has Become a Collector's Item." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, pp. 10, 11, 25 (Sept. 19, 1937).

On the vogue of the dime novel in its day and some present-day collectors—prices and titles given.

IV. 1900-1938

[ANDERSON, MAXWELL] Calverton, Vernon F. "The American Theatre. I. Maxwell Anderson." *Modern Month.*, X, 3-5 (May, 1937).

After a survey of the history of the contemporary American theater, the work of Anderson is discussed.

[BOGAN, LOUISE] Hubbell, Lindley. "Portrait of Louise Bogan." *Book Buyer*, III, 20-21 (Oct., 1937).

A biographical sketch of the poet.

[FARRELL, J. T.] Lovett, Robert M. "James T. Farrell." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 347-354 (May, 1937).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] LeBreton, M. "Technique et Psychologie chez William Faulkner." *Études Anglaises*, I, 418-438 (Sept., 1937).

[FRANK, WALDO] Valle, Rafael H. "Diálogo con Waldo Frank." *Universidad* (Mexico), III, 36-44 (Jan., 1937).

"Speaking with him [Frank], one feels that he is in the presence of that man of America whose coming we are waiting for with impatience."

[FROST, ROBERT] Newdick, Robert S. "Robert Frost and the Sound of Sense." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 289-300 (Nov., 1937).

Frost's ideas concerning the "capturing in poetry [of] the full range of tones in the speech of living men and women."

[KILMER, JOYCE] Williams, Constance and others. "American Verse Quotation." *N. & Q.*, CLXXIII, 104 (Aug. 7, 1937).

Notes on Joyce Kilmer and his poem "Trees."

[MCKAY, CLAUDE] Burris, Andrew M. "American First Editions: Claude McKay, 1889-." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 1767-1768 (Oct. 30, 1937).

[MITCHELL, MARGARET] Rosenbaum, B. "Why Do They Read It?" *Scribner's Mag.*, CII, 23-24, 69-70 (Aug., 1937).

An explanation of the unusual popularity of "that bewildering American phenomenon, *Gone With the Wind*."

[MONROE, HARRIET] Gregory, Horace. "The 'Unheard of Adventure.' Harriet Monroe and *Poetry*." *Am. Scholar*, VI, 195-200 (Spring, 1937).

History of the magazine *Poetry*, founded by Miss Monroe in 1912.

Z., M. D. "*Poetry's* Quarter-Century." *Poetry*, LI, 28-34 (Oct., 1937).

"Today three hundred members of the magazine—fifty volumes—stand filed and bound on the shelves and an eventful quarter-century of achievement stands displayed—a chapter in modern literature that covers not only the printed contents of *Poetry's* pages, but the temper and ideals that have given their impulse to one of the most dramatic phases of our national life."

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Baldensperger, Fernand. "Eugène O'Neill, Prix Nobel de Littérature." *Rev. Bleue*, pp. 73-78 (Feb. 6, 1937).

Cestre, Charles. "Eugene O'Neill." *Études Anglaises*, pp. 93-94 (Jan., 1937).

Eaton, Walter P. "O'Neill—'New Risen Attic Stream'?" *Am. Scholar*, VI, 304-312 (Summer, 1937).

Several of O'Neill's plays are considered critically in their relation to the dramas of Aeschylus and Euripides.

Lanoire, Maurice. "Eugène O'Neill." *Rev. de Paris*, pp. 595-612 (Feb. 1, 1937).

Martínez Hague, Carlos. "Eugenio O'Neill, Premio Nobel." *Letras* (Lima, Peru), II, 427-432 (1936).

O'Neill is "the most sensational literatus of our age." The two "essential notes" of his art are "versatility" and "philosophic preoccupation."

[ROBERTS, ELIZABETH M.] Janney, F. Lamar. "Elizabeth Madox Roberts." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLV, 388-410 (Oct.-Dec., 1937).

A critical appraisal of Miss Roberts's works.

[ROBERTS, KENNETH] Stone, Frank. "American First Editions: Kenneth (Lewis) Roberts 1885 -." *Pub. Week.*, CXXXII, 1595-1596 (Oct. 16, 1937).

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Brown, David. "A Note on *Avon's Harvest*." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 343-349 (Nov., 1937).

An account of the revisions of the work.

Fletcher, John Gould. "Portrait of Edwin Arlington Robinson." *N. Am Rev.*, CCXLIV, 24-26 (Autumn, 1937).

A poetic sketch of "a life-long pioneer."

[SANDBURG, CARL] Deutsch, Babette. "Poetry for the People." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 265-274 (April, 1937).

An estimate of Carl Sandburg as the poet of the people.

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Canby, H. S. "The American Santayana." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XV, 3-4, 14 (April 17, 1937).

Santayana's "best and most durable writing will . . . unquestionably be adjudged to native American literature."

[SCOTT, EVELYN] Anonymous. "Portrait in Line Introducing Evelyn Scott." *Book Buyer*, III, 15 (May, 1937).

Brief biographical sketch.

[STRIBLING, T. S.] LeBreton, Maurice. "L'Évolution sociale dans les états du sud d'après T. S. Stribling." *Études Anglaises*, pp. 36-53 (Jan., 1937).

[TATE, ALLEN] Anonymous. "Allen Tate." *Book Buyer*, III, 9-10 (Nov., 1937). A biographical and critical sketch of the poet.

[WHEELOCK, J. H.] Wheelock, J. H. "Rhyme in Poetry." *Book Buyer*, III, 12-13 (Dec., 1937).

Explains the function which rhyme serves in poetry.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Bates, Ernest S. "Thomas Wolfe." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 519-527 (Sept., 1937).

The final value of the work of Wolfe is "derived from its inextricable mingling of fact and fancy, which has met and satisfied one of the subtlest needs of its time."

[WYLIE, ELINOR] Kohler, Dayton. "Elinor Wylie: Heroic Mask." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXVI, 218-228 (April, 1937).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Anonymous. "Ten Are Elected New Members of Academy of Arts." *Chr. Sci. Mon.*, XXIX, 4 (Nov. 13, 1937).

The new election of members to the American Academy of Arts and Letters brings in ten new members, Van Wyck Brooks among them.

De Voto, Bernard. "A Sagebrush Bookshelf." *Harper's Mag.*, CLXXV, 488-496 (Oct., 1937).

Books and literary culture available to the author in Ogden, Utah, between 1900 and the Great War.

Faÿ, Bernard. "L'École de l'infortune ou la nouvelle génération littéraire aux États-Unis." *Rev. de Paris*, pp. 644-665 (Aug., 1937).

A study of discontent among contemporary American authors, with special attention devoted to Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner, and Margaret Mitchell.

Ferril, T. H. "Writing in the Rockies." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XV, 1-2, 13-14 (March 20, 1937).

"Rocky Mountain literature is devitalized by a low-grade mysticism dictated by landscape."

Hatcher, Harlan. "The New Vogue of Historical Fiction." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 775-784 (Dec., 1937).

The current revival of the historical novel differs from similar vogues in earlier generations primarily because of "greater fidelity to psychological truth and more scientific documentation of material to guarantee historical accuracy."

Langner, Lawrence. "The Future of the Government in the Theatre." *Yale Rev.*, XXVII, 64-76 (Sept., 1937).

An analysis of the past accomplishments and the future possibilities of the Federal Theater Project in continuing "to fill a growing need in the cultural life of America."

MacMullen, Margaret. "Pulps and Confessions." *Harper's Mag.*, CLXXV, 94-102 (June, 1937).

The "pulp" magazines developed naturally from such old dime-novels as Nick Carter, but the confession magazines sprang into life suddenly. Each represents a stereotyped sub-literature of unknown influence upon masses of readers.

Peery, William. "What Do You Read, My Lord?" *Am. Scholar*, VI, 271-281 (Summer, 1937).

A critical review of the fiction produced in 1936. Mr. Peery rejects the novel of propaganda, psychoanalysis, and sex, in favor of the novel that relates "a plain unvarnished tale," such as Mrs. Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*.

Roz, Firmin. "L'Américain, devient-il cosmopolite?" *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, XL, 340-361 (July 15, 1937).

Deals incidentally with the reflection in the work of twentieth-century American authors of a critical attitude towards their country and civilization.

Slusser, Herbert. "One Afternoon's Perspective." *Catholic World*, CXLV, 154-163 (May, 1937).

Discusses the lack of a true American spirit in American writers.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Anonymous. "Is There a Circus Slang?" *Book Buyer*, III, 26 (May, 1937).

A bibliography of articles discussing circus slang or jargon.

——— "Words, Words, Words." *Digest*, I, 5 (Nov. 6, 1937).

Mr. Mencken's recent speech to a Columbia writers' symposium brought forth the idea that in the American language "we need more and worse words," particularly slang.

Brown, H. G. "Lost Americans." *Spectator*, No. 5693, pp. 232-233 (Aug. 6, 1937).

An Englishwoman gives her impressions of certain folk customs prevailing in remote mountain communities of the South.

Buley, R. Carlyle. "Glimpses of Pioneer Mid-West Social and Cultural History." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXIII, 481-511 (March, 1937).

Throws light not only on pioneer manners, pastimes, morality, and folk-ways, but also on early theatrical activities and the diction, grammar, and pronunciation of the region.

Burke, W. J. "The Literature of Slang." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XLI, 681-695, 785-797, 851-874 (Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1937).

A bibliography arranged under parts as follows: sports, gambling, stock market, the stage, motion pictures, radio, etc. To be continued.

Ellis, Milton. "An Unconventional Footnote." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 753-755 (Nov., 1937).

The New England country boy's habit of not pronouncing the final "g" of "going, having, seeing, etc." is "historically . . . more correct than ours, but it is grammatically obsolete. . . ."

Forsythe, Robert. "Folk-Speech: 'Old-Fashioned'." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 465 (June 26, 1937).

Notes on the use and meaning of the word "old-fashioned."

Huning, Dolores and Fisher, Irene. "Folk Tales from the Spanish." *New Mex. Quart.*, VII, 121-130 (May, 1937).

Two folk-tales, presumably of Spanish-American origin.

Jacobs, Melville. "Historic Perspectives in Indian Languages of Oregon and Washington." *Pacific Northwest Quart.*, XXVIII, 55-74 (Jan., 1937).

Olybrius. "American Circus Terms." *N. & Q.*, CLXXII, 295-296 (April 24, 1937).

A glossary of American circus terms, reprinted from the New York *Herald Tribune* for April 5, 1937.

Vail, R. W. G. "Yankee Doodle." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXX, 33-37 (April, 1937).

Broadside ballads in the American Antiquarian Society, probably the earliest versions of the song.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

- Berelson, B. and Grant, H. F. "The Pioneer Theatre in Washington." *Pacific Northwest Quart.*, XXVIII, 115-136 (April, 1937).

A digest of some findings of a Federal Theater research project "to collect and compile all possible data on the entertainment business in Washington" from 1852 to 1915.

- Everson, Ida G. "Goethe's American Visitors." *Am. Lit.*, IX, 356-357 (Nov., 1937).

During the years 1810 and 1830 at least twenty Americans visited Goethe. A list of them is given.

- Flanagan, John T. "Captain Marryat at Old St. Peter's." *Minnesota Hist.*, XVIII, 152-164 (June, 1937).

"It is obvious that Marryat made a distinctly unfavorable impression during his visit to the Northwest."

- Griffin, Grace G. "Writings on American History, 1932." *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assoc. for 1931*, Vol. III (1937).

Pages 288-294 are given to literature.

- Hasley, Louis. "The Stream-of-Consciousness Method." *Catholic World*, CXLIV, 210-213 (Nov., 1937).

Notes briefly the use of the method by Poe, Melville, Henry James, and T. S. Eliot.

- Jaloux, Edmond. "Voici les grands romanciers du monde." *Nouvelles Littéraires*, No. 779 (Sept. 18, 1937).

Regrets that in France "la littérature américaine est tout à fait négligée." French versions of *The House of the Seven Gables*, *The Scarlet Letter*, *The Marble Faun*, *Moby Dick*, and *Pierre* are at present unavailable.

- Jillson, Willard R. "Bibliography of Lincoln County Chronologically and Historically Arranged and Annotated." *Ky. State Hist. Soc. Reg.*, XXXV, 339-359 (Oct., 1937).

Contains 162 titles.

- Jones, Joseph. "The 'Distress'd' Negro in English Magazine Verse." *Univ. of Texas Studs. in Eng.*, XVII, 88-106 (July, 1937).

A composite picture of the oppressed Negro, as he appears in this verse, followed by a list of the poems from which the author draws his material.

- Muller, H. J. "The New Psychology in Old Fiction." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, XXVI, 3-4, 11 (Aug. 21, 1937).

Hawthorne, Melville, Holmes, and Howells approached the province of psychology with an ethical rather than a scientific interest.

Schindler, M. C. "Fictitious Biography." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 680-690 (July, 1937).

The inclusion of about fifty fictitious biographies in *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* makes that work untrustworthy unless used "with extreme caution."

Utley, George B. "Newberry Library, 'Court of Last Resort.'" *Am. Scholar*, VI, 372-376 (Summer, 1937).

An historical sketch of the Newberry Library in Chicago, with an account of its many special collections.

Van de Water, F. F. "Rudyard Kipling's Feud." *Harper's Mag.*, CLXXIV, 569-577 (May, 1937).

A retelling of the quarrel between Kipling and his Vermont neighbor and brother-in-law, Beatty Balestier. "Much that Kipling might have written died; much bitterness that he was to utter of America and Americans had its conception on that 6th of May, 1896. . . ."

Wright, L. M. "The Cedar Falls Parlor Reading Circle." *Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics*, XXXIV, 339-374 (April, 1936).

The article gives a selected list of books read in the society for the past sixty years.

Young, Stark. "Golden Apples." *Eng. Jour.*, XXVI, 689-697 (Nov., 1937).

"The judgments and opinions about Southern literary matters can be . . . sometimes hilarious, sometimes absurd, or disconcerting."

BOOK REVIEWS

HART CRANE: *The Life of an American Poet*. By Philip Horton. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1937. x, 352 pp. \$3.00.

In the spring of 1932, Hart Crane, then less than thirty-three years old, leaped resolutely off the stern of the *S. S. Orizaba* to his death in the Gulf Stream just beyond sight of Florida. Even a cursory examination of the subsequent flood of obituary articles reveals how profoundly he had impressed and disturbed his generation, especially its poets. To most of those who wrote of him he became a symbol—to many a symbol of American art stifled by the materialism which sprang out of the war, abetted by the ancient enemy, Philistinism. Obviously it was necessary to account for the contrast between his earlier accomplishments, rich in power and promise, and the fustian which later on he wore so frequently. That his greatest single effort, *The Bridge*, was so strange a mixture of greatness and mediocrity, called for explanation. That a poet without special training for literature should overcome all such obstacles as poverty, family opposition and overwork, to win the approval of the discriminating and a unique position while still only a boy, only to collapse both as artist and man just when concrete recognition and security were within his grasp—these were cogent evidence for criticism. Their memories still seared by the prevalent worship of the golden calf during the war, the critics of Hart Crane agreed that here was another example of the artist crushed by the materialism and neglect of his age.

This assumption, so easily promulgated, and later given authority by Waldo Frank's "Introduction" to the posthumous *Collected Poems* of Hart Crane in 1933, is disproved conclusively in Mr. Horton's able biography of the poet. The forces which destroyed Hart Crane lay within himself and within the peculiar family environment with which he had to cope. Neither materialism nor neglect would have crushed his spirit, had he not been a psychopathic personality to begin with. Mr. Horton has wisely avoided supporting any particular thesis in this study, but he has meticulously presented for the first time the complete picture—the strange emotional world in which the boy grew up and his own natural morbidity and sensitiveness, as well as those more obvious economic factors which have been hitherto overstressed. The Philistine world is not so much to blame for the defeat of Crane as it was, even, in the case of Poe. In his day Poe was received more coldly; and rewarded less, than Hart Crane; and never did Poe have even the hope of security that Crane occasionally experienced. In other respects, however,

the situations of Poe and Hart Crane were remarkably similar. "The curse of sundered parentage," the mother complex, the father or step-father as villain of the piece, the extreme sensitiveness, the diseased emotionalism, the taking refuge in drugs and debauchery, the frustration of unique creative accomplishment by neglect—all these are primary conditions in each story. In the case of Hart Crane, however, there was an extreme collapse of the moral integrity and the ego which did not occur in the case of Poe; or, if at all, only at the very end of his life.

The fact that Crane's story is not "an American tragedy," but rather a personal one, does not make it any less harrowing to read; and it is rendered the more terrifying by the skill with which Mr. Horton calls to life the author, demonstrates the power and beauty of his best work, and portrays the slow, excruciating torture of his decline and death. In 1929 when he was in Mexico and already approaching emotional chaos, his friend, the painter David Siqueiros, attempted his portrait, which he finally painted with the eyelids lowered because he could not, or dared not, paint his eyes. That Crane understood the implications is shown by his later destruction of the portrait in a drunken rage. His emotional disintegration, rooted in the conflict between his mother and father during his boyhood, and carried into manhood as an Oedipus complex, found its final phase in a homosexuality pursued with pitiful bravado and conducting at last to debauchery and destruction.

Besides the excellent study of Crane and his work, this volume affords a vivid description of the literary scene of the period. The younger writers during the war and for a decade afterward are presented with a sensitive understanding of temporal and eternal values. There is the Greenwich Village of 1916, when Crane first came up to seek his fortune—the Village of the *Little Review* and Eugene O'Neill, then in seething revolt against the traditions that had brought about the war horror. By 1919, when Joyce's *Ulysses* was appearing serially in the *Little Review*, Crane was Advertising Manager for that periodical and in the very center of all the "new" literature. A few years later in Paris, he was intimate with the colony of American expatriates. Sketches of the leaders of rebellion of that decade are plentifully sprinkled through the book, and they are vivid and well informed. Crane's acquaintance with the circle was enormous, including Margaret Anderson, Malcolm Cowley and Peggy Baird, Matthew Josephson, Gorham B. Munson, Padraic Colum, Sherwood Anderson, Brooks, Kenneth Burke, Harry Crosby and a host of others, as well as O'Neill and the theater group of the Village. All this, while treated as incidental background, is convincingly authoritative.

Mr. Horton also attempts an evaluation of Crane's contribution as a

poet which is, in the main, a sound one. He is justified, I believe, in calling Crane the most perfect of the modern metaphysical poets, if one stop short of MacLeish, whose best work was done later. Such poems as "Repose of Rivers" and "Legend" and perhaps a few others are perfect in their way. Mr. Horton explains Crane's shortcomings and uneven execution by reference to his dissipation and fits of bewildered self-doubt. He points out, however, that in his best verse Crane added to the modern command of a flexible blank verse, demonstrated anew the rapture of perfect diction, increased our perception of a poem as an experience, rather than as a record of experience, and enlarged still further the capacity of poetry to deal with the machine and the modern industrial world. Although Mr. Horton is naturally a bit overenthusiastic, his claims seem partially justified. We shall probably remember a few of Crane's poems always as the evidence of what he might have been.

University of Pennsylvania.

SCULLEY BRADLEY.

NATIVE AMERICAN HUMOR (1800-1900). By Walter Blair. New York, etc.: American Book Company. 1937. xv, 573 pp. \$3.00.

For the general plan of this book there can be nothing but praise. Mr. Blair's knowledge of the popular humor of the nineteenth century is little short of appalling. With so vast a field to choose from, no two editors would make the same selections; I am therefore not inclined to cavil at any of the omissions. But at least one inclusion seems wholly out of place. Bret Harte's "The Haunted Man" is not popular humor; it is a literary parody, and moreover the opening part of the frame for a group of parodies. To reprint it by itself and without explanation gives a false impression of Harte's real attitude toward Dickens. Occasionally, too, Mr. Blair is over-docile in his acceptance of the judgments of eminent critics such as Professor Kittredge.

The long critical introduction is admirable in most of what it says. But it starts from the wrong point, and thereby creates false perspective and false emphasis. Instead of beginning with the first tentative appearances of popular humor in print, Mr. Blair should have begun with the oral tradition. By reserving his first mention of oral story-telling until p. 70, he almost suggests that the art developed on the South-West frontier. Actually, of course, Souter Johnie has told his queerest stories by tavern firesides the world over, from the beginning. Admittedly many of the American tall stories have sources and analogues in British jest books and chapbooks; by the time oral transmission had brought these tales to the South-West they had become naturalized, developed, adapted to American settings, and were ready to attract the notice of literate auditors.

This is not conjecture, but merely common sense. Consider what happened to popular music. The name of the Scottish village of Monymusk, given to a dance tune, is transmogrified in America into "Money Musk," and Herbert Quick records that a popular ballad on the Iowa frontier was "The Gay Balanza Man"—which left Scotland as "The Gaberlunzie Man." A few months' association with the plain folk of Ulster would show the American student the origins of many things, from the pronunciation of "thar" to the concretely humorous turns of speech which describe a girl with clumsy ankles as "beef to the hoof, like Mullingar's heifer," or nuns walking two and two as "hunting in couples, like the Cloghineely fleas."

Mr. Blair is excellent in his discussion of the upward influence of folk humor on more formal literature. But this is only half the relationship. There is also a downward influence from formal literature to the folk. Washington Irving, so formal and Europeanized that Mr. Blair mentions him only briefly in his essay and wholly omits him from the anthology, fixed at least three legends firmly in the American mind. This is more than the folk humorists did, if we except Mark Twain—who was not a folk humorist but a highly skilled man of letters adapting the materials of popular humor to literary art. The humorous employment of bad spelling is an obvious illustration of downward influence. Yet in discussing cacography, Mr. Blair never mentions Mrs. Malaprop, Tabitha Bramble, or Win Jenkins, all of whom were more important than the trifling examples in the *Spectator*. In fact, a regular, though minor, tradition of this type of humor existed in eighteenth-century Britain. See, for instance, the epistle, "Mars to Venus," which Henry Mackenzie transcribed in his *Anecdotes and Egotisms*.

Among lesser details Mr. Blair explains the bad pun in the name of Orpheus C. Kerr, but fails to explain the worse one in Birdofredom Sawin. No one outside of New England is likely to realize that to a Yankee ear "Sawin" and "soaring" were (and are) practically indistinguishable. Finally, in editing texts as badly printed as most of these were, the rigors of scholarly method should be mitigated by common sense. Obvious misprints ought not to be perpetuated merely because the original author failed to correct them.

Western Reserve University.

DELANCEY FERGUSON.

PRINTING IN THE AMERICAS. By John Clyde Oswald. New York: The Gregg Publishing Co. [1937.] xii, 565, xvii-xli pp. \$7.50.

For historical use this book is a serviceable compilation of selected facts, the number of which may be estimated by noting that the book has twenty-four double column pages of index.

The title may raise one's expectations too high. What of the "Americas"? There are sixty pages devoted to Canada, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and South America. Quebec is given three pages of text and two pages of illustrations, Brazil one and one-half pages, and Mexico (where printing was established in the 1530's) four pages of text and two of cuts. The presentation is of necessity largely limited to chronology.

The remainder of the book pertains to the American Colonies and the United States. Sound attention is paid to early rather than to later printing: the eighteenth century receives the major amount of space except in the treatment of the states where printing was not established until the nineteenth century. The states are treated separately, and printers are given sub-heads within their respective states. Choosing at random, I find Kentucky, for example, is given four and one-half pages of text and two pages of cuts; New Jersey receives three pages of text and three pages of cuts.

What of "Printing"? In treating of two continents, large areas of the subject of printing have been restricted. Only twenty-nine pages are given to "Fine Bookmaking," "Typography," "Machines and Methods," and "Printing Organizations." The author is concerned chiefly from an historical point of view with selected newspapers, magazines, early books, and printers. He does not have space for the comprehensive picture that must lie within the industry which printed the works listed in Evans's *Bibliography* and *The American Catalogue* and *The United States Catalogue*. He has been able to give few words or none to the myriad developments in inks, papers, illustrations, and printing media and processes. It has not been his purpose to deal with the great printing houses in the United States, or to sketch from mechanical, economic, intellectual, or social points of view the phenomena of the millions of copies of books, magazines, and newspapers published.

Within its limits the book is serviceable. It is a handy reference volume, with 160 interesting illustrations, but devoid of bibliography.

Western Reserve University.

LYON N. RICHARDSON.

EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY AND HER TIMES. By Elizabeth Atkins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1936. xiii, 266 pp. \$3.00.

This is an important essay. Miss Atkins traces Miss Millay's development from the days when she wrote for *St. Nicholas* to the appearance of *Wine from These Grapes* in 1934. The title points to a minute biographical study; but Miss Atkins's interest is not in the walking and talking person but in the mind and sensibility of the poet. Here and there revelations are made about experiences in the life of the poet—some of these are of high importance, and since the book was read in manuscript by

the poet's husband, it may be supposed that the biographical elements are authoritative—but Miss Millay's life is described only at points where its course determined in some essential way the course of her poetry. The justification for the title is found in Miss Atkins's belief—triumphantly demonstrated in her book—that the poet is the spokesman for the times in which she has lived. All the main currents of thought and feeling during the past quarter of a century she has felt and understood and translated into poetry.

Another conviction of Miss Atkins, but one less happy in its results, is that Miss Millay is an Elizabethan. She asserts this with certain modifications, but these modifications are secondary and need not here be considered. Miss Atkins heaps high her quotations from Elizabethan drama and lyric to make good her claim; but often the reader is impressed by the complete disparity between passages from the poet and the Elizabethan passages set beside them. In general, the book suffers from an excessive use of the comparative method; that method is valuable to criticism, but it is valuable only when the likeness of the things compared is important, central even, and reasonably plain. From the early pages in which Miss Atkins tries to find the "Ancient Mariner" in "Renaissance" down to the examination of *Fatal Interview* in which she finds the accents of more than twenty-five earlier poets, the comparative method is abused.

No account of this book would be complete if it failed to mention the extraordinary beauty of Miss Atkins's style: again and again one is stopped short by the perfection of an image or an epithet which combines original perception with intellectual insight.

University of Toronto.

E. K. BROWN.

THE LEARNED BLACKSMITH: *The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt.*

By Merle Curti. New York: Wilson-Erickson Incorporated. 1937. ix, 241 pp. \$3.00.

Among America's mid-nineteenth-century humanitarians Elihu Burritt holds a secure place. Crusader for peace, for universal ocean penny postage, for temperance, for the abolition of slavery through gradual emancipation, for child welfare, and for improved education, he edited magazines, lectured continuously, and wrote numerous articles and several books. A lay preacher, animated with a conservatism freed from theological sectarianism, he carried his message through the United States and Great Britain. Though rich in human interest, the story of this Connecticut Yankee blacksmith, lifted from obscurity to international prominence, has never been told adequately.

Students who looked for a definitive biography from the pen of Pro-

fessor Curti, the historian of the American peace crusade, must suffer hope deferred, for *The Learned Blacksmith* merely presents a brief biographical summary and hitherto unpublished addenda to Charles Northend's uncritical *Elihu Burritt; A Memorial Volume Containing a Sketch of His Life and Labors, with Selections from His Writings and Lectures, and Extracts from His Private Journals in Europe and America* (New York, 1879). Mr. Curti's book, important because of its new material, has annoying defects. There is no index. The chronology is incomplete. There is no bibliography, and no attempt is made to list the published fragments of the Journals or to dovetail the present selections with those already published. There is not the slightest hint as to the amount or content of material remaining unpublished in the Journals.

The statements that Burritt "had no ambition to rise above the working class" (p. 1) and that Burritt was, as Mr. Curti implies (p. 5), a pre-Marxian proponent of class solidarity need attenuation. Burritt did desire to beckon workmen onward and upward "to the full stature of intellectual men," but throughout his later life he gave thanks for "that mysterious leading of Providence which had brought me from the humblest obscurity of physical labour" (p. 101) to the honor of private interviews with England's Prime Minister (p. 50) and with a member of parliament (p. 101). In "Why I Left the Anvil" Burritt insisted that he sought an immortal position among the directors of thought. In discussing the peace crusade, Mr. Curti says that Burritt "resembled middle-class pacifists" (p. 37). With the shrewdness of the Yankee peddlers, Burritt, though a practicing idealist, minded the main chance and shuttled between England and America as his opinions made migration wise. His humble title clung to him, although for years he tried to have it suppressed.

Burritt thought of himself as a literary figure, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Curti has not appraised the learned blacksmith's writings. He possessed power in descriptive and expository composition, and his essays and his talks to children illuminate the mind of the age. We shall not fully understand Emerson and Hawthorne until we read deeply in the so-called subliterate materials of their Yankee neighbors.

University of Maryland.

HARRY R. WARFEL.

AMERICAN WRITERS. A Series of Papers Contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* (1824-1825) by John Neal. Edited with Notes and Bibliography by Fred Lewis Pattee. Durham: Duke University Press. 1937. viii, 261 pp. \$3.00.

American Writers reprints for the first time John Neal's series of five papers which he contributed to *Blackwood's*. These were written as a

retort to the slur, "Who reads an American book?" At least so Neal stated in his *Wandering Recollections*. Professor Pattee, however, shows that the American's author's entrée to the scornful British magazine grew out of desire to avoid a duel. Neal had written five novels, dashed them off, as he boasts, in about a month for each. One of these, *Randolph*, got him into trouble. In that epistolary novel he had inserted "an account of our celebrities, orators, writers and painters." The irascible young Edward Coate Pinkney, taking offense at what had been said about his father, challenged the author to a duel. Neal could not consistently accept the challenge, for in his first book, *Keep Cool*, he had argued warmly against dueling. He left for England when Pinkney's friends made Baltimore too hot for him, ostensibly to look after republication of his books there. Unsuccessful in this, he considered crashing the magazines. *Blackwood's* had been the most supercilious toward America; therefore Neal turned to it. Realizing "that communications from an American, if he did not abuse America, would go into the Balaam-basket," Neal won over the conservative editor with some enticing sketches of American presidential candidates. After several "Speculations of a Traveller Concerning the People of the United States," he undertook to inform English readers what Americans books were to be read.

"American Writers" was a tour de force such as only a man with Neal's self-assurance would undertake. He characterized, in alphabetic order, without a book to refresh his memory, 135 American writers. Three-fourths of the names appear in no contemporary reference book. Errors of fact and of prejudice abound. Franklin he regards "not a man of genius"; Cooper is "a man of sober talent—nothing more"; Paine is "unprincipled, coarse, and wicked." John Neal, he concedes, wrote "more sincere poetry, more exalted, original, pure, bold poetry than all the other authors that have ever appeared in America." Nevertheless, his judgments were more often right than wrong. He expressed what he had to say with a forthrightness that makes his writing more readable than most critical writing.

Southern Methodist University.

ERNEST E. LEISY.

ORMOND. By Charles Brockden Brown. Edited, with Introduction, Chronology, and Bibliography, by Ernest Marchand. "American Fiction Series." New York: American Book Company. 1937. li, 242 pp. \$2.10.

Students of American literature are grateful to Professor Harry Hayden Clark for his plan of publishing historically important but almost inaccessible American novels. The last in a series of five already published is Charles Brockden Brown's *Ormond*, with a critical introduction by

Professor Ernest Marchand of Stanford University. *Ormond* is Brown's most solid piece of work, though not the most significant in the development of Brown as a novelist—*Edgar Huntly* is that. *Ormond* will be particularly welcomed by teachers of courses in American fiction.

The forty-page Introduction will, I believe, give the reader a fair conception of the age in which he wrote, the problems which faced the young writer, and the ideals of the American reading public. The Introduction falls into six divisions. The first attempts a sketch of the writer's life and the background of prevailing ideas; the second sets forth the ingredients of a Brown novel against a background of contemporary ideas; the third gives a clear and striking analysis of the characters in *Ormond*; the fourth briefly discusses the style of Brown's writing, but falls into the common error of laying at the feet of this particular writer faults characteristic of the age. The next section briefly discusses the influences at work on Brown—with a needless repetition of portions of the first section—and Brown's influence, particularly on Shelley. The last section deals with "the American scene" as subject-matter for Brown's novels, and with Brown's sense of failure.

The Introduction is, generally, sympathetic and understanding, and is on the whole a worthy performance.

The serious student of Brown will lament, however, that the editor did not go back to the first edition for his text. The text here used is that of the 1887 edition—which had been considerably tampered with or modernized, with a loss of much of Brown's characteristic quaintness. It is a scholarly text that is wanted—the text as Brown left it.

University of Texas.

DAVID LEE CLARK.

MARK TWAIN UND DIE SCHWEIZ. By August Hüppy. Zurich: Ruetimann and Company. 1935. 99 pp.

This little volume, dedicated to the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mark Twain, is primarily an account of the American humorist's visits to Switzerland in the years 1878, 1891, and 1897. For the benefit of Swiss readers the author has rounded out the picture of Mark Twain's life by adding other biographical details.

Unable to find helpful positive records of Samuel Clemens's visits to Switzerland Mr. Hüppy was forced to rely almost entirely upon the standard sources of information concerning Mark Twain, particularly *A Tramp Abroad* (the literary product of the 1878 trip), Mark Twain's *Letters*, Paine's biography of Clemens, and Howells's *My Mark Twain*. The volume, consequently, contains little that is new.

Mr. Hüppy is frankly an admirer of Mark Twain. No other Anglo-American man of letters approaches Clemens, he believes, in the extraor-

dinary power of his enthusiasm for Switzerland and in his inspired descriptions of the Swiss Alps. Nevertheless, he is sometimes irked by the surplusage of Mark Twain's exaggeration, especially in his farcical description of the ascent of the Riffelberg. On the whole, he finds moderate delight in Mark Twain's satire of conditions and customs in Switzerland, objecting occasionally to the American's lack of taste, especially when in *A Tramp Abroad* Mark Twain places in the mouth of an Englishman the comment, "Well, I am satisfied, I have seen the principal features of Swiss Scenery—Mont Blanc and the goiter. . . ."

That Switzerland failed to stimulate Mark Twain to significant literary production Mr. Hüppy readily acknowledges, but he believes that the American humorists's contact with it resulted in an important extension of his philosophy of life (though he does not attempt to show precisely how), in an increased knowledge of geography, and in a better understanding of his age and public. Mr. Hüppy's treatment is modest and fair. He displays an accurate perception of the subtleties of Mark Twain's humor and with a single exception translates with pleasing competence. The exception occurs on page 42 where Mark Twain and Harris are shown as *leading* their burlesque caravan up the Riffelberg. As a matter of fact they bring up the rear, a detail that adds much to the humor of Mark Twain's account. Certainly Mr. Hüppy has succeeded in presenting to Swiss readers the vigor, freshness, and charm of Mark Twain's personality, and his friendship and admiration for Switzerland.

Iowa State College.

FRED W. LORCH.

MAJOR NOAH: *American-Jewish Pioneer*. By Isaac Goldberg. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. xvii, 316 pp. \$3.00.

The career of Mordecai M. Noah (1785-1851) was so many-faceted that his life story contains many chapters beyond those showing his relationship to American letters. The record of his immediate ancestry and of his early life reminds us of the important part that the Sephardic Jew played in Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary America. In later life Noah was intimately connected with the political life of Charleston, of Washington, and of Philadelphia. As American Consul to Tunis in 1813-1815 he negotiated between the United States and the Barbary pirates. And the account of his melodramatic leadership of the attempt to found the Jewish community Ararat on Grand Island in the Niagara River in 1825 reads like sheer romance. But to students of American literature he is chiefly interesting as a playwright and as a journalist.

In the chapters dealing with Noah's plays Mr. Goldberg presents valuable factual material. He throws some illuminating sidelights upon

the early Philadelphia theater and upon the New York theater of the first half of the nineteenth century. The text gives a complete bibliography of Noah's plays, with résumés, casts of character, etc. These chapters will be helpful to the student of the early American stage.

The chapters on Major Noah's succession of journalistic ventures are especially enlightening as showing the close connection between New York journalism and New York politics one hundred years ago. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr. Goldberg treats so lightly Major Noah's part in the "Holy War" directed by a group of New York editors against the "immoral" journalistic tactics of James Gordon Bennett. In this war Major Noah played no mean part, and he bore much of the brunt of Bennett's counter attack. The story of that conflict should be a chapter in itself. In fact, Mr. Goldberg's brief account suggests a confusion as to the date of the famous "Moral War"; it began in the latter part of May, 1840.

Mr. Goldberg tells the story of a colorful man and tells the story well. Moreover, the book is well documented and is of genuine value to the student.

Columbia University.

M. M. HOOVER.

BRIEF MENTION

JOURNAL OF WASHINGTON IRVING 1828: *And Miscellaneous Notes on Moorish Legend and History*. Edited by Stanley T. Williams. New York: American Book Company. 1937. xv, 80 pp. \$2.00.

In addition to biographical and other information this journal supplies valuable material concerning the sources for *The Alhambra* and *The Conquest of Granada*. Portions of the "miscellaneous notes" are anecdotes jotted down from the tales told by Irving's Sancho Panza, Mateo Ximénez. Four of Irving's drawings and a map of one of his trips in Spain are also included.

C. G.

WASHINGTON IRVING ON THE PRAIRIE: *Or A Narrative of a Tour of the Southwest in the Year 1832*. By Henry Leavitt Ellsworth. Edited by Stanley T. Williams and Barbara D. Simison. New York: American Book Company. 1937. xviii, 152 pp. \$3.50.

The present opus is the first printing of the account of the prairie tour made in company with Washington Irving by the Indian Commissioner Ellsworth, written for the benefit of his wife. It is a plain, factual description of events and sights of the trip made with graphic

realism, and as a result is of astonishing interest to the reader who likes detailed, accurate accounts of buffalo hunts and of the experiences of camp-life.

The work is of great value in indicating how Irving garnished his version of the tour in *Crayon Miscellany*, Number One, but of greater interest is the light shed upon Irving's nature and habits in the sections of the *Narrative* devoted to him. Particularly valuable is the long account of the author, written at the request of Ellsworth's wife, which appears on pages 70 to 80.

A map of Irving's route and two facsimile pages from the journal are used as illustrations, and a selected list of books dealing with Ellsworth and the expedition of 1832 is included in an appendix. Like Irving's 1828 journal, this account is provided with an Introduction which presents all pertinent material which a student may need.

C. G.

THE MARCUS W. JERNIGAN ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By His Former Students at the University of Chicago. Edited by William T. Hutchinson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [1937.] x, 417 pp. \$4.00.

Of interest to students of American literature may be the essays on Bancroft, Parkman, and Henry Adams, by Professors Watt Stewart, Joe P. Smith, and Henry S. Commager, respectively. The contributions to the volume vary considerably in scholarly content.

C. G.

LUCIFER AT LARGE. By C. John McCole. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. viii, 337 pp. \$3.00.

Essays on Dreiser, Cabell, Anderson, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Wolfe, and Saroyan are included in this sprightly but unusually accurate discussion of contemporary literature. In an appendix the author documents most of his quotations.

C. G.

PORTRAITS FROM LIFE. By Ford Madox Ford. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. x, 227 pp. \$3.00.

"Memories and Criticisms" of Henry James, Stephen Crane, and Theodore Dreiser are included. Charming gossip is often injected into these essays, which, however, are unimportant for one who wishes biographical facts or sound criticism. Mr. Ford acknowledges in a prefatory letter that he has never "had much use" for "factual exactitudes."

C. G.

GEORGE TICKNOR: *Together with Ticknor's "Lecture on the Best Methods of Teaching the Living Languages."* Edited, with Notes, by Henry Grattan Doyle. Washington, D. C.: H. G. Doyle, 5500 Thirty-third St. N. W. 1937. 37 pp. \$.50.

An interesting study of Ticknor as a teacher of Romance languages.
C. G.

CONTEMPORARY POETRY. Edited by Marguerite Wilkinson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. xxiv, 372 pp. \$1.00.

A reprint of a well-known anthology.

C. G.

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